



PENNS^TATE



UNIVERSITY
LIBRARIES

E. H. Stielck & Son
SCRANTON BOOK EXCHANGE
312 N. Washington Ave.
SCRANTON, PA.

* 1.25

HAMILTON, LOCKE AND CLARK SERIES.

TITUS LIVIUS.

SELECTIONS

FROM

THE FIRST FIVE BOOKS,

TOGETHER WITH THE

TWENTY-FIRST AND TWENTY-SECOND BOOKS ENTIRE:

WITH AN INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION

AS NEARLY LITERAL AS THE IDIOMATIC DIFFERENCES OF THE LATIN AND ENGLISH
LANGUAGES WILL ALLOW.

For the Use of Schools and Private Learners.

BY REV. I. W. BIEBER.

THE WORTHINGTON SCRANTON CAMPUS LIBRARY
THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
DUNMORE, PENNSYLVANIA 18512

PHILADELPHIA

DAVID McKAY, PUBLISHER

604-8 SOUTH WASHINGTON SQUARE

(FORMERLY PUBLISHED BY CHARLES DE SILVER & SONS.)

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1872, by

CHARLES DESILVER,

In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

IN preparing the following "Interlinear," it was deemed requisite to present only such portions of Livy as are found in Prof. Lincoln's edition, embracing selections from the first five, and the whole of the twenty-first and twenty-second, books. Except a few slight alterations, made on the authority of the best German critical editions, the text of Lincoln has been scrupulously followed and precisely reproduced; while in the preparation of the corresponding English, the most reliable current translations were freely consulted and used.

In method, aim and general execution, the present work is essentially in harmony with those of the "Interlinear series," already before the public, and of which the Livy is merely a continuation. It was thought possible, however, to introduce an additional feature (in the matter of translation,) without defeating the purpose, or destroying the peculiarity, of the book as an Interlinear. By resorting to a somewhat novel plan of "italicizing," the English text throughout has been made to assume a two-fold character: substantially preserving, on the one hand, the "verbal method" of its predecessors; and making provision, at the same time, for the demands of the more advanced and cultured reader. Dropping all

phrases, words and parts of words, in italic dress, the sense still remains comparatively unimpaired, and constitutes the (almost) "literal" rendering of the Latin text; an unbroken reading, on the other hand, gives us the meaning of the author in clearer, fuller and bolder English. In order to secure such a result in all cases, it became necessary, at times, to sacrifice the position of words in the original, and strict grammatical propriety, to the general end; and occasionally to adopt a style of "grouping" and "lumping," altogether foreign to other Interlinears. Among the Latin constructions thus violated, a few deserve particular mention: the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive of verbs with *cum*, (to subserve our purpose, frequently translated participially); *ut*, *qui*, and *quod*, with the present and imperfect tenses of the same mood, (generally rendered as an infinitive); and the *ablative absolute*, in whose case, instead of a passive, an active signification is given to the participle, and the accompanying noun placed as its object. However, these unserious deviations from the beaten track are fully redeemed by the advantage gained in fluency, intelligibility and better vindication of the English idiom.

Should the "Interlinear Livy" contribute in any way towards the more extensive study of an author, who justly ranks as one of Rome's brightest and most polished historians, the translator will deem himself amply rewarded for the laborious effort of adding this new volume to the American Interlinear Series of Classics.

I. W. B.

Bethlehem, Pa., 1872.

TITUS LIVIUS.

PREFACE.

FACTURUSNE sim pretium operæ, si perscripserim
Whether I shall do what is worth the trouble, if I trace
res Romani populi a primordio urbis,
the history of the Roman people from the foundation of the city
nec satis scio, nec, si sciam, ausim dicere;
I am neither quite sure, nor, if I were, would I venture to say,
quippe qui videam esse rem cum veterem
inasmuch as I am aware that the matter is both old
tum vulgatam, dum novi scriptores semper credunt
and common-place, whilst later authors always suppose
se allaturos aliquid certius in rebus, aut
that they will bring out something more accurate in the facts, or
superaturos rudem vetustatem arte scribendi.
that they will excel the unpolished ancients in *their* style of writing.
Utcumque erit, juvabit tamen, et ipsum
However that may be, it will be a pleasure notwithstanding, myself also
consuluisse, pro virili parte, memoriæ
to have contributed, according to my ability, towards the perpetuation
rerum gestarum populi principis terrarum: et si in
of the achievements of a people the foremost of the world: and if, amidst
tanta turba scriptorum, mea fama sit in obscuro,
so great an array of historians, my reputation should remain in obscurity,
consoler me nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum,
I shall console myself with the celebrity and eminence of those,

qui officient meo nomini. Præterea res est et
 who stand in the way of my fame. Moreover, the subject is both
 immensi operis, ut quæ repetatur supra
 of immense labor, since it reaches back more than
 septingentesimum annum, et quæ, profecta ab
 seven hundred years, and one which, having set out from
 exiguis initiis, creverit eo ut
 small beginnings, has increased to such an extent that
 jam laboreat sua magnitudine; et, plerisque
 it is now distressed by its own bulk; and, to the majority
 legentium haud dubito, quin primæ origines
 of readers I doubt not, but that the first origin
 proximaque originibus præbitura sint
 and the events proximate to that origin will afford
 minus voluptatis, festinantibus ad hæc
 but little pleasure, hastening on, as they will be, to these
 nova, quibus vires prævalentis populi
 later times, in which the strength of this overgrown people
 jampridem ipsæ se conficiunt. Ego contra
 has for a long period been exhausting itself. I on the contrary
 petam hoc quoque premium laboris
 shall seek this [also] as a reward of my labor, namely,
 ut avertam me a conspectu malorum, quæ
 that I withdraw myself from the contemplation of the evils, which
 nostra ætas vidit per tot annos, tantisper certe,
 our age has witnessed for so many years, so long at least
 dum repeto tota mente illa prisca,
 as I am going over with my whole attention those ancient times
 expers omnis curæ, quæ, etsi possit non flectere
 being free from every care, which, though it cannot warp
 animum scribentis a vero, tamen efficere sollicitum.
 the mind of the writer from the truth, may yet cause it to be distracted.
 Quæ traduntur ante
 What traditions have been handed down of events before
 urbem conditam condendamve, decora magis
 the city was built or its building was designed, being suitable rather
 fabulis poeticis quam incorruptis monumentis
 to the fictions of poetry than to the authentic records

rerum gestarum, ea in animo est, nec affirmare
of history, these it is my purpose, neither to maintain

nec refellere. Hæc venia datur antiquitati,
nor to refute. This indulgence is conceded to antiquity,

ut miscendo humana divinis, faciat
that by blending things human with divine, it may make

primordia urbium augustiora. Et si cui populo
the origin of cities seem more venerable. And if any people

oportet licere, consecrare suas origines,
might be allowed, to consecrate their origin,

et referre ad deos auctores, ea est gloria belli
and attribute it to the gods as its authors, such is the renown in war

Romano populo, ut, cum ferat Martem
of the Roman people, that, when they represent Mars

potissimum suum parentem sui conditorisque,
in particular as their own parent and that of their founder,

gentes humanæ patiantur et hoc tam æquo animo,
the nations of mankind may take up with this [also] as patiently

quam patiuntur imperium. Sed utcumque
as they submit to their sovereignty. But in whatever way

hæc et his similia animadversa aut
these and such-like matters shall be attended to or

existimata erunt, equidem haud ponam in
judged of, I for my part shall not deem of

magno discrimine.
great importance.

Mihi quisque pro se acriter intendat
In my opinion every one should for himself earnestly apply

animum ad illa, quæ vita, qui mores fuerint;
his mind to these points: what their life, and what their manners were;

per quos viros, quibusque artibus imperium sit et
through what men, and by what measures, the empire was both

partum et auctum: deinde, disciplina paulatim
acquired and extended: then, as discipline gradually

labente, sequatur animo mores, primo velut
declined, let him follow in his thought their morals, at first, as it were

dissidentes, deinde, ut lapsi sint magis magisque, tum
leaning aside, anon, how they sunk more and more, then

cœperint ire præcipites, donec perventum est ad
 began to fall precipitate, until he arrives at

hæc tempora, quibus possumus pati nec nostra
 the present times, in which we can endure neither our

vitia nec remedia. Hoc illud est præcipue
 vices nor their antidotes. This it is which is particularly

salubre ac frugiferum in cognitione rerum, te intueri
 salutary and profitable in the study of history, that you behold

dœmenta omnis exempli posita in illustri
 illustrations of every kind of conduct displayed on a conspicuous

monumento; inde capias tibi
 monument; that from thence you may select, for yourself

tusæque reipublicæ, quod imitere; inde
 and for your country, that which you may imitate; thence

foedum inceptu, foedum
note what is dishonorable in the undertaking, and dishonorable

exitu, quod vites.
 in the result, which you may avoid.

Ceterum aut amor negotii suscepti
 But either a predilection for the task undertaken

fallit me, aut nulla unquam fuit respublica nec major,
 deceives me, or there never was any state either greater,

nec sanctor, nec ditior bonis exemplis; nec civitatem
 or more moral, or richer in good examples; nor a city,

in quam avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint tam
 into which avarice and luxury made their entrance so

seræ, nec ubi honos paupertati ac parsimonie
 late, or where the esteem for poverty and frugality

fuerit tantus ac tam diu; adeo
 was so great and continued so long; so that

quante minus rerum, tanto minus cupiditatis
 the less wealth there was, the less desire

erat. Nuper divitiæ invexere avaritiam,
 was there. Of late riches have introduced a greediness for gain,

et abundantes voluptates desiderium, per
 and excessive pleasures, a longing for them, amidst

luxum atque libidinem pereundi
 luxury and a wanton desire for ruining ourselves

perdendique omnia. and destroying everything <i>else</i> .	Sed But	querelæ let complaints, <i>which</i>
futuræ ne quidem tum gratæ, will not even then be agreeable,	cum when	forsitan perhaps
necessariæ erunt, they will be necessary,	absint be <i>kept</i> away	certe ab initio at least from the first stage
ordiendæ tantæ rei. of commencing so great a work.	Potius inciperemus, Rather would we begin,	si if
mos esset nobis quoque, it were customary with us [also],	ut poetis, as <i>it is</i> with poets,	libentius more cheerfully
cum bonis ominibus with good omens	votisque and vows	et precationibus and prayers
deorum to the gods	dearumque, and goddesses,	ut darent that they would grant
successus <i>success</i>	orsis to our endeavors	prosperos abundant
	tanti operis. in so arduous a task.	

CONTENTS OF BOOK I

I, II. Arrival of *Æneas* in Italy, and his achievements there. III. The reign of *Ascanius* in Alba, and of the other *Sylvian* kings. IV. The daughter of *Numitor*, enceinte by *Mars*, gives birth to *Romulus* and *Remus*. V. *Amulius* killed. VI. City built by *Romulus*. VIII. Senate formed. X. The grand spoils offered to *Jupiter Feretrius*. XI. War with the *Sabines*. XIII. The people divided into *curias*. XIV, XV. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes* vanquished. XVI. *Romulus* deified. XVIII. etc. *Numa Pompilius* institutes the rites of religious worship; builds a temple to *Janus*, and, having made peace with all the surrounding states, closes it for the first time. Pretending that he has nightly meetings with the goddess *Egeria*, he conciliates the savage dispositions of his subjects to religion. XXII. etc. *Tullus Hostilius* attacks the *Albans* in war. XXV. Battle of the three twin brothers. XXVI. *Horatius* acquitted. Punishment of *Mettius Fufetius*. Alba demolished; the *Albans* received into the number of the citizens. War declared against the *Sabines*. *Tullus* killed by lightning. XXXII. *Ancus Martius* renews the ceremonies instituted by *Numa*. XXXIII. Conquers the *Latins*, and, conferring on them the right of citizenship, assigns them the *Aventine* hill. Having attacked *Politorium*, a city of the *Latins*, a second time by force of arms, because the ancient *Latins* had taken possession of it, he razes it to the ground; builds a wooden bridge across the *Tiber*; adds the hill *Janiculum* to the city; enlarges the bounds of the empire; and builds *Ostia*. He reigns twenty-four years. XXXIV. In his reign *Lucumo*, son of *Demaratus* of *Corinth*, came from *Tarquintii*, a city of *Etruria*, to *Rome*, and, received into the confidence of *Ancus*, assumes the name of *Tarquinius*, and after the death of *Ancus* usurps the throne. XXXV. He increases the number of senators by adding a hundred; subdues the *Latins*, marks out the *circus*, institutes public games. Attacked in a war with the *Sabines*, he augments the centuries of knights. For the purpose of testing the art of *Attius Navius* the augur, he is said to have consulted him, whether that could be done which he (*Tarquinius*) was thinking on; and when he replied that it certainly could, he commanded him to cut a whetstone asunder with a razor, and it was immediately done by the augur. The *Sabines*, moreover, he defeats in a pitched battle; surrounds

the city with a wall, and makes the common sewers. XL. He is killed by the sons of Ancus, after he had reigned thirty-eight years. XLI. Servius Tullius succeeds him on the throne, the son of a well-born captive of Corniculum, while he was yet in his cradle, the boy's head is said to have blazed with fire. He routs the Veientes and Etrurians in battle; is the first to institute the census; and closes the lustrum, in which eighty thousand citizens are said to have been enrolled; divides the people into lasses and centuries; enlarges the Pomerium, and adds the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline hills to the city. XLV. He builds a temple to Diana in conjunction with the Latins. XLVII, XLVIII. Is killed by Lucius Tarquin, son of Priscus, at the instigation of his own daughter Tullia, after he had reigned forty-four years. XLIX. After him Lucius Tarquin, the Proud, assumes the government without the order of the Senate or the people. On the same day the impious Tullia drives her chariot over the body of her father, lying on the ground. He keeps a body of armed men about himself as a safeguard to his person; puts to death Turnus Herdonius by foul means. LIII. Wages war with the Volscians, and with their spoils builds a temple to Jupiter in the Capitol. By a stratagem of his son Sextus, he gets into his possession the city of Gabii. LVI. His sons having set out for Delphi, to consult the oracle as to which of them should be king at Rome, the reply is given, that he should be king who would first kiss his mother. When they construed this response in a different sense, Junius Brutus, who had gone with them, pretends that he stumbled and fell, and kisses the earth; and the issue of the matter confirms this act of his. For when, by his imbecile behaviour, Tarquin the Proud had led all his subjects to cherish contempt and hatred for him, he is at length banished, principally by the instrumentality of Brutus, on account of the forcible violation, at night, by his son Sextus, of Lucretia's chastity, who, on summoning to herself Tricipitinus her father, and her husband Collatinus, makes them swear that her death shall not remain unavenged, and stabs herself with a knife. LX. After this Consuls are elected for the first time, viz: L. Junius Brutus, and L. Tarquinius Collatinus. [U. O. 1-245; B. O. 751-507.]

LIBER PRIMUS.

BOOK FIRST.

CHAPS. I—XXVI. XXXII—XXXV. XXXIX—XLI. XLV—XLIX.
LIII. LVI—LX.

JAM	primum omnium	satis constat,	Troja
	Now first of all	it is sufficiently certain, that,	Troy
capta,		sæviturum esse	in
having been taken,		vengeance was visited	upon
ceteros Trojanos;		duobus,	Æneæ
all the other Trojans;		but that towards two,	Æneas
Antenorique,	Achivos abstinuisse	omne jus belli,	
and Antenor,	the Greeks forbore	all the rights of war,	
et jure	vetusti hospitii,	et	quia
both in virtue	of an old tie of friendship,	and	because
semper fuerunt	auctores pacis	reddendæque	
they had always been	advisers of peace	and of the restoration	
Helenæ.	Deinde,	variis casibus	Antenorem
of Helen.	Then,	that after various reverses	Antenor
venisse in	intimum sinum	Hadriatici maris,	cum
came into	the innermost bay	of the Adriatic sea,	with
multitudine	Enetûm,	qui,	pulsi
a multitude	of the Heneti,	who,	having been driven
			out of
Paphlagonia	seditione,	quærebant	et sedes
Paphlagonia	in a civil war,	were seeking	both a settlement
et ducem,	rege	Pylæmene	amisso
and a leader,	their king	Pylæmenes	having been lost
			at
Trojam;	que	pulsis Euganeis,	qui
Troy;	and that,	after expelling the Euganei,	who

incolabant dwelt	inter mare between the sea	et and	Alpesque, the Alps,	Enetos the Heneti
Trojanosque and Trojans	tenuisse took possession of	eas terras; those lands;	et locum and the place,	
in quem at which	primum egressi sunt, they first landed,	vocatur Troja, is called Troy,	inde whence	
que also	nomen est is the name	Trojano pago; for the Trojan canton;	gens universa but the nation at large	
appellati Veneti. is called Veneti.	Ænean, That Æneas,	profugum domo driven from home		
ab simili clade, by a like disaster,	sed fatis ducentibus but the fates leading him	ad initia to the founding		
majora rerum, of a greater state,	venisse primo came first	in Macedoniam, to Macedonia,		
inde thence,	quærentem sedes in search of a settlement,	delatum in Siciliam; he sailed to Sicily;		
ab Sicilia that from Sicily	tenuisse classe he proceeded with his fleet	ad Laurentem to the Laurentian		
agrum. territory.	Huic loco et To this place also	est is given	nomen Troja. the name of Troy.	
Cum Trojani, When the Trojans,	egressi ibi, having landed there,	agerent prædam were driving plunder		
ex agris, from the fields,	ut as being	quibus, persons to whom,	ab prope after their almost	
immenso errore, immeasurable wandering,	nihil superesset nothing was left	præter besides	arma their arms	
et naves,— and ships,—	Latinus rex Latinus the king	Aboriginesque, and the Aborigines,	qui tum who then	
tenebant ea loca, occupied those places,	concurrunt armati assembled in arms	ex urbe from the city		
atque agris and country,	ad arcendam vim advenarum. to repel the violence of the strangers.	Inde From here		
fama est duplex: the account is two-fold:	alii tradunt, some say,	Latinum that Latinus,		
victum proelio being overcome in battle,	junxisse contracted	pacem, first a peace,	deinde and then	
affinitatem an alliance,	cum Ænea; with Æneas;	alii, others,	cum acies that when the armies	

constitissent instructæ, priusquam signa
 took their stand in battle array, before the signals
 canerent, Latinum processisse inter primores,
were sounded, Latinus advanced in the front,
 que evocasse ducem advenarum ad colloquium ;
 and invited the leader of the newcomers to a conference ;
 deinde percunctatum, qui mortales essent, unde
 that he then inquired, who they were, whence
 aut quo casu profecti domo,
they had come, or by what calamity driven from home,
 quidvè quærentes exissent in Laurentinum agrum ;
 or in quest of what they had landed on the Laurentine territory ;
 postquam audierit multitudinem esse Trojanos,
 after he heard that the host were Trojans,
 ducem Æneam, filium Anchisæ et Veneris,
 their leader Æneas, son of Anchises and Venus, *that,*
 profugos patria et domo
 having made their escape from their country and homes
 cremata, quærere sedem locumque
 committed to the flames, they were seeking a settlement and a place
 condendæ urbis ; et admiratum nobilitatem
 for building a city ; and, struck with admiration of the high rank
 gentis virique, et animum paratum
 of the nation and of the hero, and their spirit prepared
 vel bello vel paci, sanxisse fidem
 alike for war or for peace, he confirmed the pledge
 futuræ amicitis data dextera. Inde
 of his future friendship by giving his right hand. *That thereupon*
 foedus ictum inter duces, salutationem factam
 a league was struck between the leaders, and salutations exchanged
 inter exercitus : Æneam fuisse in hospitio
 between the armies : that Æneas was received with hospitality
 apud Latinum ; ibi apud
 at the house of Latinus ; that there, in the presence of
 penates deos Latinum adjunxisse
 the household gods, Latinus added
 domesticum foedus publico, data Æneæ filia
 a family league to the public one, by giving Æneas his daughter

in matrimonium.
in marriage.

Ea res
This event

utique affirmat
fully confirms

Trojanis
the Trojans

spem tandem finiendi erroris
in the hope of at length terminating their wandering

stabili certa que sede ;
by a fixed and permanent settlement ;

condunt oppidum :
they build a town :

Æneas appellat
Æneas calls it

Lavinium
Lavinium

ab nomine uxoris.
after the name of his wife.

Brevi quoque
In a short time too,

virilis fuit stirps
a son was the issue

ex novo
of the new

matrimonio,
marriage,

cui
to whom

parentes
his parents

dixere
gave

nomen Ascanium.
the name of Ascanius.

II.—Aborigines Trojanique The Aborigines and Trojans

deinde petiti
were soon after attacked

simul
together

bello.
in war.

Turnus,
Turnus,

rex Rutulorum,
king of the Rutulians,

cui Lavinia pacta fuerat
to whom Lavinia had been affianced

ante adventum Æneæ,
before the arrival of Æneas,

ægre patiens
mortified

advenam
that a stranger

prælatum sibi,
should be preferred to him,

intulerat bellum
made war

Æneæ
upon Æneas

Latinoque simul.
and Latinus together.

Neutra acies
Neither army

abiit
came off

ex eo
from that

certamine
contest

læta :
with cause for rejoicing :

Rutuli
the Rutulians

victi,
were vanquished,

victores Aborigines
the victorious Aborigines

Trojanique
and Trojans

amisere ducem
lost their leader

Latinum.
Latinus.

Inde
Whereon

Turnus
Turnus

Rutulique,
and the Rutulians

diffisi rebus,
diffident of their strength,

confugiunt
have recourse

ad florentes opes
to the flourishing state.

Etruscorum
of the Etrurians

Mezentiumque,
and Mezentius,

eorum regem ;
their king

qui,
who

imperitans Cære, tum opulento oppido,
 holding *his* court at Cære, at that time an opulent town,
 minime lætus jam inde ab initio
being by no means pleased from the very beginning
 origine novæ urbis, et tum ratus,
 at the founding of the new city, and then convinced,
 Trojanam rem crescere nimio plus, quam esset
 hat the Trojan power was increasing far more than was
 satis tutum accolis, haud gravatim
 altogether safe for the neighboring states, without reluctance
 junxit arma socia Rutulis. Æneas,
 joined his forces in alliance with the Rutulians. Æneas,
 ut conciliaret sibi animos Aboriginum
in order that he might win to himself the minds of the Aborigines,
 adversus terrorem tanti belli, appellavit
 in view of the terror of so serious a war, called
 utramque gentem Latinos, omnes essent
 both nations Latins, so that they might all be
 nec solum sub eodem jure, sed etiam nomine.
 not only under the same laws, but also the same name.
 Nec deinde Aborigines cessere Trojanis
 Nor after that did the Aborigines yield to the Trojans
 studio ac fide erga regem Æneam : fretusque
 in zeal and fidelity towards their king Æneas : relying, too,
 his animis duorum populorum in dies
 upon this disposition of the two nations, who were daily
 coalescentium magis, quamquam Etruria
 coalescing more and more, although Etruria
 erat tanta opibus, ut jam implesset
 was so prominent in power, that it already filled
 fama sui nominis non solum terras sed
 with the fame of its prowess not only the land but
 mare etiam, per totam longitudinem Italiae,
 the sea also, through the whole length of Italy
 ab Alpibus ad Siculum fretum, tamen,
 from the Alps to the Sicilian strait, yet,
 cum posset propulsare bellum mœnibus,
 when he might have repelled the war by means of fortifications,

eduxit he marched out	copias in aciem. his forces to the field.	Inde proelium Thereupon a battle
secundum Latinis,— <i>opened</i> , successful to the Latins,	ultimum the last	etiam also
mortalium operum of the mortal acts	Æneæ. of Æneas.	Situs est— He was buried
quemcumque (whatever <i>appellation</i>	jus fasque est it is humanly and divinely lawful	eum that he
dici— be called <i>by</i>)	super upon	Numicum fluvium : the banks of the river Numicus :
appellant they style him	Jovem indigitem. "Jupiter Indiges."	

III.—Ascanius, filius Æneæ, Ascanius, son of Æneas,		erat nondum was not yet
maturus old enough	imperio ; for <i>assuming</i> the government ;	tamen nevertheless
id imperium that government	mansit incolume remained secure	ei for him
ad puberem ætatem. till the age of maturity.	Tantisper In the interval,	Latina res the Latin state
et regnum avitum paternumque and the kingdom of his grandfather and father		stetit puero were preserved for the boy
tutela muliebri— under the regency of his mother,	tanta indoles such capacity	erat in Lavinia. was there in Lavinia.
Haud ambigam— I am not without <i>some</i> doubts	enim quis (for who	affirmet can affirm
pro certo with certainty	rem tam veterem ?— a matter of such antiquity ?)	hiccine whether this
fuerit Ascanius, was the Ascanius,	an major or one older	quam hic, than he,
natus matre Creusa born of Creusa	Ilio when Troy	incolumi, had not yet fallen,
comesque paternæ fugæ inde, and the companion of his father's flight from thence,		eundem quem the same who—,
Iulum being called Iulus,	Julia gens the Julian nation	nuncupat auctorem claim as the founder

sui nominis. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacumque
of their name. This Ascanius, wheresoever and of whatsoever

matre genitus,— certe constat natum Ænea,—
mother born, (it is at least certain that he was the son of Æneas,)

abundante multitudine Lavinii relinquit
on account of the excessive population of Lavinium left that

jam florentem atque, ut res tum erant, opulentam
already flourishing and, as circumstances then were, wealthy

urbem matri seu novercæ; condidit ipse
city to his mother or step-mother; and built himself

novam aliam sub Albano monte, quæ,
a new one at the foot of the Alban mount, which,

ab situ urbis porrectæ in dorso,
from the situation of the city, being stretched along the ridge

appellata Alba Longa. Inter
of the hill, was called Alba Longa. Between

Lavinium et deductam coloniam
the building of Lavinium and the transplanting the colony

Albam Longam, ferme triginta anni interfuere.
to Alba Longa, only about thirty years intervened.

Tamen opes creverant tantum, maxime
Yet its power had increased so rapidly, especially

fusis Etruscis, ut ne quidem morte
after the defeat of the Etrurians, that not even on the death

Æneæ, nec deinde inter tutelam muliebrem
of Æneas, nor afterwards, during the regency of a woman

primum rudimentumque puerilis regni, aut
and the first essay of a youthful reign, did either

Mezentius Etruscique, aut ulli alii
Mezentius and the Etrurians, or any other

accolæ ausi sint movere arma.
of the bordering nations attempt to inaugurate hostilities

Pax convenerat ita, ut fluvius Albula,
A peace was agreed on to this effect, that the river Albula,

quem nunc vocant Tiberim, esset finis
which they now call Tiber, should be the boundary

Etruscis Latinisque. Deinde Silvius, filius
between the Etrurians and Latins. After him Silvius, the son

Ascanii, natus quodam casu in silvis, regnat :
 of Ascanius, born by some accident in the woods, ascends the throne
is creat Ænean Silvium, **is deinde**
 he beget Æneas Silvius, who afterwards beget
Latinum Silvium : ab eo aliquot coloniæ,
 Latinus Silvius : by him several colonies,
appellati Prisci Latini, deductæ ; postea
 called the ancient Latins, were transplanted ; from this time
cognomen Silviis mansit omnibus qui
 the surname of Silvius continued to be given to all the princes who
regnauerunt Albæ. Latino ortus Alba ; Alba,
 reigned at Alba. From Latinus sprung Alba ; from Alba,
Atys ; Atye, Capys ; Capye, Capetus ;
 Atys ; from Atys, Capys ; from Capys, Capetus ;
Capeto, Tiberinus ; qui, submersus in trajecto
 from Capetus, Tiberinus ; who, being drowned in crossing
amnis Albulæ, dedit flumini nomen celebre
 the river Albulæ, gave to that stream a name so celebrated
ad postereros. Inde Agrippa, filius Tiberini
 among his posterity. Then Agrippa, the son of Tiberinus ;
post Agrippam Romulus Silvius regnat,
 after Agrippa Romulus Silvius reigns.
accepit imperio a patre : ipse, ictus
 having received the kingdom from his father : the latter, being struck
fulmine, tradidit per manus regnum Aventino
 by lightning, demised the kingdom to Aventinus,
is, sepultus in eo colle, qui est nunc pars
 who, being buried on that hill, which is now a part
urbis Romanæ, fecit cognomen colli. Deinde
 of the city of Rome, gave his name to it. After him
regnat Proca ; is procreat Numitorem atque
 reigns Proca ; he begets Numitor and
Amulium ; Numitori, qui erat maximus stirps,
 Amulius ; to Numitor, who was the eldest son,
legat vetustum regnum Silvix gentis. Tamen
 he bequeaths the ancient kingdom of the Silvan family. But
vis potuit plus, quam voluntas patris aut
 force prevailed more, than the will of the father or

verecundia ætatis : pulso fratre, Amulius
 the respect for seniority : having expelled his brother, Amulius
 regnat. Addit scelus sceleri ; interemit
 takes the throne. He adds crime to crime ; murders
 fratris virilem stirpem, per speciem honoris
 his brother's male issue, and under pretence of doing honour
 fratris filiæ, Rææ Silvæ, cum legisset eam
 to his brother's daughter, Rhea Silvia, having made her
 Vestalem, perpetua virginitate adimit
 a Vestal, by a vow of perpetual virginity he deprives her of
 spem partus.
 all hope of issue.

IV.—Sed, ut opinor, origo tantæ urbis, que
 But, in my opinion, the origin of so great a city, and
 principium imperii, maximi secundum
 the first establishment of an empire, in greatness next to
 opes deorum, debebatur fati. Vestalis,
 the kingdom of the gods, was due to the fates. The Vestal Rhea,
 compressa vi, cum edidisset geminum partum,
 being deflowered by force, when she had brought forth twins,
 nuncupat Martem patrem incertæ stirpis,
 declares Mars to be the father of her doubtful offspring,
 seu rata, seu quia dens erat
 either because she really thought so, or because a god was
 honestior auctor culpæ. Sed nec dii,
 a more creditable author of her transgression. But neither gods,
 nec homines vindicant aut ipsam aut stirpem
 nor men protect her or her children
 a crudelitate regia : sacerdos vincta
 from the cruelty of the king : the priestess, being loaded with chains,
 datur in custodiam ; pueros jubet mitti
 is cast into prison ; the children he orders to be thrown
 in profluentem aquam. Forte quadam divinitus
 into the stream of the river. It happened providentially
 Tiberis effusus super ripas lenibus stagnis, nec
 that the Tiber had overflowed its banks in stagnant pools, nor

poterat adiri usquam ad amnis justī cursum ;
could it be approached anywhere near its regular channel ;

et dabat spem ferentibus, infantes
and raised the expectation in the minds of the bearers, that the infants

posse mergi aqua quamvis languida : ita,
could be drowned in water however still : accordingly,

velut defuncti regis imperio, exponunt pueros
as if fulfilling the king's command, they expose the boys

in proxima alluvie, ubi nunc est ficus Ruminālis,—
in the nearest land-flood, where now stands the ficus Ruminālis,—

ferunt vocatam Romularem. Erant tum
they say that it was called Romularis. There were at that time

vastæ solitudines in his locis. Fama tenet,
vast deserts in those parts. Tradition has it,

cum aqua tenuis, destituisset fluitantem alveum,
that when the water, subsiding, had left the floating trough,

quo pueri expositi erant, in sicco,
in which the children had been exposed, on dry ground,

sitientem lupam, ex montibus qui sunt circa,
a thirsty she-wolf, from the mountains which are in the vicinity,

flexisse cursum ad vagitum puerilem ; eam
directed her course to the cries of the infants ; and that she

præbuisse mammas submissas infantibus adeo
held her dugs down to them with so much

mitem, ut magister regii pecoris invenerit
gentleness, that the keeper of the king's flock found

lambentem pueros lingua. Ferunt nomen fuisse
her licking the boys with her tongue. They say his name was

Faustulo ; datos ab eo ad stabula
Faustulus ; and that they were brought by him to his hut,

educandos uxori Larentiæ. Sunt, qui putent
to be nursed by his wife Larentia. There are some who are of opinion

Larentiam vocatam lupam inter pastores,
that this Larentia was called Lupa among the shepherds, from her

vulgato corpore : inde datum locum
being a common prostitute : that thence was furnished the occasion

miraculo ac fabulæ. Ita geniti, itaque educati,
for the fabulous myth. The children thus born. and thus educated,

cum primum ætas adolevit, segnes nec
 as soon as their age was matured, loitered neither
 in stabulis nec ad pecora, peragrarè saltus
 at the stables nor among the cattle, but traversed the forests
 venando: hinc sumpto robore corporibus animisque,
 in hunting: hence acquiring vigor of body and mind,
 jam non tantum subsistere feras, sed facere
 they began not only to encounter wild beasts, but to make
 impetus in latrones, onustos præda, dividereque
 attack upon robbers, loaded with booty, and divided
 rapta pastoribus; et cum his,
 the spoils with the shepherds; and in company with these,
 grege juvenum in dies crescente, celebrare
 the number of their young associates daily increasing, they carried on
 seria ac jocos.
 their business and their sports.

V.—Hoc ludicrum Lupercal, ferunt, fuisse
 Our present festival of the Lupercal, they say, was
 jam tum in Palatio monte,— et appellatum
 even at that time practised on the Palatine hill, and that this was called
 Pallantium, a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, dein
 Palatium, from Pallanteum a city of Arcadia, and afterwards
 Palatium montem:— Evandrum, qui
 the Palatine hill: that Evander, who was
 ex eo genere Arcadum multis tempestatibus ante
 of that tribe of Arcadians which for many years before
 tenuerat loca, instituisse ibi sollemne
 had possessed that country, had instituted there the festivity,
 allatum ex Arcadia, ut juvenes
 brought from Arcadia, in such manner, that young men
 currebant nudi per lusum atque lasciviam,
 were to run about naked in sport and wantonness,
 venerantes Lycæum Pana, quem Romani
 doing honor to Lycean Pan, whom the Romans
 deinde vocaverunt Inuum. Latrones ob iram
 afterwards called Inuus. That the robbers through rage

amissæ prædæ insidiatos deditis
 at the loss of *their* booty, having lain in wait for them *whilst* intent
 huic ludicro, cum sollemne esset notum, cum
 on this sport, (as the festival was *now* well known,) whilst
 Romulus vi se defendisset,
 Romulus vigorously defended himself,
 cepisse Remum ;
 took Remus prisoner ;
 tradidisse captum regi Amulio,
that they delivered him up, *when* taken, to king Amulius,
 ultro accusantes. Dabant crimini maxime,
grossly impeaching *him*. They laid *it* to *their* charge more particularly,
 impetum fieri ab iis in agros Numitoris ;
 that violence had been done by them to the lands of Numitor ;
 inde, collecta manu juvenum, eos agere
 moreover *that*, having collected a band of young men, they carried on
 prædas in hostilem modum. Sic Remus
 their plunder in a hostile manner. Upon this Remus
 deditur Numitori ad supplicium. Jam inde ab initio
 was delivered to Numitor for punishment. Now from the very beginning
 spes fuerat Faustulo, apud se educari
 the hope had been *cherished* by Faustulus, that he was bringing up
 stirpem regiam : nam et sciebat, infantes
 a progeny of royal blood : for he both knew, that the infants
 expositos jussu regis, et tempus, quo ipse
 had been exposed by order of the king, and that the time, at which he
 eos sustulisset, congruere ad id ipsum ; sed
 had taken them up, corresponded exactly with that *event* ; but
 noluerat aperire immaturam rem, nisi per
 he was unwilling to disclose the *yet* undeveloped matter, unless in *the event*
 aut occasionem aut per necessitatem. Necessitas
 either of a fit opportunity or of necessity. Necessity
 venit prior : ita, subactus metu, aperit rem
 came first : wherefore, constrained by fear, he discovers the affair
 Romulo. Forte et, cum haberet Remum
 to Romulus. By accident also, when he had Remus
 in custodia, audissetque fratres esse
 in custody, and had heard that the brothers were
 geminos, comparando et eorum ætatem, et
 twins, on comparing their age and observing

ipsam indolem minime servilem, memoria
that their disposition was by no means of a servile turn, the recollection
 nepotum tetigerat animum Numitori
of his grandchildren struck Numitor;
 sciscitandoque pervenit eodem,
and on making inquiries he came to the same conclusion,
 ut haud procul esset, quin agnosceret Remum.
so that he was not far from recognizing Remus.
 Ita dolus nectitur regi undique.
Thus a plot is concerted for the king on all sides.
 Romulus, non cum globo juvenum,— enim erat
Romulus, not in company with a band of youths, (for he was
 nec par ad apertam vim,— sed jussis
unequal to open force,) but, ordering
 aliis pastoribus venire certo tempore alio itinere
different shepherds to come at a fixed time, by different roads,
 ad regiam, fecit impetum ad regem; et Remus,
to the palace, forced his way to the king; and Remus,
 alia manu comparata a domo Numitoris,
with another party procured from the house of Numitor,
 adjuvat; ita obtruncant regem.
renders him assistance; and so they kill the king.

VI.—Numitor inter primum tumultum, dictitans
Numitor at the beginning of the tumult, calling out
 hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam,
that enemies had invaded the city and assaulted the palace,
 cum avocasset Albanam pubem, in obtinendam
when he had drawn away the Alban youth, to secure
 arcem præsidio armisque, postquam vident
the citadel with a garrison and arms, after he saw
 juvenes pergere ad se gratulantes
the young men coming towards him with congratulations
 perpetrata cæde, extemplo advocato
upon the perpetration of the murder, instantly calling
 concilio, ostendit scelus
an assembly of the people, represented to them the impious conduct

fratris in se ; originem nepotum, ut
 of his brother towards himself ; the birth of his grandchildren, how
 geniti essent, ut educati, ut cogniti ; deinceps
 they were begotten, how brought up, how discovered ; then *he told them of*

cædem tyranni, que se auctorem.
 the death of the usurper, and that he himself *had been* the instigator of it.

Cum juvenes, ingressi agmine per mediam
 When the young men, coming up with their band through the midst
 concionem, salutassent avum regem, consentiens
 of the assembly, saluted their grandsire king, an approving
 vox secuta ex omni multitudine, efficit ratum regi
 shout following from all the people, ratified to him

nomen imperiumque.
 both that title and the sovereignty

Re Albana ita permissa Numitori,
 The government of Alba having thus been committed to Numitor,

cupido cepit Romulum Remumque condendæ urbis
 a desire seized Romulus and Remus to build a city
 in his locis, ubi expositi erant, ubique educati.
 in the place, where they had been exposed, and brought up.

Et supererat multitudo Albanorum
 And there was an overflowing population of Albans

Latinorumque : pastores quoque accesserant ad id,
 and Latins : the shepherds, too, deferred to this plan,

qui omnes facile facerent spem, Albam fore
 and all these readily inspired the hope, that Alba would be

parvam, Lavinium parvum præ ea urbe,
 but small, Lavinium but a petty town in comparison with the city,

quæ conderetur. Deinde cupido regni,
 which was to be built. But then ambition for rule,

malum avitum, intervenit his cogitationibus
 the bane of their grandfathers, interrupted these designs,

atque inde coörtum foedum certamen a principio
 and thence arose a shameful quarrel from a beginning

satis miti : quoniam gemini essent,
 sufficiently amicable : for as they were twins, and

verecundia ætatis nec facere discrimen, ut
 the respect for seniority could not render a decision, in order that

dii, the gods,	quorum tutelæ under whose guardianship	ea loca essent, the place was,
legerent auguriis, might choose by auguries,	qui daret nomen which should give a name	novæ urbi, to the new city,
qui regeret imperio which have the supremacy	conditam, over it when built,	Romulus Romulus
capiunt Palatium, chose the Palatine,	Remus Aventinum Remus the Aventine	mount
templa as their consecrated stands	ad inaugurandum. to wait the auguries.	

VII.—Fertur Remo augurium venisse priori,—
It is said that to Remus an omen came first,—

sex vultures ; six vultures,	jamque, augurio nuntiato, and now, the omen having been proclaimed,	cum when
duplex numerus double the number	ostendisset sese showed themselves	Romulo, to Romulus,
sua multitudo his own party	consalutaverat saluted	utrumque regem : each king :
illi trahebant regnum the former claimed the kingdom	præcepto tempore, on the ground of the priority of time,	
at hi but the latter	numero avium. on account of the number of birds.	Inde, Upon this,
cum altercatione congressi, having met in altercation,	certamine irarum from the contest of angry feelings	
vertuntur they turn	ad cædem : to bloodshed :	ibi Remus cecidit there Remus fell
ictus from a blow received	in turba. in the crowd.	Vulgatior fama est, A more common account is,
Remum, that Remus,	ludibrio fratris, in derision of his brother,	transiluisse leaped over
novos muros : the new wall :	inde that thereupon	interfectum ab he was slain by
Romulo irato, Romulus in a passion,	cum who, after	increpitans, sharply chiding him,
adjecisset quoque verbis : uttered in addition these words :	" Sic " So perish	quicumque alius every one, who

deinde transiliet mea mœnia."
shall hereafter leap over my fortifications."

Ita Romulus
Thus Romulus

solus potitus imperio ; urbs
[B. C. 751] came into sole possession of the government ; and the city,

condita appellata nomine conditoris.
when built, was called after the name of its founder.

Primum muniit Palatium, in quo ipse
First of all he fortified the Palatine hill, where he himself

erat educatus. Diis aliis facit sacra
had been brought up. To the other gods he offers sacrifices

Albano ritu, Herculi Græco,
after the Alban mode, to Hercules according to the Grecian rite,

ut instituta erant ab Evandro. Memorant
as they had been instituted by Evander. It is recorded

Herculem, interempto Geryone, abegisse
that Hercules, having slain Geryon, drove away

boves mira specie in ea loca ; ac,
his cattle, which were of surprising beauty, into those places ; and that,

ut reficeret boves quiete et læto pabulo, ipsum et
in order to refresh them with rest and the rich pasture, himself also

fessum via, procubuisse prope fluvium
being fatigued with travel, he lay down on the banks of the river

Tiberim herbido loco, qua trajecerat nando,
Tiber in a grassy place, to which he had swam over,

agens armentum præ se. Ibi cum, gravatum
driving the herd before him. There when, satiated

cibo vinoque, sopor oppressisset eum, pastor,
with food and wine, sleep overpowered him, a shepherd,

nomine Cacus, accola ejus loci, ferox viribus,
named Cacus, resident in that region, presuming on his strength,

captus pulchritudine boum,
and struck with the beauty of the cattle,

cum vellet avertere eam prædam, quia,
would fain have made away with that booty, but because,

si compulisset armentum agendo in speluncam,
if he had driven the herd forward into his cave,

ipsa vestigia deductura erant dominum eo
their tracks would have guided their master thence

quærentem, traxit boves caudis aversos
in his search, he dragged the cattle by the tails backwards

in speluncam, quemque eximium pulchritudine.
into the cave, *picking out* those distinguished for *their* beauty.

Hercules, excitus somno ad primam auroram,
Hercules, arousing from his slumbers at the first *approach of dawn*,

cum perlustrasset oculis gregem, et sensisset
when he had taken a view of his herd, and observed

partem numero abesse, pergit ad proximam
that some of the number were missing, went *at once* to the nearest

speluncam, si forte vestigia ferrent eo.
cave, to see if by chance their footsteps would lead *him* thither.

Ubi vidit quæ omnia versa foras, nec ferre
But when he saw that they all pointed outward, nor directed *him*

in aliam partem, confusus atque incertus animi,
to *any* other quarter, perplexed and unsettled in *his* purpose,

occepit agere porro armentum ex infesto loco.
he began to drive forward his herd from that unlucky place.

Cum inde quædam boves actæ
When, upon this, some of the cows, as they were driven off,

mugissent, ut fit, ad desiderium relictarum,
commenced to low, as was natural on missing those *that were* left,

vox boum inclusarum reddita ex spelunca,
the lowings of those *that were* confined, being returned from the cave,

convertit Herculem.
brought Hercules back.

Cum Cacus conatus esset prohibere quem vi
And when Cacus attempted to prevent him by force,

vadentem ad speluncam, ictus clava,
as he was proceeding to the cave, being struck with a club,

occubuit morte, nequidquam invocans fidem
he fell dead, vainly invoking the assistance

pastorum. Tum Evander, profugus ex
of the shepherds. At that time Evander, a fugitive from:

Peloponneso, regebat ea loca magis auctoritate
the Peloponnesus, governed this country more by his influence

quam imperio. Vir venerabilis
than by absolute rule. *He was* a person *highly* reverent

miraculo litterarum,— rei novæ
 for his wonderful *knowledge* of letters,— a discovery quite new
 inter homines rudes artium ;
 to these men ignorant, *as they still were*, of all arts ;
 venerabilior credita divinitate matris
 but more respected on account of the supposed divinity of his mother
 Carmentæ, quam cæ gentes miratæ fuerant
 Carmenta, whom these nations had admired
 fatiloquam, ante adventum Sibyllæ in Italiam.
 as a prophetess, before the coming of the Sibyl into Italy.
 Is tum Evander, excitus concursu pastorum
 This Evander then, alarmed by the concourse of the shepherds,
 trepidantium circa advenam reum
 crowding in confusion around the stranger, guilty *as they declared*
 manifestæ cædis, postquam audivit facinus
 of open murder, after he heard the deed
 facinorisque causam, intuens habitum formamque
 and the cause of the deed, observing the person and mien
 viri aliquantum ampliorem augustioremque
 of the hero *to be* much larger and more majestic
 humana, rogitat, qui vir esset. Ubi accepit
 than human, asked, who the man was. When he learned
 nomen patremque ac patriam, inquit
 his name and father and native country, he said :
 “ Salve, Hercules ! nate Jove, mater,
 “ Hail, Hercules ! son of Jupiter, my mother,
 veridica interpres deûm, cecinit mihi,
 a truth-telling interpreter of the gods, foretold to me,
 te aucturum numerum cœlestium ; tibi que
 that thou shalt increase the number of the celestials ; and *that* to thee
 aram dicatum iri hic, quam gens olim
 an altar shall be dedicated here, which a nation, hereafter
 opulentissima in terris vocet maximam,
 the most powerful in the world, shall call the greatest,
 colatque tuo ritu.” Hercules,
 and honor according to thine own institution.” Hercules,
 data dextra, ait, se accipere
 having given him his right hand, said, that he accepted

omen impleturumque fata
 the omen, and would fulfil the decrees of the fates
 condita ac dicata ara. Ibi tum primum
 by building and consecrating an altar. There then for the first time
 factum sacrum Herculi eximia bove capta
 was performed a sacrifice to Hercules of a chosen heifer taken
 de grege, Potitiis ac Pinariis, maxime
 from the herd, the Potitii and Pinarii, the most
 inclytæ familiæ quæ tum incolebant ea loca,
 distinguished families, which then inhabited these parts,
 adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque.
 having been invited to the service and the entertainment.
 Forte ita evenit, ut Potitii præsto essent ad tempus,
 It so happened, that the Potitii were at hand in due time,
 extaque apponerentur his; extis adesis, Pinarii
 and the entrails were served up to them; these being eaten, the Pinarii
 venirent ad ceteram dapem: inde mansit institutum
 came to the remainder of the feast: hence it continued a rule
 donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne vescerentur
 as long as the Pinarian family existed, that they should not eat
 extis sollemnium. Potitii edocti
 of the entrails of the solemn sacrifices. The Potitii, instructed
 ab Evandro fuerunt antistites ejus sacri per
 by Evander, were directors of that sacred function for
 multas ætates, donec sollemni ministerio familiæ
 many ages, until, the solemn office of their family
 tradito publicis servis, Potitiorum omne genus
 being delegated to public servants, their whole race
 interiit. Hæc una ex omnibus peregrina sacra,
 became extinct. These were the only foreign religious rites, which
 Romulus tum suscepit, fautor jam tum
 Romulus then adopted, being an abettor, even then,
 immortalitatis partæ virtute, ad quam sua fata
 of immortality obtained by merit, to which his own destinies
 ducebant eum.
 were conducting him.

VIII.—*Rebus divinis*

The duties of religion

rite perpetrated,

having been duly performed,

multitudineque

and the multitude

vocata

summoned

ad concilium,

to an assembly,

quæ poterat coalescere

as they could be incorporated

in populi unius corpus

into one people

nulla re præter quam legibus,

by no other method than fixed rules,

dedit jura ;

he gave them a *body of laws* ;

ratus,

and judging, that,

si ipse fecisset

if he made

se venerabilem

himself dignified

insignibus imperii,

by the ensigns of sovereignty,

quæ

they

fore ita sancta

would thus be held sacred

agresti generi hominum,

among *this* uncultured class of men,

fecit se augustiorem

he rendered himself more majestic

cum cetero habitu,

both in his other appointments,

tum maxime

and especially

sumptis

by taking

duodecim lictoribus.

twelve lictors as attendants.

Alii putant,

Some think,

eum

that he

secutum numerum

chose this number

ab numero avium,

from that of the birds, which in the augury

quæ augurio

portenderant

had portended

regnum :

the kingdom to him :

me haud poenitet

I have no objection

esse sententiæ eorum,

to be of the opinion of those,

quibus placet,

who hold,

et

that both

apparitores

the apparitors in general

et hoc genus,

and this particular class of *them*,

quoque ipsum numerum

as well as their number,

ductum

were taken

ab Etruscis

from their Etrurian

finitimis,

neighbors, from whom the curule chair

unde curulis sella

unde toga prætexta

sumpta est ;

were borrowed ;

et Etruscos

and that the Etrurians

ita habuisse,

had such an arrangement,

quod

because,

rege creato communiter

their king being elected in common

ex duodecim

from twelve

populis,

states,

singuli populi dederint

each state gave him

singulos lictores

one lictor.

Interim urbs

Meanwhile the city

crescebat

increased

appetendo

by *their* taking in

alia atque alia loca munitionibus, cum munirent
various lots of ground for buildings, whilst they built

magis in spem futuræ multitudinis, quam
rather with a view to future numbers, than

ad id hominum, quod tum erat. Deinde, ne
for the population, which then was at hand. Then, 'est

magnitudo urbis esset vana, causa
the size of the city might be of no avail, for the purpose

adjiciendæ multitudinis vetere consilio
of augmenting the population according to the ancient policy

condentium urbes, qui, conciendo ad se
of the founders of cities, (who, after collecting to them

obscuram atque humilem multitudinem,
an obscure and mean multitude,

ementiebantur, sibi prolem natam e terra,
used to pretend, that their offspring sprung out of the earth,)

aperit asyllum locum, qui nunc septus est
he opened as a sanctuary a place, which is now enclosed,

descendentibus inter duos lucos. Eo perfruit
as you go down to the two groves. Hither fled

ex finitimis populis, sine discrimine
from the neighboring states, without distinction, whether

liber an servus esset, turba omnis, avida
freeman or bondman, a crowd of all sorts, eager

novarum rerum, idque fuit primum roboris
for a change, and this was the first addition of strength

ad ceptam magnitudinem. Cum jam haud poeniteret
to their rising greatness. When he was now not dissatisfied with

virium, deinde parat consilium
his strength, he next provided a means of direction

viribus : creat centum senatores, sive quia
for that strength : he creates one hundred senators, either because

is numerus erat satis, sive quia erant soli
that number was sufficient, or because there were only

centum, qui possent creari patres.
one hundred, who could name their fathers

Certe appellati	patres	ab honore,	que
They were certainly called	fathers	through respect,	and
eorum progenies	patricii.		
their descendants,	patricians.		

IX.—Jam Romana res erat adeo valida,
 And now the Roman state was become so powerful,
 ut esset par bello cuilibet finitimarum civitatum :
 that it was a match in war for any of the neighboring nations ;
 sed penuria mulierum magnitudo duratura erat
 but from the paucity of women its greatness was likely to last
 ætatem hominis ; quippe quibus essent
 but one age of man ; for they had
 nec spes prolis domi, nec connubia
 no hope of issue at home, nor had they any intermarriages
 cum finitimis. Tum, ex consilio patrum,
 with their neighbors. Therefore, upon the advice of the fathers,
 Romulus misit legatos circa vicinas gentes,
 Romulus sent ambassadors round to the adjoining states,
 qui peterent societatem connubiumque
 who were to solicit an alliance and the privilege of intermarriage
 novo populo : urbes quoque, ut
 for his new subjects : he intimated to them that cities, too, like
 cetera, nasci ex infimo ; dein,
 every thing else, rose from low beginnings ; that, in time,
 quas dii ac sua virtus juvent,
 those, which the gods and their own merit supported,
 facere sibi magnas opes magnumque nomen ;
 procured to themselves great power and great renown ;
 satis scire et deos adfuisse origini
 that he knew full well, both that the gods had favored the founding
 Romanæ, et virtutem non defuturam : proinde
 of Rome, and that merit would not be wanting : wherefore,
 homines ne gravarentur miscere sanguinem
 as men they should feel no reluctance to mix their blood
 ac genus cum hominibus. Nusquam
 and race with men. Nowhere

legatio benigne audita est :

was the embassy favorably heard :

adeo

so much

simul spernebant, simul metuebant sibi ac
 did they at the same time despise, and dread for themselves and

suis posteris, tantam molem crescentem in medio :
 their posterity, so great a power growing up in their midst :

ac dimissi a plerisque rogitantibus,
 accordingly they were dismissed by the greater part with the question,

ecquod aperuissent asylum feminis quoque,
 whether they had opened an asylum for women also,

enim id fore demum compar connubium.
 for that this would be the only suitable plan for intermarriage.

Romana pubes passa id ægre, et
 The Roman youth resented this conduct bitterly, and

res haud dubie cœpit spectare ad
 the matter evidently began to point towards

vim. Romulus, ut daret aptum
 violence. Romulus, in order that he might afford a favorable

tempus locumque cui, dissimulans
 time and place for this, dissembling

agritudinem animi, ex industria parat sollemnes
 his displeasure, purposely prepares solemn

ludos equestri Neptuno Consualia :
 games in honor of the equestrian Neptune ; he calls them Consualia :

deinde jubet spectaculum indici finitimis ;
 he then orders the spectacle to be proclaimed among their neighbors ;

concelebrantque, quanto
 and they (*i. e. his people*) prepare for the celebration with all

apparatu tum sciebant, aut poterant,
 the magnificence they then knew of, or were capable of doing.

ut facerent rem claram expectatamque.
 that they might render the matter famous and an object of expectation.

Multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndæ
 Great numbers of people assembled, from a desire also of seeing

novæ urbis ; maxime quique proximi,
 the new city ; especially their nearest neighbors :

Cæninenses, Crustumini, Antemnates
 the Cæninenses, Crustumini, and Antemnates.

Jam omnis multitudo Sabinorum venit
Moreover the whole multitude of the Sabines came

cum conjugibus ac liberis : hospitaliter invitati
with their wives and children : having been hospitably invited

per domos, cum vidissent situm
to the *different* houses, when they had viewed the situation

mœniaque, et urbem frequentem tectis,
and fortifications, and the city crowded with houses,

mirantur Romanam rem crevisse
they were astonished that the Roman power had increased

tam brevi.
so rapidly.

Ubi tempus spectaculi venit,
When the time for the spectacle arrived, [v. c. 4 ; a. c. 748,]

que mentes cum oculis deditæ erant eo,
and *while* their minds and eyes were intent upon it,

tum, ex composito, vis orta ; signoque dato,
then, according to concert, a tumult began ; and upon a signal given,

Romana juvenus discurrit ad rapiendas
the Roman youth ran different ways to carry off

virgines. Magna pars raptæ forte,
the young women. A great number were borne away at hap-hazard,

in quem quæque inciderat ; homines ex plebe,
according as they fell into their hands ; persons from the common people,

quibus negotium datum erat, deferebant domos
to whom the task had been assigned, conveyed to their houses

quasdam excellentes forma, destinatas
some *women* of surpassing beauty, being designed

primoribus patrum. Ferunt unam, longe
for the principal senators. They say that one, highly

insignem ante alias specie ac pulchritudine
distinguished above the rest for her stature and beauty,

raptam a globo cujusdam Thalassii
was carried off by the party of one Thalassius,

multisque sciscitantibus, cuinam ferrent eam,
and whilst many inquired, to whom they were carrying her,

clamitatum identidem, ne quis violaret,
they cried out every now and then, in order that no one might molest her,

ferri Thalassio; inde hanc vocem
that she was being taken to Thalassius; whence the cry
 factam nuptialem. Ludicro turbato per metum,
became a nuptial one. The festival being disturbed by this alarm,
 parentes virginum profugiunt moesti,
the parents of the young women retired full of grief,
 incusantes foedus violati hospitii, que
inveighing against the compact of violated hospitality, and
 invocantes deum, ad cujus sollemne ludosque
invoking the god, to whose solemn festival and games
 venissent, decepti per fas ac fidem.
they had come, deceived under color of religion and good faith.
 Nec aut est melior spes de se,
Neither were better hopes with regard to themselves,
 aut minor indignatio raptis;
or less indignation entertained by the ravished virgins;
 sed Romulus circumibat ipse docebatque,
however, Romulus went about in person and declared,
 id factum superbia patrum,
"that this proceeding had been occasioned by the pride of their fathers,
 qui negassent finitimis connubium;
who had denied their neighbors the privilege of intermarriage;
 tamen, illas fore in matrimonio,
that notwithstanding this they should be joined in lawful wedlock,
 in societate omnium fortunarum
be admitted to the common enjoyment of all their possessions
 ci ritatisque, et, quo nihil sit carius
and civil rights, and, than which nothing can be dearer
 humano generi, liberum: modo mollirent
to the human heart, of their common children: they should now soften
 iras, et darent animos, quibus
their resentment, and bestow their affections upon those to whom
 fors dedisset corpora; ex
fortune had consigned their persons." *He added that from*
 injuria sæpe ortam gratiam postmodum;
harsh treatment often sprung mutual regard before long;
 que usuras melioribus viris eo,
and that they should find them better husbands on this account,

quod quisque because every one	adnisurus sit pro se, would strive to his utmost,	cum after
functus sit having performed	suam vicem his duty	officio, in the conjugal office,
ut expleat etiam to make up also	desiderium for the loss	parentium of their parents
patriæque. and native country.	Accedebant To this were added	blanditiæ the caresses
virorum of the husbands	purgantium factum excusing their conduct	cupiditate on the plea of passion
atque amore,— and love,	preces, arguments,	quæ sunt which are
efficaces forcible	ad muliebrem ingenium. with woman's heart.	maxime particularly

X.—Animi raptis et erant jam admodum
The minds of the ravished *virgins* were soon very much

mitigati ; at raptarum parentes tum maxime
soothed ; but their parents then most of all

concitabant civitates veste sordida
sought to rouse the states by putting on mourning apparel,

lacrimisque et querelis. Nec continebant
and tears and complaints. Nor did they confine

indignationes tantum domi, sed congregabantur
their resentment merely to their own homes, but they flocked

undique ad Titum Tatium, regem Sabinorum ;
from all quarters to Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines ;

et, quod nomen Tatii erat maximum
and, because the name of Tatius was the most powerful

in iis regionibus, legationes conveniebant ec.
in those parts, embassies were addressed to him.

Cæninenses, Crustumini et Antemnates
The Cæninenses, Crustumini and Antemnates

erant, ad quos pars ejus injuriæ
were people, to whom a portion of the outrage

pertinebat ; his Tatius Sabinique visi sunt
extended ; to them Tatius and the Sabines seemed

agere lente : ipsi tres populi
 to proceed rather lamely ; wherefore these three states,
 communitur inter se parant bellum. Nec
 joined in a confederacy, make preparations for war. Nor
 quidem Crustumini atque Antemnates movent
 even do the Crustumini and Antemnates bestir
 se satis impigre pro ardore iraque
 themselves briskly enough to suit the impatience and rage
 Cæninensium ; ita nomen Cæninum
 of the Cæninenses ; accordingly, the state of the Cæninenses
 per se ipsum facit impetum in Romanum agrum.
 by itself makes an irruption into the Roman territory.
 Sed Romulus cum exercitu fit obuius vastantibus
 But Romulus, with his army, met them ravaging
 effuse, levique certamine
 the country in a disorderly manner, and by a slight engagement
 docet, iram sine viribus esse vanam.
 teaches them, that rage without power is of no avail.
 Fundit fugatque exercitum, persequitur fusum,
 He defeats and routs their army, pursues it when routed,
 obtruncat et spoliatur regem in proelio :
 kills and despoils their king in battle : and
 occiso hostium duce, capit urbem primo
 having slain the enemy's general, reduces their city at the first
 impetu. Inde reducto victore exercitu,
 assault. From thence having led back his victorious army,
 cum vir magnificus factis, tum
 being both a man glorious in his achievements, and
 haud minor ostentator factorum, ipse escendit
 a no less successful exhibitor of them, he went in state
 in Capitolium, gerens suspensa ferculo
 to the Capitol, carrying before him, suspended on a frame
 apte fabricato ad id spolia hostium
 properly constructed for that purpose, the spoils of the enemy's
 cæsi ducis ; ibique, cum deposuisset ad
 slain general ; and there, after he had laid them down under
 quercum, sacram pastoribus, simul cum dono,
 an oak, held sacred by the shepherds, together with the offering,

designavit fines templo Jovis, addiditque
 he marked out the bounds for a temple of Jupiter, and gave
 cognomen deo : "Jupiter Feretri," inquit,
 a surname to the god : "Jupiter Feretrius," he says,
 "rex Romulus, victor, fero tibi hæc
 "I, king Romulus, upon my victory, offer to thee these
 regia arma, que dedico templum
 royal arms, and to thee I dedicate a temple
 his regionibus, quas modo metatus sum animo,—
 within those regions, which I have now measured out in my mind,
 sedem opimis spoliis, quæ posteri
 as a repository for the grand spoils, which my successors
 sequentes me auctorem, ferent cæsis regibus
 following my example, shall offer on slaying the kings
 ducibusque hostium." Hæc est origo templi,
 and generals of their enemies." This is the origin of that temple,
 quod primum omnium sacratum est Romæ.
 which was the first consecrated in Rome.
 Deinde ita visum diis, nec vocem
 It afterwards so pleased the gods, that neither the prediction
 conditoris templi, qua nuncupavit posteros
 of the founder of the temple, by which he intimated that future
 latus spolia eo, irritam esse,
 generals would carry spoils thither, should prove erroneous,
 nec laudem ejus doni vulgari
 nor that the glory of that offering should be rendered common
 multitudine compotum. Postea, inter tot
 by the great number of those sharing it. In after times, during so many
 annos, tot bella, opima spolia bina parta sunt,—
 years, and so many wars, the grand spoils have been but twice obtained,
 adeo rara fuit fortuna ejus decoris.
 so rare has been the fortunate attainment of that honor.

XI.—Dum Romani ibi gerunt ea,
 Whilst the Romans are there achieving these exploits,
 exercitus Antemnatum, per occasionem
 the army of the Antemnates, in view of the favorable conjuncture

ac solitudinem facit incursionem
 and the absence of *their* military, makes an incursion
 in Romanos fines hostiliter. Romana legio
 into the Roman borders in a hostile manner. A Roman legion,
 ducta raptim ad hos et oppressit
 being marched out in haste against these also, surprised
 palatos in agris; igitur hostes
 them *while* straggling through the fields; accordingly the enem
 fusi primo clamore et impetu, oppidum captum;
 were routed at the first shout and charge; their town taken;
 ovantemque duplici victoria, conjux Hersilia
 and *as he was* exulting for *this* double victory, his consort Hersilia,
 fatigata precibus raptarum orat
 importuned by the entreaties of the captured women, petitions
 Romulum, ut det veniam earum parentibus,
 Romulus, to show favor to their parents,
 et accipiat in civitatem; ita rem
 and admit them to the privilege of citizens; that thus *his* power
 posse coalescere concordia.
 might be strengthened by a reconciliation. *Her request*
 Facile impetratum. Inde profectus contra
 was readily granted. Thereupon he marched against
 Crustumino, inferentes bellum; fuit
 the Crustumini, *who were* carrying on hostilities; but there was
 etiam minus certaminis ibi, quod animi
 even less resistance there, because their spirits
 occiderant cladibus alienis. Coloniae missae
 were sunk by the defeats of their allies. Colonies were sent
 utroque; plures inventi, qui darent nomina
 to both places; but more were found to give in their names
 in Crustumino, propter ubertatem terrae.
 for Crustumino, on account of the fertility of the soil
 Migratum est frequenter et inde Romam,
 Migrations in great numbers were also made from thence to Rome,
 maxime a parentibus ac propinquis raptarum.
 chiefly by the parents and relatives of the ravished women.
 Novissimum bellum ortum ab Sabinis,
 The last war broke out on the part of the Sabines,

que id fuit multo maximum : enim nihil
and it was by far the most formidable : for nothing

actum est per iram aut cupiditatem ; nec
was done through rage or cupidity ; nor

ostenderunt bellum, priusquam intulerunt.
did they make a show of war, before they *actually* began it.

Consilio dolus etiam additus. Spurius Tarpeius
To prudence stratagem also was added. Spurius Tarpeius

præerat Romanæ arci ; Tatius corrumpit
commanded the Roman citadel ; Tatius bribes

hujus virginem filiam auro, ut accipiat
his maiden daughter with gold, to admit

armatos in arcem : ea ierat forte extra
armed soldiers into the citadel : she had gone by chance without

mœnia tum petitur aquam sacris.
the fortifications at the time, to bring water for the sacred rites.

Obrutam armis accepti
Buried beneath their armour, they *who were* admitted

necavere ; seu ut arx videretur potius
crushed her to death ; either that the citadel might seem rather

capta vi, seu causa prodendi
to have been taken by storm, or for the purpose of establishing

exempli, ne quid fidum usquam esset
a precedent, that no faith should, under any circumstances, be kept

proditori. Additur fabulæ, quod
with a traitor. There is an addition to the story, that, as

Sabini vulgo habuerint lævo brachio
the Sabines commonly wore on their left arm

aureas armillas magni ponderis, annulosque
golden bracelets of great weight, and rings

magna specie gemmatis, eam pepigisse
of a large size set with gems, she bargained for

quod haberent in sinistris manibus
what they had on their left hands ;

eo scuta congesta illi pro
hence that their shields were thrown upon her instead of

aureis donis. Sunt, qui dicant.
the golden presents. There are some who say,

ex pacto tradendi quod esset in
 that in pursuance of the agreement to deliver up what was on
 sinistris manibus eam de recto petisse arma ;
 their left hands, she expressly demanded their shields ;
 et, visam agere fraude, ipsam peremptam
 and that, appearing to act with treachery, she was killed
 mercede sua.
 by the reward of her own choosing.

XII.—Sabini tamen tenuere arcem ;
 The Sabines, however, kept possession of the citadel ;
 atque die postero, cum Romanus exercitus
 and on the day after, when the Roman army,
 instructus compleret quod campi est inter
 in order of battle, filled the whole plain that lies between
 Palatium Capitolinumque collem, non
 the Palatine and Capitoline hills, they did not
 descenderunt inde in æquum priusquam,
 come down from thence to the level ground until,
 ira et cupiditate recuperandæ arcis
 resentment and a desire to retake the citadel
 stimulante animos, Romani subiere in adversum.
 firing their spirits, the Romans advanced to an assault.
 Principes utrimque ciebant pugnam,
 Two chiefs one on each side animated the battle, viz.
 Mettius Curtius ab Sabinis, Hostius Hostilius
 Mettius Curtius on the part of the Sabines, Hostus Hostilius
 ab Romanis. Hic ad prima signa
 on that of the Romans. The latter, in the front ranks,
 animo atque audacia sustinebat Romanam rem
 by his spirit and intrepidity supported the Roman cause
 iniquo loco ; ut Hostius cecidit,
 on disadvantageous ground ; but when Hostus fell,
 Romana acies confestim inclinatur, fusaque est
 the Roman line immediately gave way, and was beaten
 ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus,
 to the old gate of the Palatium. Romulus,

et ipse actus fugientium turba, tollens arma
himself too being forced along by the flying crowd, raising his arms

ad cœlum, inquit, "Jupiter, jussus tuis avibus,
towards heaven, says, "O Jupiter, directed by thy birds,

hic in Palatio jeci prima fundamenta urbi :
I here on the Palatine hill laid the first foundation of my city.

" Sabini jam habent arcem
The Sabines already have possession of the citadel,

emptam scelere : inde tendunt huc armati,
purchased by fraud : from thence they are now advancing hither in arms,

superata media valle. At tu,
having already passed the middle of the valley. But do thou,

pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes,
father of gods and men, from hence at least repel the foe,

deme terrorem Romanis, sisteque
remove dismay from the minds of the Romans, and stop

foedam fugam. Voveo templum hic tibi,
their shameful flight. I vow a temple here to thee,

Jovi Statori, quod sit monumentum posteris,
as Jupiter Stator, which shall be a testimony to posterity,

urbem servatam esse tua præsentî ope."
that this city was preserved by thy immediate aid.

Hæc precatus, velut si sensisset preces
Having prayed thus, as if he had perceived that his supplications

auditas, inquit, "hinc, Romani, Jupiter
were heard, he cries out, "here, Romans, Jupiter,

optimus maximus jubet resistere atque
supremely good and great, orders you to halt, and

iterare pugnam." Romani restitere, tamquam
renew the fight." The Romans halted as if

jussi voce cœlesti ; ipse Romulus provolat
commanded by a voice from heaven ; and Romulus himself flew forward

ad primores. Ab Sabinis Mettius Curtius
to the front. On the side of the Sabines, Mettius Curtius

decucurrerat princeps ab arce,
had rushed down at the head of his army from the citadel,

et egerat Romanos effusos quantum spatium est
and driven the Romans in disorder through all that space which is

toto foro ; jam erat nec procul
now occupied by the [whole] forum ; he was already not far
 a porta Palatii, clamitans, " vicinus
from the gate of the Palatium, urying aloud, " We have conquered
 perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes. Jam sciunt,
these perfidious strangers, these dastardly enemies. They now feel
 aliud esse rapere virgines, aliud longe pugnare
that it is one thing to ravish virgins, another, far different, to fight
 cum viris." In eum, hæc gloriantem,
with men." On him, thus vaunting,
 Romulus facit impetum cum globo
Romulus makes an attack with a band
 ferocissimorum juvenum. Mettius forte
of the most courageous youths. Mettius, as it happened,
 tum pugnabat ex equo : eo fuit facilius pelli ;
was then fighting on horseback : hence he was the more easily repulsed ;
 Romani persequuntur pulsum, et alia
the Romans pursue him when repulsed, and the rest
 Romana acies, accensa audacia regis,
of the Roman army, animated by the gallantry of their king,
 fundit Sabinos. Mettius, equo trepidante
rouls the Sabines. Mettius, his horse taking fright
 strepitu sequentium, conjecit sese in paludem ;
at the din of his pursuers, threw himself into a lake ;
 eaque res averterat Sabinos
and this circumstance drew the attention of the Sabines
 periculo tanti viri. Ille et equidem,
at the risk of so important a person. He, however,
 suis adnuentibus ac vocantibus, addito
his own party beckoning and calling to him, acquired fresh
 animo favore multorum, evadit.
courage from the affection of the multitude, and made his escape.
 Romani Sabinique redintegrant prælium
The Romans and Sabines renew the battle
 in convalle media duorum montium, sed
in the valley between the two hills, but
 Romana res erat superior.
Roma was ahead.

XIII.—*Sum Sabinæ mulieres, ex injuria quarum*

At this crisis the Sabine women, from the outrage on whom

bellum	ortum erat,	crinibus passis
the war	was begun,	with hair dishevelled

scissaque veste,	muliebri pavore	victo
and garments torn,	their woman's timidity	being overcome

malis,	ausæ	inferre se
y the sight of such disasters,	had the courage	to throw themselves

inter volantia tela,	facto impetu	ex transverso
amid the flying weapons,	and making a rush	across,

dirimere infestas acies,	dirimere iras ;	orantes
to part the incensed armies,	and to assuage their fury ;	beseeching

hinc patres,	hinc viros,
on the one hand their fathers,	on the other their husbands

soceri	generique,	ne respergerent
that, as fathers-in-law	and sons-in-law,	they would not pollute

se	nefando sanguine,	ne	macularent
themselves	with impious blood,	nor	stain

suos partus	paricidio,—	illi nepotum progeniem
their offspring	with parricide,	the one their grandchildren,

hi liberum.	“ Si piget	affinitatis
the other their children.	“ If you are displeased	with the affinity

inter vos,	si connubii,	vertite iras in nos ;
between you,	if with our intermarriages,	turn your rage against us ;

nos sumus causa belli,	nos	vulnerum
we are the cause of the war,	we	the cause of wounds

ac cædium	viris ac parentibus :	melius peribimus,
and death	to our husbands and parents ;	better we perish,

quam vivemus	viduæ aut orbæ	sine
than live	widowed or fatherless	without

alteris vestrûm.”	Res movet	cum multitudinem,
one or the other of you.”	The circumstance affects	both the multitude

tum duces ;	silentium et repentina quies fit.	Inde
and the leaders ;	silence and a sudden suspension ensue.	Upon this

duces prodeunt	ad fœdus faciendum ;
the leaders come forward	to concert a treaty ;

[U. C. 7 ; B. C. 745.]

nec modo	faciunt pacem,	sed
and they not only	conclude a peace,	but form

unam civitatem **ex duabus.** **Consociant regnam,**
 one state out of two. They associate the regal power,

conferunt omne imperium **Romam.** **Urbe**
 and transfer the entire sovereignty to Rome. The city

ita geminata, **ut tamen aliquid** **daretur**
 being thus doubled, that at least some compliment might be paid

Sabinis, **appellati Quirites** **a Curibus.**
 to the Sabines, they were called Quirites from Cures.

Monumentum ejus pugnae, **appellarunt**
 As a memorial of this battle, they called the place

ubi **equus** **emersus ex profunda palude**
 where the horse, upon getting out of the deep marsh.

primum statuit **Curtium in vado,** **Curtium lacum.**
 first set Curtius in shallow water, the Curtian lake.

Læta pax **repente ex bello** **tam tristi,**
 The happy peace following suddenly upon a war so distressing,

fecit Sabinas **cariores viris ac parentibus,**
 rendered the Sabine women still dearer to their husbands and parents,

et ante omnes **Romulo ipsi.** **Itaque**
 and above all, to Romulus himself. Accordingly,

cum divideret populum **in** **triginta curias,**
 when he divided the people into thirty curiæ,

imposuit earum nomina curiis. **Cum haud dubie**
 he conferred their names upon them. Since, without doubt,

numerus mulierum **fuerit aliquanto major** **hoc,**
 the number of women was considerably greater than this,

id non traditur, **quæ** **darent nomina**
 it is not recorded whether those, who gave their names

curiis, **lectæ sint** **ætate,**
 to the curiæ, were selected on account of their age,

an suis virorumve **dignitatibus,** **an sorte.**
 or their own or their husbands' dignity, or by lot.

Eodem tempore et **tres centuriæ** **equitum**
 At the same time, also, three centuries of knights

conscriptæ sint, **appellati** **Ramnenses ab Romulo.**
 were enrolled, called Ramnenses from Romulus,

Titenses ab T. Tatio; **causa nominis et originis**
 Titenses from Titus Tatius; the reason of the name and origin

Lucerum incerta est. Inde regnum
 of the Luceres is uncertain. Thenceforward the government
 fuit non modo commune, sed concors etiam
 was conducted not only in common, but in concord also
 duobus regibus.
 by the two kings.

XIV.—Post aliquot annos, propinqui regis Tatii
 Several years after, some relatives of king Tatius
 pulsant legatos Laurentium, cumque Laurentes
 beat the ambassadors of the Laurentes, and when the Laurentes
 agerent jure gentium, gratia suorum
 took action according to the law of nations, the influence of his friends
 et preces plus poterant apud Tatium.
 and their importunities had more weight with Tatius.
 Igitur vertit in se pœnam illorum;
 He therefore drew upon himself the punishment due to them;
 nam interficitur Lavinii, concursu facto,
 for he is slain at Lavinium in a tumult raised
 cum eo venisset ad sollemne sacrificium. Eam rem
 on his going thither to an anniversary sacrifice. This proceeding,
 ferunt Romulum tulisse minus ægre quam
 they say, Romulus regarded with less resentment than
 dignum erat; seu ob societatem
 was becoming to him, either because of their association
 regni infidam, seu quia credebat
 in the kingly power lacking cordiality, or because he believed
 haud injuria cæsum. Itaque quidem abstinuit
 that he was deservedly killed. For this very reason, he declined going
 bello; ut tamen injuriæ legatorum
 to war; in order, however, that the ill-treatment of the ambassadors
 regisque cædes expiarentur, fœdus inter
 and the murder of the king might be expiated, the league between
 urbes Romam Laviniumque renovatum est.
 the cities of Rome and Lavinium was renewed.
 Et cum his quidem pax erat insperata;
 For this party, indeed, peace continued contrary to expectation.

aliud bellum ortum multo propius, atque
 another war broke out much nearer *home* and

prope in ipsis portis. Fidenates, rati opes
 almost at the very gates. The Fidenates, thinking that a power

nimis vicinas prope se convalescere, occupabant
 too near to themselves was growing formidable, determine

facere bellum, priusquam esset tantum
 to make war before there should be such a degree

roboris, quantum apparebat futurum.
 of strength, as it was evident there would be.

Armata juventute immissa, quod agri
 An armed body of young men being sent in, all the land, *that*

inter urbem ac Fidenas est vastatur. Inde
 lies between the city and Fidenæ is laid waste. Then

versi ad lævam, quia Tiberis arcebat dextra,
 turning to the left, because the Tiber confined them on the right,

populantur cum magna trepidatione
 they continued *their* depredations to the great consternation

agrestium, repensque tumultus illatus ex agris
 of the peasantry; and the sudden excitement, spreading from the country

in urbem fuit pro nuntio. Romulus
 into the city, served as the *first* announcement. Romulus

excitus,— enim bellum tam vicinum
 taking alarm, (for a war so near *home*

neque poterat pati dilationem,— educit exercitum,
 could not admit of delay,) leads out his army,

locat castra mille passuum a Fidenis.
 and pitches his camp a mile from Fidenæ.

Ibi relicto modico præsidio, egrediens omnibus
 Having left there a small garrison, marching out with all

copiis, jussit partem militum
 the *rest* of his forces, he ordered a party of his soldiers

subsidiere in insidiis obscuris locis circa
 to lie in ambush in concealed places about

densa obsita virgulta; profectus cum
 thick-set bushes; then advancing with

parte majore atque omni equitatu, adequitando
 the greater part of the foot and all the horse, by riding up

prope ipsis portis,
almost to the very gates,

tumultuoso et minaci genere
in an irregular and menacing mode

pugnæ excivit hostem,—
of attack he drew out the enemy,—

id quod quærebat.
the very thing he wanted.

Eadem pugna
The same mode of fighting

equestris
on the part of the cavalry

quoque
likewise

dedit causam fugæ,
rendered the cause of the flight,

quæ
which

simulanda erat,
was to be counterfeited,

minus mirabilem :
less surprising :

et cum,
and when,

equitatu trepidante
the cavalry wavering,

velut
as it were,

inter consilium
between the resolutions

pugnæ fugæque,
of fight and flight,

pedes quoque
the infantry also

referret gradum,
retreated,

hostes
the enemy

repente effusi
suddenly rushed

plenis portis,
from the crowded gates, and,

impulsa
having broken

Romana acie,
the Roman line,

trahuntur
are drawn on

ad locum insidiarum
to the place of ambuscade

studio
in their eagerness

instandi sequendique.
to press on and pursue.

Inde
Upon this

Romani
the Romans,

exorti subito
rising suddenly,

invadunt hostium aciem
attack the enemy's line

transversam.
in flank.

Signa eorum,
The ensigns of those,

qui relictī fuerant
who had been left behind

in præsidio,
on guard,

mota e castris,
advancing from the camp,

addunt pavorem :
further increase the panic :

Fidenates
the Fidenates,

ita perculsi
thus dismayed

multiplici terrore,
with multiplying terrors,

vertunt terga
turn their backs

pæne prius
almost sooner

quam Romulus,
than Romulus,

quique erant
and those who had gone

cum eo
with him

equites,
on horseback

circumagerent equos frenis ;
could wheel their horses round [by the reins ;]

que qui
and those, who

paulo ante
a little before

secuti erant
had pursued men

simulantes,
pretending to fly,

repetebant oppidum
now ran back to town

multo effusius,—
in much greater disorder

quippe fuga vera. Non tamen eripuerunt se
 for their flight *was* in earnest. They did not, however, rid themselves
 hosti; Romanus hærens in tergo
 of the enemy; the Roman *host*, pressing on their rear,
 irrumpit velut uno agmine, priusquam
 rush in as it were in one body, before
 fores portarum objicerentur.
 the gates could be shut.

XV.—Animi Veientium irritati
 The minds of the Veientes being excited
 contagione Fidenatis belli,
 by the contagious influence of the Fidenatian war,
 et consanguinitate,— nam Fidenates quoque
 both from a tie of consanguinity, (for the Fidenates also
 fuerunt Etrusci,— et quod ipsa propinquitas
 were Etrurians,) and because the very proximity
 loci, si Romana arma infesta essent
 of situation, in case the Roman arms should be turned against
 omnibus finitimis, stimulabat, excucurrerunt
 all their neighbors, urged them on, they made an incursion
 in Romanos fines more populabundi magis quam
 on the Roman borders, in the manner of a predatory, rather than
 justī belli; itaque non castris positīs,
 of a regular war; and thus, without pitching a camp,
 non exspectato hostium exercitu, rediēre Veios
 or waiting the approach of the enemy's army, they returned to Veii,
 portantes prædam raptam ex agris.
 carrying with them the booty collected from the lands.
 Contra Romanus, postquam non invenit
 On the other side, the Roman (army) when they did not find
 hostem in agris, instructus intentusque
 the enemy in the country, being prepared for and determined on
 ultimæ diminationi, transit Tiberim
 a decisive action, crossed the Tiber
 Postquam Veientes audiverunt, quē
 And when the Veientes heard, that they

ponere castra, et accessurum ad urbem,
 were forming a camp, and intended to advance to their city,
 egressi obviam, ut potius decernerent
 they came out to meet them, that they might rather decide *the matter*
 acie, quam inclusi dimicarent
 in the *open* field, than, being shut up, fight
 de tectis mœnibusque. Ibi Romanus rex vicit,
 from their houses and walls. Here the Roman king got the victory,
 viribus adjutis nulla arte, tantum robore
 his power being unassisted by any stratagem, merely by the strength
 veterani exercitus; persecutusque fusos hostes
 of his veteran army; and having pursued the routed enemies
 ad mœnia, abstinuit urbe, valida
 to their walls, he made no attempt on the city, strong as it was
 muris ac munita ipso situ :
 by its fortifications and well defended by its very situation :
 rediens vastat agros, magis studio
 on returning, he lays waste their lands, more from a desire
 ulciscendi, quam prædæ. Que Veientes
 of revenge, than of booty. And the Veientes,
 subacti ea clade haud minus quam
 being humbled by that loss no less than
 adversa pugna, mittunt oratores Romam
 by the unsuccessful battle, send deputies to Rome
 petitum pacem. Induciæ in centum annos datæ
 to sue for peace. A truce for a hundred years was granted
 multatis parte agri. Hæc
 them after being fined a part of their land. These are
 ferme gesta domi militiæque Romulo regnante,
 the principal transactions in peace and war during Romulus' reign,
 nihil quorum fuit absonum fidei
 none of which was at variance with the belief
 divinæ originis, divinitatisque creditæ post mortem,
 in his divine origin and his supposed divinity after death;
 non animus in recuperando avito regno, non
 neither his spirit in recovering his grandfather's kingdom, nor
 consilium condendæ urbis, non firmandæ
 his project of building a city, nor that of strengthening it

bello ac pace ; by <i>the arts of war and peace ;</i>	enim viribus datis for by the strength attained
ab illo profecto, from that outset <i>under him,</i>	tantum valuit, it became so powerful,
quadraginta annos forty years	deinde after,
tutam pacem. undisturbed peace.	Fuit tamen gratior He was, however, more in favor
quam patribus, than with the senate,	longe ante alios and much above <i>all</i> others
animis militum ; by the soldiers ;	trecentosque, and three hundred <i>of them,</i>
appellavit Celeres, he called Celeres,	habuit he kept
ad custodiam corporis, as a body guard,	non solum in bello, not only in war,
in pace etiam. in peace [also].	sed but

XVI.—*Editis his immortalibus operibus,* cum
After performing these immortal achievements, while
haberet concionem in campo ad paludem
he was holding an assembly in the plain near the lake
Capræ ad recensendum exercitum, subito
of Capra for *the purpose of* reviewing his army, on a sudden
tempestas coorta cum magno fragore tonitribusque
a storm, having arisen with great thunder and lightning,
operuit regem tam denso nimbo, ut abstulerit
enveloped the king in so dense a mist, that it took
conspectum ejus concioni: nec fuit Romulus
all sight of him from the assembly: nor was Romulus
deinde in terris. Pavore
after this seen on earth. [U. C. 37; B. C. 715.] The consternation
tandem sedato, serena et tranquilla lux
having at length subsided, and calm and serene weather
rediit postquam ex tam turbido die, ubi
returned in succession to so turbulent a day, when

Romana pubes vidit regiam sedem vacuum,
 the Roman youth saw the royal seat empty,
 etsi satis credebat patribus, qui steterant
 though they readily believed the senators, who had stood
 proximi, raptum sublimem procella ;
 nearest him, that he was carried up on high by the storm,
 tamen icta metu velut orbitatis,
 yet struck with the dread, as it were, of orphanage,
 obtinuit mœstum silentium aliquamdiu.
 they observed a sorrowful silence for quite a time.
 Deinde, initio facto a paucis,
 Then, a commencement having been made by a few,
 universi jubent salvere Romulum deum,
 the whole assembly salute Romulus as a deity,
 deo natum, regem parentemque Romanæ urbis ;
 the son of a deity, the king and parent of the Roman city ;
 exposcunt pacem precibus, ut volens
 they implore his favor with prayers, that he would be pleased
 semper propitius sospitet suam progeniem.
 always propitiously to preserve his own offspring.
 Credo tum quoque fuisse aliquos,
 I believe that even then there were some,
 qui taciti arguerent regem discerptum
 who silently surmised, that the king had been torn in pieces
 manibus patrum ; enim hæc fama
 by the hands of the senators ; for this rumor
 quoque manavit sed perobscura ; admiratio
 also spread, but was little credited ; their admiration
 viri et pavor præsens
 of the man, and the consternation prevailing at the time,
 nobilitavit illam alteram.
 attached importance to the other report.
 Et consilio etiam unius hominis
 By the contrivance, also, of one individual.
 addita fides dicitur rei ; namque
 additional credit is said to have been gained to the matter ; for
 Proculus Julius,-- civitate sollicita desiderio
 Proculus Julius, (while the state was troubled with regret

regis et infensa patribus,— auctor gravis,
for the king, and felt incensed against the senators,) a person of weight,

ut traditur, rei quamvis magnæ,
as we are told, in any matter however important,

prodit in concionem, “Quirites,” inquit,
comes forward to the assembly, “Romans,” he says,

“Romulus, parens hujus urbis repente delapsus
“Romulus, the father of this city, suddenly descending

celo prima luce hodierna dedit se
from heaven at early dawn to-day, presented himself

obvium mihi. Cum adstitissem, perfusus
before me. While I stood covered

horrore venerabundus, petens precibus,
with awe in a worshipping posture, addressing him with prayers,

ut fas esset intueri contra, inquit,
that I might be allowed to behold him face to face, he said,

‘Abi, nuntia Romanis, cœlestes ita velle
‘Go, tell the Romans, that the gods so will,

ut mea Roma sit caput orbis terrarum.
that my Rome should become the capital of the world.

Proinde colant rem militarem, sciantque
Therefore let them cultivate the art of war, and be assured

et ita tradant posteris, nullas humanas
and hand this assurance down to posterity, that no human

opes posse resistere Romanis armis.
power shall be able to withstand the Roman arms.’

Locutus hæc,” inquit, “abiit sublimis.”
Speaking thus,” [said he,] “he ascended up to heaven.”

Mirum, quantum fidei fuerit illi viro,
It is surprising, how much credit was given to the man,

nuntianti hæc; quamque desiderium
in making this announcement; and how much the regret

Romuli apud plebem exercitumque
for the loss of Romulus, on the part of the people and the army,

lenitum sit fide immortalitatis facta.
was assuaged upon the belief in his immortality being established.

XVII.—Interim cupidō ac certamen regni

Meanwhile ambition and contention for the sovereignty

versabat animos patrum ; necdum
 actuated the minds of the senators ; and yet no *struggle*

a singulis pervenerat, quia in novo
 on the part of individuals had proven successful, because, among a new

populo nemo magnopere eminebat :
 people, no one *person* was eminently distinguished *above the rest*

certabatur factionibus inter ordines.
 it was a contest of factions between the *different orders*.

Oriundi ab Sabinis volebant regem creari
 The descendants of the Sabines wished a king to be elected

sui corporis, ne, quia non erat regnatum
 out of their body, lest, (because there had been no king

ab sua parte post mortem Tatii, amitterent
 on their side since the death of Tattius,) they might lose

possessionem imperii in æqua societate.
 their claim to the crown according to *the equal participation-treaty*

Romani veteres aspernabantur peregrinum
 The old Romans spurned *the thought of* a foreign

regem. In variis voluntatibus, tamen
 prince. Amid *this diversity of views*, however,

omnes volebant regnari,
 they were all anxious that there *should* be a king,

dulcedine libertatis nondum experta. Timor
 the sweets of liberty being as yet untasted. Fear

deinde incessit patres, ne animis multarum
 then came upon the senators, lest, the minds of many

circa civitatum irritatis aliqua
 of the neighboring states being incensed *against them*, some

externa vis adoriretur civitatem
 foreign power might attack the state *now*

sine imperio, exercitum sine duce ;
 without a government, and the army without a leader ;

et igitur placebat esse aliquod caput,
 and it was therefore their wish, that there *should* be some head,

et nemo inducebat in animum concedere alteri.
 out no one could prevail upon himself to give way to another

Ita centum patres consociant rem
 Thus the hundred senators shared the government
 inter se, decem decuriis factis, singulisque
 among themselves, ten decuries being formed, and one
 creatis in singulas decurias, qui præessent
 selected from each decury, who was to have
 summæ rerum. Decem imperitabant, unus
 the chief direction of affairs. Ten governed; one only;
 erat cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus.
 was attended with the ensigns of sovereignty and the lictors:
 imperium finiebatur spatio quinque dierum,
 their power was limited to the space of five days,
 ac ibat per omnes in orbem, intervallumque
 and it passed through all in rotation; and the interval between
 regni fuit annum. Ab
 a kingly government lasted a year. [U. C. 38; B. C. 714.] From
 id re appellatum interregnum, nomen
 this circumstance it was called an Interregnum,— a term
 quod tenet nunc quoque. Deinde plebs
 which holds good even now. By this time the people
 fremere, servitutem multiplicatam,
 began to murmur, that their slavery was multiplied,
 centum dominos factos pro uno;
 that a hundred masters were set over them instead of one
 nec videbantur passuri ultra nisi regem,
 and it seemed they would suffer nothing but a king,
 et creatum ab ipsis. Cum patres sensissent
 and that too elected by themselves. When the senators perceived,
 ea moveri, rati offerendum
 that such schemes were in agitation, judging it prudent to offer them,
 ultro, quod amissuri erant, ineunt
 of their own accord, what they would have to lose, they conciliate
 gratiam, permissa populo summa potestate
 their favor, by granting the people the supreme power,
 ita, ut darent non plus juris,
 yet in such a way as to allow them no more privilege,
 quam detinerent: enim decreverunt, ut,
 than they reserved for themselves: for they decreed that

cum populus jussisset regem, id
 when the people should choose a king, that election
 ratum esset sic, si patres auctores fierent.
 should be valid on *this* condition, if the senate approved.
 Hodie quoque idem jus usurpatur
 To this day, even, the same right is observed
 in legibus rogandisque magistratibus vi
 in *enacting* laws and electing magistrates, though its force
 adempta ; priusquam populus ineat
 has been destroyed ; for before the people begin
 suffragium, patres auctores fiunt in
 their voting, the senators pronounce their approbation in *advance of*
 incertum eventum comitorum. Tum interrex,
 the *yet* uncertain result of the elections. Then the interrex,
 advocata concione, inquit, "Quirites,
 having called an assembly, said, "Romans,
 create regem, quod sit bonum, faustum,
 elect a king, and may it prove prosperous, fortunate
 felixque : ita visum est patribus. Deinde,
 and happy : so it has pleased the fathers. Then,
 si crearit dignum, qui numeretur secundus
 if ye choose a person worthy to be esteemed a *fit* successor
 ab Romulo, patres auctores fient." Id
 to Romulus, the fathers will confirm *the choice*." This *proceeding*
 fuit adeo gratum plebi, ut, ne viderentur
 was so pleasing to the people, that, lest they might appear
 victi beneficio, sciscerent juberentque modo id,
 to be outdone in generosity, they voted and ordered only this,
 ut senatus decerneret, qui regnaret Romæ.
 that the senate should determine, who should be king of Rome.

XVIII.—Justitia religioque

The justice and piety

Numæ Pompilii

of Numa Pompilius

erat ea tempestate

were at that time

inclyta.

celebrated.

Habitabat Curibus

He dwelt at Cures,

Sabinis,

a city of the Sabines, being a man as largely experienced,

vir consultissimus, ut quisquam

as any one

illa ætate poterat, omnis juris humani atque
 in that age could be, in all laws human and
 divini. . Falso edunt, Pythagoram Samium
 divine. They falsely represent, that Pythagoras of Samos was
 ejus auctorem doctrinæ, quia exstat non alius;
 his teacher in philosophy, because there appears no other person
 constat amplius centum annos
to refer to; certain it is, however, that more than a hundred years
 post, Servio Tullio regnante Romæ, quem
 after this, while Servius Tullius was king of Rome, he,
 habuisse cœtus juvenum æmulantium
 (*Pythagoras,*) held assemblies of young men, zealously devoted to
 studia in ultima ora Italiæ, circa Metapontum
 his teachings, in the remotest part of Italy, about Metapontus,
 Heracleamque et Crotonam. Ex quibus locis,
 Heraclea and Croton. But from these places,
 etsi fuisset ejusdem ætatis, quæ fama
 even if he had lived at the same time, what fame of his could have
 in Sabinos, aut quo commercio linguæ
 come to the Sabines, or by what intercourse of language
 excivisset quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi;
 have aroused any one to a desire of learning;
 quove præsidio unus pervenisset per
 or with what safety could a single man have made his way through
 tot gentes, dissonas sermone moribusque ?
 so many nations, differing in their language and manners ?
 Igitur magis opinor, animum fuisse
 I, therefore, rather believe, that his mind was
 suopte ingenio temperatum virtutibus,
 by its very nature furnished with virtuous dispositions,
 non tam instructumque peregrinis artibus, quam
 and that he was not so much versed in foreign sciences, as
 tetrica ac tristi disciplina veterum Sabinorum,
 in the coarse and severe discipline of the ancient Sabines,
 quo genere nullum fuit quondam incorruptius.
 than which class none was in former times more uncorrupted.
 Audito nomine Numæ, quamquam Romani
 On hearing the name of Numa, although the Roman

patres videbantur opes inclinari ad Sabinos,
 fathers saw that *the balance of* power would incline to *the Sabines*,
 rege sumpto inde, tamen, neque quisquam ausi
 if a king *were* chosen from them, yet, no one presuming
 præferre se, nec alium suæ factionis, nec denique
 to prefer himself, or any other of his own party, or, in short,
 quemquam patrum aut civium, illi viro, omnes
 any one of the fathers or citizens, to that person, they all,
 d unum decernunt regnum deferendum
 to a man, resolved that the kingdom should be conferred on
 Numæ Pompilio. Accitus jussit,
 Numa Pompilius. [U. C. 39, B. C. 713.] Being sent for he ordered that
 sicut Romulus condenda urbe adeptus est
 as Romulus, on *the* founding of the city, had obtained
 regnum augurato, deos consuli
 the sovereign power by an augury, so the gods should be consulted
 quoque de se. Inde deductus
 in like manner concerning himself. Upon this, being conducted
 in arcem ab augure,— cui id sacerdotium
 into the citadel by an augur, (to which *profession* that office
 fuit deinde publicum perpetuumque
 was then made a public one and perpetual
 ergo honoris,— consedit in lapidem
 by way of honor,) he sat down on a stone
 versus ad meridiem ; augur cepit sedem
 facing the south ; the augur took his seat
 ad lævam ejus, capite velato, tenens
 on his left, with his head covered, holding
 dextra manu aduncum baculum sine nodo,
 in his right hand a crooked wand free from knots,
 quem appellarunt lituum. Inde, capto prospectu
 which they called “lituus.” Then, taking a view
 in urbem agrumque, ubi precatus deos,
 towards the city and country, after praying to the gods,
 determinavit regiones ab oriente ad occasum,
 he marked out the regions from east to west,
 partes ad meridiem dixit esse dextras,
 the parts toward the south he called the rights,

ad septentrionem <i>those toward the north</i>	lævas ; <i>the left ;</i>	contra <i>and in front of him</i>
finivit animo <i>he set out in his mind</i>	signum, <i>a sign</i>	quo longissime <i>as far as ever</i>
oculi ferebant <i>his eyes could measure</i>	conspectum. <i>the prospect.</i>	Tum <i>Then</i>
translato lituo in lævam manum, <i>having shifted the lituus into his left hand,</i>		imposita dextra <i>laying his right han</i>
in caput <i>on the head</i>	Numæ, <i>of Numa,</i>	precatus ita est : <i>he prayed in this manner</i>
" Jupiter pater, <i>" O father Jupiter,</i>	si est fas, <i>if it is thy will,</i>	hunc <i>that this</i>
Numam Pompilium, <i>Numa Pompilius, '</i>		cujus caput ego teneo, <i>whose head I hold,</i>
esse regem Romæ, <i>should be king of Rome,</i>	uti tu <i>do thou, I beseech thee,</i>	adclarassis nobis <i>display to us</i>
certa signa <i>clear tokens of the same</i>	inter eos fines, <i>within those limits,</i>	quos feci." <i>which I have marked."</i>
Tum peregit <i>Then he stated</i>	verbis <i>in set terms</i>	auspicia, <i>the omens</i>
quæ vellet mitti ; <i>which he wished to be sent ;</i>	quibus missis, <i>and on their being sent,</i>	Numa <i>Numa</i>
declaratus rex <i>was declared king</i>	descendit <i>and came down</i>	de templo. <i>from the consecrated stand.</i>

XIX.—Ita potitus regno
Being thus put in possession of the kingdom,

condere de integro, <i>establishing anew,</i>	jure <i>upon the basis of justice</i>	legibusque <i>and laws</i>
ac moribus, <i>and morals,</i>	eam urbem <i>the city,</i>	novam conditam <i>recently established</i>
vi et armis. <i>by violence and arms.</i>	Cum videret <i>When he saw</i>	animos, <i>that their minds,</i>
quippe efferari militia <i>as being rendered ferocious by military life,</i>	non posse assuescere <i>could not grow accustomed</i>	
quibus <i>to these principles</i>	inter bella, <i>in the midst of wars,</i>	ratus <i>he concluded</i>

ferocem populum mitigandum desuetudine armorum.
that a fierce people should be mollified by the disuse of arms.

Fecit Janum ad infimum Argiletum, indicem
He built the Janus, *therefore*, at the foot of Argiletum, as an index

pacis bellicę, ut apertus significare
of peace and war, that, *when* open, it might show

civitatem esse in armis, clausus omnes
the state was *engaged* in war, when shut, that all

circa populos pacatos. Bis
the neighboring nations were at peace *with it*. Twice

deinde post regnum Numę fuit clausus, semel
only since the reign of Numa has it been shut, once

T. Manlio consule, post perfectum primum
when T. Manlius was consul, on the conclusion of the first

Punicum bellum; iterum, quod dii dederunt
Punio war; and a second time, which the gods granted

nostrę ætati ut videremus, ab imperatore
our age to see, by the Emperor

Augusto Cęsare, post bellum Actiacum,
Augustus Cęsar, after the battle of Actium,

pace parta terra marique. Eo clauso, cum
peace being established on land and sea. This being shut, after

junxisset animos omnium finitimorum circa
he had secured the friendship of all the adjoining states around

societate ac fœderibus, curis periculorum
by alliance and treaties, all apprehension of dangers

externorum positis, ne animi, quos
from abroad being removed, lest their dispositions, which

metus hostium que militaris disciplina
the fear of enemies and military discipline

continuerat, luxuriarent otio,
had *hitherto* restrained, should grow licentious by tranquillity,

ratus est, primum omnium metum deorum
he considered, that, first of all, an awe of the gods

injiciendum,— rem efficacissimam
should be instilled *into them*,— a principle of the greatest efficacy

ad multitudinem imperitam, et rudem
with a multitude, ignorant and uncivilized

illis sæculis. <i>as in those times.</i>	Qui cum non posset <i>But as it could not</i>	descendere <i>sink deeply</i>
ad animos <i>into their minds</i>	sine aliquo commento <i>without some fiction</i>	miraculi, <i>of a miracle,</i>
simulabat sibi esse <i>he pretends that he has</i>	nocturnos congressus <i>nightly meetings</i>	cum <i>with</i>
dea Egeria ; <i>the goddess Egeria ;</i>	ejus monitu <i>that by her direction</i>	se instituere <i>he instituted</i>
sacra, <i>the sacred rites,</i>	quæ essent acceptissima diis ; <i>which would be most acceptable to the gods ,</i>	
præficere <i>and appointed</i>	suos sacerdotes <i>proper priests</i>	cuique deorum. <i>for each of the deities.</i>
Atque primum omnium <i>And, first of all</i>	describit annum <i>he divides the year</i>	in <i>into</i>
duodecim menses <i>twelve months</i>	ad cursus lunæ ; <i>according to the course of the moon ;</i>	
quia <i>and, because</i>	luna non explet <i>the moon does not make up</i>	tricenos dies <i>thirty days</i>
singulis mensibus, <i>in each month,</i>	diesque <i>and some days</i>	desunt <i>are wanting</i>
solido anno, <i>to the complete year</i>	qui circumagitur <i>as constituted</i>	solstitiali orbe, <i>by the solstitial revolution,</i>
ita quem dispensavit <i>he so portioned it out,</i>	interponendo <i>by inserting</i>	intercalares <i>intercalary days</i>
mensibus, <i>between the months,</i>	ut vicesimo anno, <i>that in the twentieth year,</i>	spatiis <i>the lengths</i>
omnium annorum plenis, <i>of all the intervening years being completed,</i>	dies congruerent <i>the days should correspond</i>	
ad eandem metam solis, <i>to the same position of the sun in the heavens,</i>	unde orsi essent. <i>whence they had set out.</i>	
Idem fecit <i>He also appointed</i>	dies fastos <i>days of business</i>	nefastosque, <i>and days of cessation therefrom,</i>
quia <i>because,</i>	aliquando <i>on some,</i>	futurum erat utile <i>it was likely to be expedient</i>
nihil agi <i>that no business be transacted</i>	cum populo. <i>with the people.</i>	

XX.—Tum adjecit animum creandis sacerdotibus,
 Next he turned his attention to the appointment of priests,
 quamquam obibat ipse plurima sacra,
 though he performed in person the greatest part of the sacred rites,
 maxime ea quæ nunc pertinent
 especially those which now belong
 ad flaminem Dialem. Sed, quia putabat
 to the flamen of Jupiter. But, as he imagined that
 in bellicosa civitate fore plures reges
 in a warlike nation there would be more kings
 similes Romuli quam Numæ, iturosque ad bella
 resembling Romulus than Numa, and that they would go to war
 ipsos, ne sacra regis vicis
 in person, lest the sacred functions of the royal office
 desererentur, creavit assiduum sacerdotem
 should be neglected, he appointed a residentiary priest
 flaminem Jovi, adornavitque eum insigni veste,
 as flamen to Jupiter, and decorated him with a splendid dress,
 et regia curuli sella: huic adjecit duos flamines,—
 and a royal curule chair: to him he added two other flamines,
 unum Marti, alterum Quirino. Virginesque legit
 one for Mars, another for Quirinus. He also selected virgins
 Vestæ, sacerdotium oriundum Alba,
 for Vesta,— a priesthood derived from Alba,
 et haud alienum genti conditoris: iis
 and not foreign to the family of the founder: for these
 statuit stipendium de publico,
 he fixed a stipend to be paid out of the public treasury,
 ut essent assiduæ antistites templi;
 that they might be constant attendants in the temple;
 virginitate aliisque cærimoniis
 and by a vow of virginity, and other religious observances
 fecit sanctas ac venerabiles. Item legit
 he made them sacred and venerable. At the same time he selected
 duodecim Salios Marti Gradivo, deditque insigne
 twelve Salii for Mars Gradivus, and gave them the distinction
 pictæ tunicæ, et super tunicam æneum tegimen
 of a flowered tunic, and over the tunic a brazen covering

pectori ; **jussitque** **ferre cœlestia arma,**
for the breast ; **and he ordered them** **to carry the celestial shields,**

quæ appellantur ancilia, **ac ire per urbem**
which are called "Ancilia," **and to march through the city,**

canentes carmina **cum tripudiis** **sollemnique saltatu.**
singing songs, **with leaping** **and solemn dancing.**

Deinde legit **ex patribus** **pontificem,**
He then chose **out of the senators** **a pontiff,**

Numam Marcium, **filium Marci,** **eique attribuit**
Numa Marcius, **son of Marcus,** **and to him he consigned**

exscripta exsignataque **omnia sacra,**
a written and sealed copy of **all the religious rites,**

quibus hostiis, **quibus diebus,** **ad quæ templa**
showing with what victims, **upon what days,** **and in what temples**

sacra **fierent ;** **atque unde**
the sacred ceremonies **should be performed ;** **and whence**

pecunia erogaretur **in eos sumptus.**
the money should be paid out **for these expenses.**

Quoque subjecit **omnia cetera sacra**
He also subjected **all other religious performances,**

publica privataque **scitis pontificis,**
public and private, **to the determination of the pontiff,**

ut esset, **quo plebes**
to the end that there might be some place, **where the people**

veniret consultum, **ne quid turbaretur**
should come to consult, **that there might be no confusion**

divini juris **negligendo ritus**
in the divine worship **brought on by neglecting the rites**

patrios, **addiscendoque peregrinos.**
of their own country, **and introducing foreign ones.**

Ut idem pontifex **edoceret**
He ordained that the same pontiff **should give directions,**

nec modo cœlestes cærimonias, **sed quoque**
not only in respect of the celestial ceremonies, **but also**

funebria justa, **placandosque manes ;**
of funeral solemnities, **and of appeasing the manes of the dead ;**

quæque prodigia, **missa fulminibus** **aliove quo visu,**
and what prodigies, **sent by lightning** **or any other phenomenon**

susciperentur atque curarentur. Ad elicienda ea
 were to be admitted and expiated. To elicit such *knowledge*
 ex divinis mentibus dicavit aram in Aventino
 from the divine mind, he dedicated an altar on the Aventine
 Jovi Elicio, consuluitque deum auguriis,
 to Jupiter Elicius, and consulted the god by auguries,
 quæ suscipienda essent.
as to what prodigies ought to be admitted for expiation.

XXI.—Omni multitudo conversa a vi
 The whole multitude having been diverted from violence
 et armis ad consultanda procurandaque hæc,
 and arms to the considering and adjusting these matters,
 et animi occupati erant agendo aliquid,
 both their minds had been engaged in doing something,
 et assidua cura deorum insidens,
 and the constant watchfulness of the gods, *now* impressed upon them,
 cum numen cœleste videretur interesse
 as the deity of heaven seemed to interest itself
 humanis rebus, imbuerat pectora omnium
 in human concerns, had filled the breasts of all
 ea pietate, ut fides ac jusjurandum regerent
 with such piety, that faith and *religious* obligations governed
 civitatem, proximo metu legum ac poenarum :
 the state, no less than the dread of the laws and of punishment :
 et cum ipsi homines formarent se
 and while the people were moulding themselves
 in mores regis velut unici exempli,
 after the morals of the king as *their* best example,
 finitimi populi etiam, qui antea crediderant,
 the neighboring nations also, who had formerly thought
 castra non urbem positam in medio
 that it was a camp, not a city, situate in the midst of them
 ad sollicitandam omnium pacem, tum
 to disturb the general peace, were thereupon
 adducti sunt in eam verecundiam, ut ducerent
 brought to *cherish* such high regard for them, that they considered it

nefas an impiety	violare civitatem to molest a state,	totam versam wholly occupied
in cultum deorum. in the worship of the gods.	Lucus erat, There was a grove,	quem fons which a spring
perenni aqua of running water	ex opaco specu from out of a dark cave	rigabat medium : irrigated at its centre :
quia and as	Numa persæpe Numa frequently	inferebat se quo repaired thither
sine arbitris, without attendants,	velut ad congressum deæ, under pretence of a conference with the goddess,	
sacravit he dedicated	eum lucum the grove	Camenis, to the Muses,
quod earum concilia because their meetings	cum sua conjuge Egeria with his wife Egeria	
ibi essent. were held there.	Et instituit He also instituted	sollemne an anniversary festival
Fidei soli ; to " Faith alone ;"	jussit and commanded	flamines vehi the priests to be carried
ad id sacrarium to her temple	arcuato curru in an arched chariot	bigis, drawn by two horses,
facereque and to perform	divinam rem the divine service	manu involuta with their hands covered
usque ad digitos, close down to the fingers,	significantes intimating,	fidem that faith
tutandam, ought to be protected,	sedemque ejus and that her seat	etiam in dexteris even in the right hand
sacratam esse. was to be held sacred.	Multa alia sacrificia He appointed many other sacrifices	
dedicavitque loca and dedicated places	faciendis sacris, for performing them,	quæ pontifices which the priests
vocant Argeos. call Argei.	Tamen maximum omnium But the greatest of all	
ejus operum his works	fuit tutela pacis was the maintenance of peace	per omne during the whole
tempus regni, period of his reign,	haud minor no less	quam regni. than of his royal authority
Ita duo reges deinceps, Thus two kings in succession.	alius each one	alia via, by a different method,

tum imperitabat Albæ. Utrimque legati missi
 at that time governed Alba. From both sides ambassadors were sent
 fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas. Tullus
 almost at the same time, to demand restitution. Tullus
 præceperat suis, ne quid agerent prius quam
 gave orders to his, that they should attend to nothing before
 mandata : satis sciebat Albanum
 their instructions : he well knew, that the Alban
 negaturum ; ita bellum posse indici pie.
 would refuse ; and that so war might be proclaimed on just grounds.
 Res acta socordius ab Albanis :
 Their business was executed more remissly by the Albans :
 blande ac benigne excepti hospitio ab Tullo,
 being courteously and kindly entertained by Tullus,
 comiter celebrant regis convivium. Tantisper
 they cheerfully participated in the king's banquet. Meanwhile
 Romani et priores res repetiverant,
 the Romans had both been first in demanding restitution,
 et neganti Albano indixerant bellum
 and, upon the refusal of the Alban, had declared war, to commence
 in tricesimum diem. Hæc renuntiant Tullo.
 on the thirtieth day after. This they reported to Tullus.
 Tullus tum fecit legatis potestatem dicendi,
 He then gave the ambassadors an opportunity of stating,
 quid venerint petentes. Illi, ignari omnium,
 what they came to demand. They, ignorant of all,
 terunt tempus primum purgando :
 waste some time, at first, in apologizing :
 se invitos dicturos quidquam,
 "that they would with the utmost reluctance say anything,
 quod minus placeat Tullo ; sed subigi
 that was not pleasing to Tullus ; but that they were compelled
 imperio : se venisse res repetitum ;
 by their orders : that they had come to demand restitution ;
 ni reddantur, jussos indicere bellum.
 and if this be not made, they were commanded to declare war."
 Ad hæc Tullus inquit, "nuntiate vestro regi,
 To this Tullus makes answer : "Tell your king,

regem Romanum facere deos testes, uter
 that the king of Rome takes the gods to witness, which of the two
 populus prius dimiserit aspernatus legatos
 states first dismissed, with contempt, the ambassadors
 res repetentes, ut in eum expetant omnes clades
 demanding restitution, that on it may fall all the calamities
 hujusce belli."
 of this war."

XXIII.—Hæc Albani nuntiant domum.
 These tidings the Albans carry home.

Et bellum parabatur utrimque
 [v. c. 85; B. C. 667.] And war was prepared for on both sides
 summa ope, simillimum civili bello, prope
 with the utmost vigor, very like to a civil war, in a manner
 inter parentes natosque, utramque Trojanam prolem
 between parents and children: both being Trojan offspring;
 cum ab Troja Lavinium, ab Lavinio Alba,
 for from Troy came Lavinium, from Lavinium, Alba,
 ab stirpe Albanorum regum Romani oriundi essent.
 and from the race of the Alban kings the Romans were descended.
 Tamen eventus belli fecit dimicationem minus
 But the issue of the war rendered the dispute less
 miserabilem; quod nec certatum est acie,
 grievous, for there was no fighting in a general engagement,
 et, tectis modo alterius urbis dirutis,
 and, upon the houses of only one of the two cities being demolished,
 duo populi confusi sunt in unum.
 the two peoples were incorporated into one.
 Albani priores ingenti exercitu fecere
 The Albans first, with a large army, made
 impetum in Romanum agrum. Locant
 an irruption into the Roman territories. They pitch
 castra haud plus quinque millia passuum
 their camp not above five miles
 ab urbe, circumdant fossa: ab nomine
 from the city, and surround it with a trench, which fix the name

ducis
 of their leader

per aliquot sæcula appellata est
 was for several ages called

fossa Cluiliæ, donec vetustate nomen quoque
 the Cluillian trench, till, in process of time, the name together

cum re abolevit. In his castris
 with the thing itself fell into oblivion. In that camp

Cluilius Albanus rex moritur ; Albani creant
 Cluilius the Alban king dies ; the Albans create

Mettium Fufetium dictatorem. Interim Tullus
 Mettius Fufetius dictator. In the mean time Tullus,

ferox, præcipue morte regis,
 impatient for action, especially after the death of the king,

dictitansque magnum numen deorum,
 and giving out that the supreme power of the gods,

orsum ab ipso capite, expetiturum in omne nomen
 having begun at the head, would inflict on the whole body

Albanum poenas ob impium bellum,
 of the Albans the penalty for this impious war,

præteritis hostium castris nocte, pergit
 having passed the enemy's camp in the night, marches

infesto exercitu in Albanum agrum. Ea res
 with a hostile army into the Alban territory. This procedure

excivit Mettium ab stativis ; ducit,
 drew out Mettius from the camp where he lay ; he leads his forces

quam proxime potest ad hostem. Inde
 as near as he can to the enemy. From thence

jubet legatum præmissum nuntiare Tullo,
 he commands a herald, dispatched by him, to tell Tullus,

colloquio opus esse, priusquam
 that a conference was expedient before

dimicent ; si congressus sit secum,
 they came to an engagement ; and that if he would confer with him,

satis scire, se allaturum ea, quæ pertineant
 he was confident he should adduce matters, which pertained

ad rem Romanam nihilo minus quam ad Albanam.
 to the interest of Rome not less than to that of Alba.

Tullus haud aspernatus, tametsi afferebantur
 Tullus not slighting the proposal, although the advances made

vana educit in aciem. Albani
were of little consequence, marched out in order of battle. The Albans
 contra et exeunt. Postquam utrimque stabant
on their part come out also. When both armies were standing
 structi, duces cum paucis procerum
in battle array, the chiefs with a few of the principal officers
 prodeunt in medium. Ibi Albanus inquit:
advance into the middle space. Then the Alban commences thus:
 "injurias et non redditas res ex foedere
"That injuries and a non-restitution of property according to treaty,
 quæ repetitæ sint, esse causam hujusce belli,
when demanded, were the cause of this war,
 et ego videor audisse nostrum Cluiliū; nec dubito
methinks I both heard our Cluilius assert, and I doubt not
 te, Tulle, ferre præ te eadem. Sed,
but that you, Tullus, allege on your part the same grounds. But,
 si vera dicenda sunt, potius quam speciosa dictu,
if the truth is to be told rather than what is plausible in statement,
 cupido imperii stimulat duos cognatos vicinosque
a thirst for dominion stimulates two kindred and neighboring
 populos ad arma. Neque interpretor
states to arms. Nor do I examine
 recte an perperam: fuerit ista ejus deliberatio,
whether rightly or wrongly: be that his consideration,
 qui suscepit bellum. Albani creavere me ducem
who commenced the war. The Albans have made me their leader
 gerendo bello. Illud, Tulle,
for carrying on the war. Of this, Tullus,
 velim monitum te: quanta Etrusca res sit
I would wish to warn you: how powerful the Etruscan state is
 circa nos teque maxime, hoc scis magis,
around us and around you particularly, that you know better than we,
 quo propior es Tuscis. Illi multum pollent terra,
inasmuch as you are nearer them. They are very powerful by land,
 plurimum mari. Memor esto, cum dabis signum
extremely so by sea. Remember, when you shall give the signal
 pugnae, has duas acies jam fore spectaculo,
for battle, these two armies will presently be a spectacle to them,

ut aggrediantur fessos confectosque,—
 so that they may fall on us fatigued and exhausted,
 victorem ac victum simul. Itaque, quoniam
 victor and vanquished together. Therefore, since,
 non contenti certa libertate, imus in dubiam aleam
 not content with certain liberty, we are entering on a dubious cast
 imperii servitiique, si nos dii amant ineamus
 for dominion and slavery, let us, in the name of the gods, pursue
 aliquam viam, qua, sine magna clade,
 some method, whereby, without great loss,
 sine multo sanguine utriusque populi,
 without much blood of either nation,
 decerni possit, utri imperent utris.”
 it may be decided, which shall have dominion over the other.”
 Res haud displicet Tullo, quamquam, cum
 The proposal is not displeasing to Tullus, though both
 indole animi, tum spe victoriæ,
 from the natural bent of his mind, as well as from the hope of victory,
 erat ferocior. Ratio initur utrimque
 he was rather inclined to violence. A plan is adopted on both sides
 quærentibus, cui et fortuna ipsa
 after some consideration, for which, indeed, fortune herself
 præbuit materiam.
 afforded the materials.

XXIV.—Forte erant in duobus exercitibus
 There chanced to be in each of the two armies
 tum trigemini fratres, dispares
 at the time three twin-brothers, unequal
 nec ætate nec viribus. Fuisse Horatios
 neither in age nor in strength. That they were called Horatii
 Curiatiosque satis constat, nec ferme est
 and Curiatii is certain enough; and there is hardly
 alia res antiqua nobilior; tamen
 any other circumstance of antiquity more celebrated; yet,
 in re tam clara error manet nominum,
 in a matter so well ascertained, a doubt remains respecting their names,

utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii
 to which nation the Horatii, and to which the Curiatii
 fuerint : auctores trahunt utroque ; tamen
 belonged : authors claim them for both sides ; yet
 invenio plures, qui vocent Horatios Romanos.
 I find more, who call the Horatii Romans.
 Animus inclinatur, ut sequar hos. Reges agunt
 My inclination leads me to follow them. The kings confer
 trigeminis, ut dimicent ferro quisque
 with the three brothers, that they should fight with their swords, each
 pro sua patria, imperium
 in defence of their respective country, assuring them that dominion
 fore ibi, unde victoria fuerit. Nihil recusatur ;
 would be on that side, where victory should be. No objection is made ;
 tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent,
 time and place are agreed on. Before they engaged,
 foedus ictum est inter Romanos at Albanos
 a league is made between the Romans and Albans
 his legibus, ut, cujusque populi cives
 on these conditions, that, of whichever nation the champions
 vicissent eo certamine, is
 should come off victorious in the combat, that nation
 cum bona pace imperitaret alteri populo.
 should without further dispute possess dominion over the other.
 Alia foedera fiunt aliis legibus, ceterum omnia
 Different treaties are made on different terms, but all
 eodem modo. Accepimus
 are concluded in the same general method. We have heard
 tum factum ita, nec est vetustior
 that it was then concluded as follows, (nor is there a more ancient
 memoria ullius foederis : fetialis rogavit
 record of any treaty :) a herald asked
 regem Tullum ita : "jubesne me, rex,
 King Tullus thus : "Do you command me, O king,
 ferire foedus cum patre patrato Albani populi ?"
 to strike a league with the pater patratus of the Alban nation ? "
 rege jubente, inquit, "posco
 After the king had given command, he said, "I demand

sagmina te, rex." Rex ait: "tollito puram."
 vervain of thee, O king." The king replied: "Take it pure."

Fetialis attulit puram herbam graminis ex arce.
 The herald brought a pure blade of grass from the citadel

Postea rogavit regem ita, "tu, rex, facisne me
 He afterwards asked the king thus, "Dost thou, O king, appoint me

regium nuntium Romani populi Quiritium,
 the royal delegate of the Roman people, the Quirites,

vasa, meos comitesque?" rex respondit:
including my implements, and my attendants?" The king answered:

"quod fiat sine fraude mea
 "That which may be done without detriment to me

Romanique populi Quiritium, facio."
 and the Roman people, the Quirites, I do."

Fetialis erat M. Valerius. Is fecit
 The herald was M. Valerius. He appointed

Spurium Fusium patrem patratum, tangens caput
 Spurius Fusius pater patratus, touching his head

capillosque verberna. Pater patratus fit
 and hair with the vervain. The pater patratus is appointed

ad iusjurandum patrandum, id est, sanciendum
 "ad iusjurandum patrandum," that is, to ratify

foedus; peragitque id multis verbis,
 the league; and he goes through it in a great many words,

quæ effata longo carmine
 which, being expressed in a long set form,

non operæ est referre. Deinde recitatis legibus,
 it is not worth while to repeat. Then, after reciting the conditions,

inquit, "audi, Jupiter; audi, pater patratus
 he says, "Hear, O Jupiter; hear, pater patratus

Albani populi; tu, Albanus populus audi:
 of the Alban people; and ye, Alban people hear;

ut illa prima postrema recitata sunt palam
 as those conditions, from first to last, have been recited openly,

ex illis tabulis cerave, sine malo dolo, utique
 from those tablets or that wax, without wicked fraud, and as

ea rectissime intellecta sunt hic hodie,
 they have been most correctly understood here this day,

illis legibus Romanus populus non prior deficiet :
 from those conditions the Roman people will not first depart :
 si prior defexit publico consilio, malo dolo,
 if they first swerve by public concert, by wicked fraud,
 tum tu Jupiter illo die sic ferito
 then do thou, O Jupiter, on that day, so strike
 Romanum populum, ut ego hic hodie feriam
 the Roman people, as I shall here this day strike
 hunc porcum ; feritoque tanto magis,
 this swine ; and do thou strike *them* so much the more,
 quanto magis potes pollesque."
 as thou art more able and more powerful."
 Ubi dixit id,
 percussit porcum silice saxo. The Albans, likewise,
 he struck down the swine with a flint stone.
 peregerunt sua carmina suumque jusjurandum
 went through their own form and oath
 per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes.
 by their own dictator and priests.

XXV.—Fœdere icto,

The league being concluded,

trigemini,

the twin-brothers,

sicut convenerat, capiunt arma. Cum sui
 as had been agreed, take arms. Whilst their *respective* friends
 adhortarentur utrosque, patrios deos,
 exhortingly reminded each party, " that their country's gods,
 patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi,
 their country and parents, the whole of their countrymen at home,
 quidquid sit in exercitu, tunc intueri
 and [all that were] in the army, had their eyes then fixed on
 illorum arma, illorum manus, et suoapte ingenio
 their arms, their hands ; " being both naturally
 feroces, et pleni vocibus adhortantium,
 courageous, and animated by the words of those encouraging *them*,
 procedunt in medium inter duas acies.
 they advance into the midst between the two lines.
 Duo exercitus consederant pro utrimque castris,
 The two armies sat down before their respective camps,

expertes magis presentis periculi, free rather from present danger,	quam curæ ; than from anxiety
quippe imperium agebatur, for the sovereign power was at stake,	positum in virtute depending on the valor
atque fortuna tam paucorum. and success of so few.	Itaque ergo Accordingly, therefore,
erecti suspensique eager and anxious,	animo intenduntur they have their whole attention intensely riveted
in minime gratum spectaculum. on the by no means pleasing spectacle.	Signum datur, The signal is given,
ternique juvenes and the three youths on each side,	velut acies as if in battle array,
concurrunt rush forward to the fight	infestis armis, with death-dealing weapons,
in their breasts	gerentes bearing
animos magnorum exercituum. the spirits of mighty armies.	Nec Nor
suum periculum is their own personal peril regarded	his nec illis ; by the one or the other ;
publicum imperium servitiumque public dominion or slavery	obversatur is present
animo, to their mind,	fortunaque patriæ and the fortune of their country,
deinde futura ea, ever after destined to be such,	quam ipsi fecissent. as they should now establish is.
Ut statim As soon as	arma increpuere their arms clashed
primò concursu, on the first encounter,	
micantesque gladii fulsere, and their burnished swords glittered,	ingens horror great horror
perstringit spectantes, strikes the spectators,	et, and,
spe inclinata neutro, hope inclining to neither side,	
vox spiritusque their voice and breath	torpebat. were suspended.
Deinde Then,	
consertis manibus, having engaged hand to hand,	cum non tantum when not only
motus the movements	
corporum, of their bodies,	agitatioque and the brisk brandishing
armorum telorumque of arms and weapons	
anceps, on both sides.	sed vulnera quoque but wounds also
et sanguis and blood	

jam essent were now exhibited	spectaculo, to view,	duo Romani two of the Romans
corruerunt expirantes, fell lifeless,		alius super alium, one upon the other,
tribus Albanis vulneratis. the three Albans being wounded.	Cum Albanus exercitus And when the Alban army	
conclamasset gaudio raised a shout of joy	ad quorum casum, at their fall,	sper hope
jam tota, now entirely,	cura tamen nondum, anxiety, however, not yet,	deseruerat deserted
Romanas legiones, the Roman legions,	exanimés vice unius, alarmed for the lot of the one,	
quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. whom the three Curiatii surrounded.	Is forte fuit He happened to be	
integer, unhurt,	ut so that,	solus nequaquam par though alone he was by no means a match
universis, for them collectively,	sic ferox yet he was confident	adversus singulos. against each singly.
Ut ergo segregaret In order, therefore, to separate		eorum pugnam, their attack,
capessit fugam, he takes to flight,	ratus secuturos judging that they would pursue him	ita, at such a rate,
ut corpus as his body	affectum vulnere enfeebled by wounds	sineret quemque. would suffer each.
Jam aufugerat He had now fled	aliquantum spatii a considerable distance	ex eo loco, from the place,
ubi pugnatum est, where they had fought,	cum respiciens when, looking back,	videt he perceives
sequentes them pursuing him	magnis intervallis; at great intervals from each other;	
unum haud procul abesse ab sese: and that one of them was not far distant from him:		in eum on him
rediit he turned round	magno impetu, with great fury,	et, dum and, whilst
Albanus exercitus inclamat the Alban army shouts out		Curiatiis, to the Curiatii,
uti ferant opem fratri, to succor their brother,	Horatius, Horatius,	victor victorious

caso hoste,
in having slain his antagonist,

secundam pugnam.
to a second attack.

suum militem
their champion

faventium
by persons cheering

et ille festinat defungi prælio.
he also hastens to put an end to the combat.

prius quam alter,
before the other,

posset consequi,
could come up,

Jamque,
And now,

singuli supererant,
one on each side remained,

nec viribus : **alterum**
nor in strength : the one

et geminata victoria
and a double victory

certamen, **alter,**
contest ; the other,

vulnere
from the wound,

strage fratrum
by the slaughter of his brethren

victori hosti.
his victorious antagonist.

Romanus exsultans inquit,
The Roman, exulting, says,

Manibus fratrum ;
to the shades of my brothers ;

hujusce belli,
of this war,

Defigit gladium
He thrusts his sword

clamore,
with a shout

ex
in consequence of

conficit et alterum Curiatium.
he despatches the second Curiatius also.

Marte æquato,
the combat being brought to an equality of numbers,

sed pares **nec spe**
but they were equal neither in hope

corpus intactum ferro,
his body, untouched by a weapon,

dabat ferocem **in tertium**
made courageous for a third

trahens corpus fessum
dragging along his body exhausted

fessum cursu, **victusque**
exhausted from running, and being dispirited

ante se, **objicitur**
before his eyes, meets

Nec fuit illud **prælium.**
Nor was that a fight.

"duos dedi
"Two I have offered

tertium dabo **causæ**
the third I will offer to the cause

ut Romanus imperet Albano."
that the Roman may rule over the Alban."

superne jugulo **male sustinenti**
down into his throat, whilst faintly sustaining

jan petebat
was now proceeding

Tunc Romani adjuvant
Then the Romans encourage

qualis solet
such as is usually given

insperato :
unexpected success :

Itaque
Wherefore,

qui nec procul aberat,
who was not far off,

uni ex Curiatiis, fuit obvia cui ante portam Capenam :
to one of the Curiatii, met him before the gate of Capena :

cognitoque super fratris humeros
and having recognized, upon her brother's shoulders,

sponsi paludamento, quod ipsa confecerat,
her lover's military robe, which she herself had wrought,

solvit crines et flebiliter appellat nomine
she tore her hair, and with mournful outcries called by name on

mortuum sponsum. Comploratio sororis
her deceased lover. The lamentations of his sister

in sua victoria tantoque publico gaudio
in the midst of his own victory and of such great public rejoicing,

movet animum feroci juveni :
roused the indignation of the excited youth :

stricto itaque gladio, transfigit puellam,
having therefore drawn his sword, he run the damsel through the body,

simul increpans verbis : "abi hinc
at the same time upbraiding her in these words : "Go hence

cum immaturo amore ad sponsum," inquit,
with thy unseasonable love to thy spouse," [said he,]

"oblita mortuorum fratrum vivique,
"forgetful of thy dead brothers, and of him who survives,

oblita patriæ. Sic eat, quæcumque Romana
forgetful of thy native country. So perish every daughter of Rome who

lugebit hostem." Id facinus visum atrox
shall mourn for its enemy." This action seemed shocking

patribus plebique ; sed recens meritum
to the senate and the people ; but his recent merit

obstabat facto. Tamen raptus ad regem
stood opposed to the deed. Nevertheless he was carried before the king

in jus. Rex, ne ipse auctor esset
for judgment. The king, that he himself might not be the author

judicii tam tristis ingratique ad vulgus,
of a decision so melancholy, and so disagreeable to the people,

ac supplicii secundum judicium,
or of the punishment consequent upon that decision,

advocato concilio populi, inquit,
having summoned an assembly of the people, says,

"facio secundum legem duumviros,
 "I appoint, according to law, two commissioners,
 qui judicent Horatio perduellionem." Lex erat
 to pass sentence on Horatius for murder." The law was
 horrendi carminis: "duumviri judicent
 of dreadful import: "Let two commissioners pass sentence
 perduellionem: si provocarit a duumviris,
 for murder: if he appeal from the commissioners,
 certato provocatione; si vincent,
 let him contend by appeal; if they shall gain the cause,
 obnubito caput, suspendito reste infelici arbori,
 cover his head, hang him by a rope from the gallows,
 verberato vel intra Pomerium vel
 scourge him either within the Pomerium or
 extra Pomerium." Cum duumviri creati
 without the Pomerium." When the commissioners, appointed
 hac lege, qui non rebantur, ea lege
 by this law, who did not consider, that, according to that law,
 se posse absolvere, ne quidem innoxium,
 they could acquit him, even if innocent,
 condemnassent, tum alter ex his inquit,
 had found him guilty; one of them then says,
 "Publi Horati, judico tibi perduellionem: lictor,
 "Publius Horatius, I pass sentence on thee for murder: lictor,
 colliga manus." Lictor accesserat
 bind his hands." The lictor had approached him,
 injiciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius, auctore Tullo,
 and was fixing the rope. Then Horatius by the advice of Tullus,
 clemente interprete legis, inquit, "provoco."
 a lenient interpreter of the law, says, "I appeal."
 Ita certatum est de provocatione
 Accordingly the matter was contested by appeal
 ad populum. In eo judicio homines moti sunt,
 to the people. On that trial persons were deeply affected,
 maxime Publio Horatio patre proclamante,
 especially by Publius Horatius the father declaring,
 se judicare filiam jure cæsam: ni ita esset,
 that he considered his daughter deservedly slain: were it not so,

fuisse jure patrio animadversurum in filium.
 he would, by his authority as father, have inflicted punishment on his son.

Deinde orabat, ne facerent se orbum liberis,
 He then entreated, that they would not leave him childless,

quem paulo ante conspexissent
 whom but a little while ago they had beheld

cum egregia stirpe. Inter hæc senex,
 with a fine progeny. During these words the old man

amplexus juvenem, ostentans spolia Curiatorum
 having embraced the youth, pointing to the spoils of the Curiatii

fixa eo loco, qui nunc appellatur Pila Horatia,
 fixed up in that place, which is now called Pila Horatia,

“Quirites,” aiebat, “potestis videre
 “Romans,” said he, “can you bear to see,

vinctum sub furca inter verbera et cruciatus
 bound beneath a gallows amidst scourges and tortures,

hunc eum, quem modo vidistis
 even him whom you just now beheld

incedentem decoratum ovantemque victoria,
 marching decorated with spoils and exulting in victory,—

spectaculum tam deforme quod vix oculi Albanorum
 a sight so shocking, that scarcely the eyes of the Albans

possent ferre? i, lictor, colliga manus,
 could endure it? Go, lictor, bind those hands,

quæ paulo ante armatæ pepererunt imperium
 which, but a little while since, being armed, acquired dominion

Romano populo: i, obnube caput liberatoris
 to the Roman people: go, cover the head of the liberator

hujus urbis: suspende infelici arbori; verbera
 of this city: hang him on the gallows; scourge him

vel intra pomerium—modo inter illa pila
 either within the Pomerium, so it be only amidst those javelin

et spolia hostium,—vel extra pomerium—
 and spoils of the enemy; or without the Pomerium,

modo inter sepulchra Curiatorum. Enim quo
 only between the tombs of the Curiatii For whither

potestis ducere hunc juvenem, ubi sua decora
 can you lead this youth, where his own glories

non vindicent eum
would not redeem him

a tanta fœditate supplicii ? ”
from such ignominy of punishment ?

Populus non tulit
The people could not withstand

nec lacrimas patris, nec
either the tears of the father, or

animum ipsius
the resolution of the youth himself,

parem in omni periculo ;
unappalled in every danger ;

absolveruntque
and acquitted him

magis admiratione virtutis,
more out of admiration of his bravery.

quam jure causæ.
than for the justice of his cause.

Itaque, ut manifesta cædes
Wherefore, that such manifest murder

lueretur
might be atoned for

aliquo tamen piaculo,
by some expiation at least,

imperatum
orders were given

patri,
to the father, to make satisfaction for

filium publica pecunia.
his son, at the public expense.

Is
He,

factis quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis,
having offered certain expiatory sacrifices,

quæ
which

deinde tradita sunt
were ever after continued

Horatiæ genti, transmissio tigillo
in the Horatian family, and laid a beam

per viam,
across the street,

misit juvenem
made the youth pass,

velut sub jugam,
as it were, under the yoke,

capite adoperto.
with his head covered.

Id manet quoque hodie,
This remains even to this day,

semper reffectum publice ;
being constantly repaired at the public charge ;

vocant
they call it

sororium tigillum.
the Sister's beam.

Sepulchrum quadrato saxo
A tomb of square stone

constructum est
was erected

Horatiæ,
to Horatia,

quo loco
in the place where

icta corruerat.
she was stabbed and fell.

XXXII.—Mortuo Tullo,

[U. C. 114; B. C. 638.] Upon the death of Tullus,

res
the government

redierat
devolved once more

ad patres,
upon the senate,

ut institutum erat
as was the practice

jam inde ab initio ;
from the very beginning ;

hique nominaverant interregem ;
and they nominated an interrex :

quo habente comitia,
 and on his holding the comitia,
 Ancum Martium regem. Patres populus creavit
 Ancus Martius king. The fathers the people elected
 Ancus Martius erat nepos fuere auctores.
 Ancus Martius was the grandson gave their approbation.
 ortus filia : Numæ Pompilii,
 by his daughter : of Numa Pompilius,
 ut cœpit regnare,
 as soon as he assumed the government,
 et memor avitæ gloriæ, et quia
 both in consideration of his grandsire's renown, and because
 proximum regnum— egregium cetera—
 the late reign, highly honorable in other respects,
 haud fuerat ab una parte satis prosperum,
 had not been in one particular sufficiently prosperous,
 religionibus aut neglectis, aut prave
 the affairs of religion having been either quite neglected or improperly
 cultis, ratusque longe antiquissimum,
 managed, and deeming it a matter of the utmost consequence,
 facere publica sacra, ut instituta erant
 to perform the public ceremonies of religion, as they had been instituted
 ab Numa, qui jubet pontificem elata omnia ea
 by Numa, he orders the pontiff, after having transcribed them all
 ex regis commentariis in album proponere
 from the king's commentaries on white tables, to expose them
 in publico. Inde et civibus
 to public view. Hence, both in the minds of his subjects
 cupidis otii, et finitimis civitatibus, spes facta,
 desirous of peace, and the neighboring nations, the hope was kindled,
 regem abiturum in mores atque instituta
 that the king would conform to the manners and institutions
 avi. Igitur Latini, cum quibus
 of his grandfather. Accordingly the Latins, with whom
 foedus ictum erat regnante Tullo,
 a treaty had been concluded in the reign of Tullus,
 sustulerant animos ; et, cum fecissent incursionem
 assumed new courage ; and, after they had made an incursion
 in Romanum agrum, superbe reddunt responsum
 into the Roman territory, they in a contemptuous manner return answer

Romanis to the Romans	repetentibus res, on their demanding restitution,	rati imagining
Romanum regem that the Roman king	acturum esse regnum would spend his reign	desidem in indolence
inter sacella et aras. among chapels and altars.		Ingenium in Anco The genius of Anco
erat medium, was of a middle kind,	memor et Numæ et Romuli: reminding one both of Numa and Romulus:	
et, and,	præterquam quod credebat besides that he thought	pacem fuisse that peace was
magis necessariam more necessary	avi regno in his grandfather's reign	in populo among a people
cum novo both new	tum feroci, and uncivilized,	etiam, he thought also,
se haud facile that he could not easily	sine injuria without injury	habiturum otium, preserve the tranquillity,
quod contigisset illi; which had fallen to his (i. e. Numa's) lot;		patientiam tentari, that his patience was tried,
et tentatam and, being tried,	contemni; was now despised;	temporaque and that the times
esse aptiora were more suited	regi Tullo to a king Tullus	quam Numæ. than to a Numa.
Ut tamen, In order, however, that,	quoniam Numa institutisset as Numa had instituted	
religiones in pace, religious rites in peace,		cærimonix bellicæ ceremonies relative to war
proderentur might be transmitted	a se; by him;	bella and that wars
nec solum gererentur, might not only be waged,	sed etiam indicerentur but proclaimed also	
aliquo ritu, according to some rite,	descripsit ab antiqua gente he borrowed from an ancient nation,	
Æquicolis he Æquicolæ,	jus, the form,	quod fætiales nunc habent, which the heralds still preserve,
quo according to which	res repetuntur. restitution is demanded.	Legatus, The ambassador,
ubi venit ad fines eorum, when he comes to the frontiers of those,	unde res repetuntur, from whom satisfaction is demanded,	

capite velato filo— velamen est lanæ,—
having his head covered with a fillet, *(the fillet is of wool,)*
inquit, “audi, Jupiter, audite, fines,”—
says, “Hear, O Jupiter, hear, ye confines,”
nominat gentis cujuscumque sunt,—
(making mention of the nation to which they belong,)
“fas audiat : ego sum publicus nuntius
“let justice hear : I am a public messenger
Romani populi ; venio juste pieque legatus,
of the Roman people ; I come, justly and religiously deputed,
fidesque sit meis verbis.” Deinde peragit
and let credit be given to my words.” He then makes
postulata. Inde facit testem Jovem :
his demands ; and afterwards appeals to Jupiter :
“si ego injuste impieque exposco illos homines
“If I unjustly or impiously demand those persons
illasque res dedier mihi, tum numquam sîris me
and those effects to be given up to me, then never let me
esse compotem patriæ.” Hæc peragit,
enjoy my native country.” These words he repeats,
cum suprascanit fines, hæc quicumque vir
when he passes over the boundaries, the same to whatever person
primus fuerit obviu s ei, hæc, ingrediens portam,
first meets him ; the same, on entering the gate ;
hæc, ingressus forum, paucis verbis carminis
the same, on entering the forum, some few words in the form
concupiendi jusjurandique mutatis. Si,
of the declaration and oath being changed. If the persons
quos exposcit, non deduntur, peractis
whom he demands are not delivered up, then on the expiration of
tribus et triginta diebus,— enim tot
thirty-three days, (for so many
sunt sollemnes,— indicit bellum ita : “Audi,
are enjoined by the rule,) he declares war in this manner : “Hear,
Jupiter et tu Juno, Quirine omnesque
Jupiter, and thou, Juno, Romulus, and all
dii cœlestes, vosque terrestres, vosque inferni
ye gods of heaven, and ye of earth, and ye of the infernal regions.

audite : **ego testor vos,** **illum populum—**
 give ear ! I call you to witness, that this people,
nominat, **quicumque est,—** **injustum esse**
 (naming them, whoever they are,) is unjust
neque persolvere jus. **Sed consulamus**
 and does not act with equity ; but we will consult
maiores natu **in patria** **de istis rebus,**
 the elders in our country concerning these matters,
quo pacto **adipiscamur nostrum jus."**
 by what means we may obtain our right."
Cum his nuntius **redit Romam** **ad consulendum.**
 After this the messenger returns to Rome to consult.
Rex confestim **consulebat patres** **ferme**
 The king immediately used to consult the fathers almost
ex his verbis : **"quarum rerum,** **litium,**
 in these words : "Concerning such matters, controversies,
causarum **pater patratus Romani populi**
 and arguments as the pater patratus of the Roman people,
Quiritium **condixit** **patri patrato**
 the Quirites, has conferred with the pater patratus
Priscorum Latinorum **Priscisque Latinis hominibus,**
 of the ancient Latins, and with the ancient Latin people,
quas res oportuit **dari** **solvi**
 which matters ought to be given up, performed,
fieri, **quas res nec dederunt** **nec solverunt**
 discharged, which matters they have neither given up, performed,
nec fecerunt, **dic,"** **inquit ei,** **quem sententiam**
 nor discharged, declare," says he to him, whose opinion
primum rogabat, **"quid censes?"** **Tum ille,**
 he first asked, "what think you?" Then he said,
"Censeo **quærendas** **puro pioque duello,**
 "I think, they should be demanded by a just and regular war,
itaque consensio consciscoque." **Alii inde rogabantur**
 wherefore I consent to and vote for it." The rest were then asked
ordine, **quandoque** **major pars eorum**
 in order, and when the majority of those,
qui aderant, **ibat in eandem** **sententiam**
 who were present, agreed in the same opinion,

bellum erat consensum.
the war was resolved on.

Solitum fieri,
It was a customary practice,

ut fetialis ferret hastam ferratam aut præustam
for the herald to carry a spear, pointed with steel, or burnt at the end

sanguineam ad fines eorum, et,
and dipped in blood, to the confines of the enemy's country, and

præsentibus non minus tribus puberibus diceret
in presence of at least three grown-up persons, to say,

"quod populi Priscorum Latinorum
"Forasmuch as the states of the ancient Latins

hominesque Prisci Latini fecerunt adversus,
and the ancient Latin people have acted against,

deliquerunt, Romanum populum Quiritium,
and behaved unjustly towards, the Roman people, the Quirites;

quod Romanus populus Quiritium jussit
forasmuch as the Roman people, the Quirites, have ordered,

esse bellum cum Priscis Latinis,
that there should be war with the ancient Latins;

senatusque Romani populi Quiritium
and the senate of the Roman people, the Quirites,

censuit consensit conscivit,
have given their opinion, consented, and voted,

ut bellum fieret cum Priscis Latinis, ob eam rem
that war should be made with the ancient Latins; on this account

ego populusque Romanus indico facioque bellum
I and the Roman people declare and make war

populis Priscorum Latinorum Priscisque Latinis
on the states of the ancient Latins, and on the ancient Latin

hominibus." Ubi dixisset id, emittebat hastam
people." When he had said this, he threw the spear

in eorum fines. Hoc modo res repetitæ
within their confines. In this manner was satisfaction demanded

ab Latinis tum ac bellum indictum;
from the Latins, at that time, and war declared;

eumque morem posterius acceperunt.
and that usage posterity have adopted.

XXXIII.—Cura sacrorum			demandata
The care of sacred things			being committed
flaminibus	aliisque sacerdotibus,	Ancus,	
to the flamens	and the other priests,	Ancus,	
profectus novo exercitu	conscripto,		
having set out with a new army,	which he had enrolled,		
cepit Politorium	urbem Latinorum	vi,	
took Politorium,	a city of the Latins,	by storm;	
secutusque morem priorum regum,	qui auxerant		
and, following the example of former kings,	who had increased		
Romanam rem	accipiendis hostibus in civitatem,		
the Roman state	by receiving enemies into the number of the citizens,		
traduxit omnem multitudinem Romam ;	et, cum		
transplanted the whole multitude to Rome;	and since		
Sabini	implessent	Capitolium atque arcem,	
the Sabines	occupied	the Capitol and citadel,	
Albani	Cœlium montem	circa Palatium,	
and the Albans,	the Cœlian mount	around the Palatium,	
sedem veterum Romanorum,	Aventinum datum		
the residence of the old Romans,	the Aventine was assigned		
novæ multitudini.	Haud ita multo post,		
to the new people.	Not very long after		
Tellenis Ficanaque captis,	novi cives additi		
on Telleni and Ficana being taken,	new citizens were added		
eodem.	Politorium inde repetitum	rursus	
In the same quarter.	Politorium was soon after attacked,	a second time,	
bello,	quod	Prisci Latini	
by force of arms,	because	the ancient Latins	
occupaverant vacuum :	eaque	fuit causa	
had taken possession of it when vacated :	and this	was the cause	
diruendæ	ejus urbis	Romanis,	
of the destruction	of that city	by the Romans	
ne semper esset	receptaculum hostium.		
that it might not ever after serve	as a receptacle to the enemy.		
Postremo,	omni bello Latino	compulso	
At last,	the whole war with the Latins	being concentrated in	
Medulliam,	pugnatum est varia victoria,		
Medullia,	they fought with various success,		

Marte ibi aliquamdiu incerto, **nam urbs**
 the contest there being for some time undecided, for the city
erat et tuta **munitiōibus,** **firmataque**
 was both well secured by fortifications, and strengthened
valido præsidio, **et** **exercitus Latinus,**
 by an effectual garrison; and the army of the Latins,
positis castris in aperto, **contulerat signa**
 having pitched their camp in the open country, had fought
cum Romanis aliquoties cominus. Ad ultimum,
 the Romans several times in close engagement. At last
Ancus **connisus** **omnibus copiis**
 Ancus, making an effort with all his forces,
primum vincit **acie,**
 gained a complete victory over them in a pitched battle, and,
potens ingenti præda, **inde redit** **Romam,**
 having got an immense booty, returned thence to Rome;
multis millibus Latinorum **tum quoque acceptis**
 many thousands of the Latins being then also admitted
in civitatem; **quibus,** **ut Aventinum**
 into the number of citizens; to whom, in order that the Aventine
jungeretur Palatio, **sedes datæ**
 might be joined to the Palatine, a settlement was assigned
ad Murciæ. **Janiculum quoque adjectum**
 near the temple of Murcia. The Janiculum was likewise added,
non inopia loci, **sed ne** **quando**
 not for want of room, but lest, at any time,
ea esset arx **hostium. Placuit conjungi id**
 it should become a lodgement for the enemy. It was determined to join it
urbi, **non solum muro,** **sed etiam,**
 to the city, not only by a wall, but likewise,
ob commoditatem itineris, **sublacio ponte,** **tum**
 for the convenience of passage, by a wooden bridge, then
primum facto **in Tiberi.** **Quiritium fossa**
 for the first time built across the Tiber. The Quiritian trench
quoque, **haud parvum munimentum**
 also, no inconsiderable defence against
editu **a planioribus locis,** **est opus**
 the easy access to the city from the low grounds, is the work

regis Anci. Rebus auctis ingens incremento,
 of king Ancus. The state being augmented by vast accessions,
 cum in tanta multitudine hominum,
 seeing that amid such a multitude of persons,
 discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso,
 the distinction of right and wrong being as yet confounded,
 clandestina facinora fierent, carcer ædificatur
 clandestine crimes were committed, a prison is built
 media urbe, imminens foro, ad terrorem
 in the heart of the city, overlooking the forum, for the intimidation
 increscentis audaciæ. Nec tantum urbs crevit
 of the growing licentiousness. And not only was the city increased
 hoc rege, sed etiam ager finesque.
 under this king, but also the territory and the boundaries.
 Mæsia sylva adempta Veientibus, imperium
 The Mæssian forest taken from the Veientes, the Roman dominion
 prolatum usque ad mare, et urbs Ostia
 was extended as far as the sea, and the city of Ostia
 condita in ore Tiberis ; salinæ factæ
 built at the mouth of the Tiber ; salt-pits were formed
 circa, egregieque rebus gestis bello,
 around it, and in view of the glorious achievements in war,
 ædis Jovis Feretrii amplificata.
 the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was enlarged.

XXXIV.—Regnante Anco, Lucumo vir impiger
 In the reign of Ancus, Lucumo, a man of enterprise
 ac potens divitiis commigravit Romam,
 and possessed of great wealth, came to settle at Rome,
 maxime cupidine ac spe magni honoris,
 led principally by ambition and the hope of gaining great preferment,
 cujus non fuerat facultas adipiscendi Tarquiniis,
 which he had no means of acquiring at Tarquinii,
 (nam ibi quoque oriundus erat peregrina stirpe.)
 (for there also he was descended from an alien stock.)
 Erat filius Demarati Corinthii, qui,
 He was the son of Demaratus, a Corinthian, who,

profugus domo ob seditiones, cum forte consedisset
 flying his country for sedition, and having chanced to settle

Tarquiniis, ducta uxore iti, genuit duos filios.
 at Tarquinii, taking a wife there, had two sons.

His nomina fuerunt Lucumo atque Arruns.
 Their names were Lucumo and Arruns.

Lucumo superfuit patri, heres omnium bonorum ;
 Lucumo survived his father, inheriting all his property ;

Arruns moritur prior quam pater,
 Arruns died before his father,

relicta uxore gravida. Pater nec diu manet superstes
 leaving a wife pregnant. The father did not long survive

filio ; cum qui, ignorans nurum
 the son ; and as he, not knowing that his daughter-in-law

ferre ventrem, decessisset immemor nepotis
 was with child, died without notice of a grandson

in testando, puero nato post mortem avi
 in his will, to the boy, that was born after the death of his grandfather,

in nullam sortem bonorum nomen Egerio inditum
 without any share in his fortune, the name of Egerius was given

ab inopia. Cum Lucumoni contra,
 on account of his poverty. When in the mind of Lucumo, on the other hand,

heredi omnium bonorum, divitiæ jam facerent animos,
 the heir of all the property, his riches already engendered pride,

Tanaquil ducta in matrimonium auxit,
 Tanaquil, who was married to him, further increased such feeling,

nata summo loco, et quæ
 she being descended from a very high family, and one who

haud facile sineret ea, quibus innupsisset,
 would not readily brook the circumstances, into which she had married,

humiliora his, in quibus nata erat.
 to be inferior to those, in which she had been born.

Etruscis spernentibus Lucumonem, ortum
 As the Etrurians despised Lucumo, because sprung

advena exsule, non potuit ferre indignitatem,
 from a foreign exile, she could not support the indignity,

oblitaque ingenitæ caritatis erga patriam,
 and regardless of the innate love towards her country,

dummodo provided only	videret she might see	virum honoratum, her husband promoted,
cepit consilium she formed the design		migrandi ab Tarquiniis of removing from Tarquinii.
Roma visa est Rome seemed	potissimum best suited	ad id : to the purpose :
in novo populo, <i>she thought</i> in a new state,		ubi omnis nobilitas where all nobility
sit repentina atque ex virtute, was of late date and <i>the result</i> of merit,		futurum locum viro there would be room for a man
forti ac strenuo : of courage and activity.		Tatium Sabinum regnasse, Tatius, a Sabine, had been king ;
Numam Numa	arcessitum in regnum had been called to the crown	a Curibus, from Cures ;
et and	Ancum ortum Ancus was sprung	Sabina matre, from a Sabine mother,
nobilemque esse and derived his nobility		una imagine Numæ. from the single statue of Numa.
Facile persuadet, She easily persuades him,		ut cupido honorum, as <i>being</i> ambitious of honors,
et cui and <i>one</i> to whom	Tarquini Tarquinii	esset patria was his country
tantum materna : only on the mother's side.		itaque sublati rebus, Accordingly, removing their effects,
commigrant Romam. they set out together for Rome.		Forte ventum erat They happened to have reached
ad Janiculum ; the Janiculum ;	ibi there	aquila an eagle,
		suspensis alis suspended on her wings,
leviter demissa ei, gently stooping towards him,	sedenti <i>as he was sitting</i>	carpento in the chariot
cum uxore, with his wife,	aufert pileum, took off his cap,	volitansque and hovering
super carpentum over the chariot	cum magno clangore, with loud screams,	apte orderly
rursus reponit replaced it	capiti, on his head,	velut missa divinitus as if sent by <i>some</i> deity
ministerio ; <i>to perform</i> that office ;	inde and then	abit sublimis. flew aloft.

Tanaquil dicitur **accepisse id augurium** **læta,**
 Tanaquil is said to have received this omen with great joy,
mulier **perita,** **ut Etrusci vulgo,**
 being a woman well skilled, as the Etrurians generally are,
coelestium prodigiorum ; **complexa** **virum**
 in celestial prodigies ; embracing her husband,
jubet sperare **alta et excelsa :**
 he bids him hope for high and magnificent fortune :
eam alitem venisse **ea regione** **coeli**
 that such bird had come from such a quarter of the heavens,
et nuntiam **ejus dei,** **fecisse auspicium**
 and the messenger of such a god ; that it had exhibited the omen
circa summum culmen hominis, **levasse**
 around the highest part of man ; that it had lifted up
decus **superpositum capiti humano,**
 the ornament placed on the head of man,
ut redderet eidem **divinitus.** **Portantes secum**
 to restore it to the same by direction of the gods. Carrying with them
has spes cogitationesque, **ingressi sunt urbem,**
 these hopes and thoughts, they entered the city,
comparatoque **domicilio ibi,** **edidere nomen**
 and having purchased a house there, they gave out the name of
L. Tarquinius Priscum. **Novitas**
 Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. The fact of his being a stranger
divitiæque **faciebant eum conspicuum** **Romanis,**
 and his wealth soon made him an object of notice to the Romans ;
et ipse **adjuvabat fortunam** **benigno alloquio,**
 and himself promoted his good fortune by his affable address,
 comitate invitandi, **conciliandoque sibi**
 by the courteousness of his invitations, and by winning to himself
 quos poterat **beneficiis ;** **donec fama de eo**
 those whom he could by generous acts ; until a report of him
perlata est quoque in regiam : **obeundoque officia**
 reached even to the palace : and by paying court
apud regem **liberaliter dextereque,** **brevi**
 to the king with politeness and dexterity, he in a short time
adduxerat eam notitiam **in jura familiaris amicitiae,**
 so improved the acquaintance to the footing of intimate friendship

ut interesset consiliis		pariter	publicis
that he was present at <i>all</i> deliberations		both	public
ac privatis,	bello	domique ;	et, expertus
and private,	foreign	and domestic ;	and, being <i>now</i> tried
per omnia,	postremo		testamento regis,
in every <i>trust</i> ,	he was at length,		by the will of the king,
institueretur	tutor etiam liberis.		
appointed	guardian [<i>also</i>] to his children.		

XXXV.—Ancus regnavit

quattuor et viginti

Ancus reigned

twenty-four

annos,	par cuilibet superiorum regum		
years,	equal to any of the former kings		
et artibus et gloria	belli pacisque.	Filii	
both in the arts and renown	of war and peace.	His sons	
jam erant	prope ætatem puberem :	eo	
were now	nigh the age of puberty :	for this reason	
Tarquinius magis instare,	ut comitia		
Tarquin was more urgent,	that the assembly		
creando regi	fierent	quam primum.	
for the election of the king	should be held	as soon as possible.	
Quibus indictis,	ablegavit	pueros	venatum
Upon its being proclaimed,	he sent away	the boys	to hunt,
sub tempus :	isque	dicitur	
about the time of the meeting :	and he	is said	
primus	et petisse ambiciose	regnum,	
to have been the first	[both] to sue obsequiously	for the crown,	
et habuisse orationem	compositam ad conciliandos,		
and to have made a speech	composed for the purpose of gaining		
animos plebis,	cum,	" se petere	
the affections of the populace,	saying,	" that he solicited	
non novam rem,	quippe qui	non primus	
no new favor,	inasmuch as he	was not the first	
peregrinus,	quod quisquam posset indignari		
foreigner,	(a thing at which any one might feel indignation		
mirarive,	sed tertius	affectet regnum Romæ ;	
or surprise,) but the third,	who aspired to the sovereignty of Rome,		

et [and]	Tatium non solum ex peregrino, that Tatius not only from <i>being</i> an alien,	sed etiam but even
ex hoste, an enemy,	factum regem ; was made king ;	et Numam, and Numa,
ignarum urbis, unacquainted with the city,		non petentem, and without soliciting it,
ultra accitum had from their own choice been invited	in regnum : to the throne :	se, that he,
ex quo fuerit as soon as he was	sui potens, his own master,	commigrasse Romam had removed to Rome
cum conjuge with his wife	ac omnibus fortunis ; and whole fortune,	se vixisse and had spent
majorem partem ejus ætatis a greater part of that age	Romæ, at Rome,	quam in which
homines fungantur men are employed		civilibus officiis, in civil offices,
quam in vetere patria : than <i>he</i> had in his native country :		domi militiæque that both in peace and war
se didicisse he had thoroughly learned		Romana jura, the Roman laws,
Romanos ritus, the Roman ceremonies <i>of religion</i> ,	sub magistro haud pœnitendo,— under a master not to be objected to,	
rege Anco ipso : king Ancus himself :	obsequio et observantia in regem that in duty and loyalty to the king	
certasse cum omnibus, he had vied with all men,	benignitate erga alios in kindness toward others,	
cum rege ipso.” with the king himself.”	Memorantem hæc haud falsa While recounting these undoubted facts	
Romanus populus the Roman people		jussit eum regnare elected him to the throne
ingenti consensu. by a large majority ; [u. c. 138 ; a. c. 614.]	Ergo wherefore	ambitio, the ambition,
quam which he,	cetera egregium virum in other respects an excellent man,	habuerat had used
in petendo, in suing for the crown,	secuta est etiam regnantem ; followed him also through his reign ;	
nec minus memor and being no less mindful	firmandi sui regni of strengthening his own power,	quam than

augendæ reipublicæ,
of increasing *that* of the commonwealth,

legit centum
he elected a hundred

in patres,
into the fathers,

qui deinde
who from that time

appellati sunt
were called

minorum gentium,

Minorum Gentium (*i. e.* of the younger families),

factio
a party

aud dubia regis,
in favor of the king,

cujus beneficio
by whose kindness

venerant
they had got

in curiam.
into the senate.

Primum bellum
His first war

gessit cum Latinis,
he waged with the Latins,

et ibi
and in it

cepit oppidum Appiolas vi;
he took the town of Appiola by storm;

revectaque inde
and having brought back from thence

majore præda
a larger booty

quam fama belli
than the character of the war,

quanta
being of such *small consequence*

fuerat,
had *promised*,

fecit ludos
he exhibited games

opulentius
in a more costly

instructiusque
and splendid manner

quam priores reges.
than former kings.

Locus circo,
The place for the circus,

qui nunc dicitur maximus,
which is now called "*Maximus*,"

tunc primum
was then first

designatus est;
marked out;

loca divisa patribus
and spaces were parted off for the senators

equitibusque,
and knights,

ubi quisque facerent spectacula sibi;
where they might each erect seats for themselves;

appellati fori:
they were called fori (benches):

spectavere
they viewed *the games*

furcis
from scaffolding

sustinentibus
which supported

spectacula
seats

duodenos pedes alta
twelve feet high

ab terra:
from the ground.

ludicrum fuit;
The show took place;

equi pugilesque
horses and boxers

acciti
were sent for,

maxime ex Etruria:
chiefly from Etruria.

sollemnes ludi
These solemn games

deinde
afterwards

mansere annui,
continued annual,

varie appellati
being variously called

Romani magnique.*
the Roman and Great *games*.

XXXIX.—Eo tempore			prodigium fuit
At that time			a prodigy occurred
in regia	mirabile	visu	eventuque :
in the palace,	wonderful both in the appearance		and in the event :
ferunt	caput puero,		cui nomen fuit
they relate,	that the head of a boy,		whose name was
Servio Tullio,	dormienti,		arsisse
Servius Tullius,	as he lay asleep,		blazed with fire
in conspectu multorum.		Plurimo clamore	
in the sight of many people.		That by the very great noise,	
orto inde	ad	tantæ rei miraculum	
which arose	at the instance of	so miraculous a phenomenon,	
reges	igitur excitos :	et,	
the king and queen	were [in consequence] awakened :	and,	
cum quidam familiarium	ferret	aquam	
when one of the servants	was bringing	water	
ad restinguendum,	retentum	ab regina ;	
to extinguish it,	that he was kept back	by the queen ;	
jam tumultuque sedato	vetuisse	puerum	
and after the confusion was over,	that she forbade	the boy	
moveri,	donec experrectus esset	sua sponte :	
to be disturbed,	till he should awake	of his own accord:	
nox cum somno	et flammam abisse.	Tum	
that as soon as sleep left him	the flame also disappeared.	Then	
Tanaquil	abducto viro in secretum	inquit,	
Tanaquil,	taking her husband into a private place,	said,	
"viden' tu hunc puerum,	quem educamus		
"Do you observe this boy,	whom we are educating		
tam humili cultu ?	licet scire,	hunc	
in so humble a style ?	Be assured,	that he	
quondam futurum lumen	nostris dubiis rebus		
will hereafter prove a light	to us in our adversity,		
præsidiumque	regiæ afflictæ :	proinde	
and a protector	to our palace in distress :	from henceforth	
omni nostra indulgentia nutriamus	materiam		
let us, with all our care, train up this youth	capable of		
ingentis decoris	publice privatimque.'		
becoming a great ornament,	publicly and privately."		

Inde puerum coeptum haberi loco liberum,
 From this time the boy began to be treated as their own son,
 erudirique artibus, quibus ingenia excitantur
 and instructed in those arts, by which men's minds are qualified
 ad cultum magnæ fortunæ. Facile evenit,
 for the maintenance of high rank. That is easily brought to pass
 quod cordi esset diis : juvenis evasit
 which is pleasing to the gods. The young man turned out to be
 indolis vere regiæ, nec,
 of a disposition truly royal ; nor,
 cum gener Tarquinio quæreretur, potuit quisquam
 when a son-in-law for Tarquin was looked for, could any
 Romanæ juventutis conferri ulla arte,
 of the Roman youth be compared to him in any accomplishment :
 que rex despondit suam filiam ei. Hic
 and so the king betrothed his own daughter to him. This
 tantus honos habitus illi, de quacumque causa,
 high honor conferred on him, from whatever cause,
 prohibet credere, eum natum serva
 forbids our believing, that he was the son of a slave,
 que ipsum servisse parvum. Sum magis
 and that he had himself been a slave when young. I am rather
 sententiæ eorum, qui ferunt, capto Corniculo,
 of the opinion of those, who say, that, on the taking of Corniculum,
 uxorem Servii Tullii,— qui fuerat princeps
 the wife of Servius Tullius, who had been the leading man
 in illa urbe,— gravidam viro occiso,
 in that city, being pregnant when her husband was slain,
 cum cognita esset inter reliquas captivas,
 being known among the rest of the prisoners,
 ob unicam nobilitatem prohibitam
 and, in consequence of her high rank, exempted
 servitio ab Romana regina, edidisse partum
 from servitude by the Roman queen, was delivered of a child
 Romæ, domo Tarquini Prisci. Inde
 at Rome, in the house of Tarquinius Priscus. Upon this,
 et familiaritatem inter mulieres auctam
 that both the intimacy between the ladies was improved

tanto beneficio, et puerum, ut eductum
 by so great a kindness, and that the boy, having been brought up
 in domo a parvo, fuisse in caritate
 in the house from his infancy, was regarded with affection
 atque honore ; matris fortunam, quod venerit
 and respect ; that his mother's lot in having fallen
 in manus hostium, capta patria,
 into the hands of the enemy, on the taking of her native city,
 fecisse, ut crederetur natus serva.
 caused him to be considered the son of a slave.

XL.—Ferre duodequadragesimo anno, ex quo
 About the thirty-eighth year after

Tarquinius cœperat regnare, Servius Tullius erat
 Tarquin had commenced his reign, Servius Tullius was
 longe maximo honore non modo apud regem
 in the highest esteem not only with the king,
 sed apud patres plebemque. Tum
 but also with the senate and people. At this time
 duo filii Anci, etsi antea semper habuerant
 the two sons of Ancus, although they had before that always considered it
 pro indignissimo se pulsos
 as the greatest indignity, that they should be deprived
 patrio regno fraude tutoris, advenam
 of their father's throne by the perfidy of their guardian, that a stranger
 regnare Romæ non modo vicinæ sed
 should be king of Rome, who was not only not of a civic, but
 ne quidem Italicæ stirpis, tum iis indignitas
 not even of an Italian family ; yet now felt their indignation
 crescere impensius, si regnum ne quidem
 rise to a still higher pitch, seeing that the kingdom would not even
 ab Tarquinio rediret ad se, sed caderet præceps
 after Tarquin revert to them, but would go on sinking
 inde porro ad servitia, ut in eadem civitate
 even lower to a slave, so that in the same state,
 fere centesimum annum post quam Romulus,
 about the hundredth year after Romulus,

prognatus deo, deus ipse, tenuerit regnum,
descended from a deity, and a deity himself, had occupied the throne

donec fuerit in terris, Servius natus serva
as long as he lived on earth, a slave, the son of a slave,

id possideat. Id fore dedecus cum
should now possess it. That it would be a disgrace both

commune Romani nominis, tum præcipue
common to the Roman name, and more especially,

suæ domus, si, virili stirpe Anci regis
to their own family, if, whilst male issue of king Ancus

salva, regnum Romæ pateret
was still living, the sovereignty of Rome should be accessible

non modo advenis sed etiam servis. Igitur statuunt
not only to strangers but even to slaves. They determine, therefore

arcere eam contumeliam ferro : sed et
to prevent that disgrace by the sword. But both

dolor injuriæ stimulabat eos magis
resentment for the injury done them incensed them more

in Tarquinium ipsum quam in Servium ; et
against Tarquin himself, than against Servius ; and

quia rex futurus erat
the consideration that a king was likely to prove

gravior ultor cædis, si superesset, quam
a more severe avenger of the murder, if he should survive, than

privatus : tum Servio occiso,
a private person ; and, moreover, in case of Servius being slain,

quemcumque alium delegisset generum,
whatever other person he might select as his son-in-law,

videbatur facturum eundem heredem regni.
it seemed likely that he would make him his successor in the throne.

Ob hæc insidiæ parantur regi ipsi :
For these reasons the plot is formed against the king himself.

duo ferocissimi ex pastoribus delecti
Two of the most undaunted of the shepherds, being selected

ad facinus, agrestibus ferramentis quibus uterque
for the daring deed, with the rustic implements to which each

consueti erant, tumultuosissime
had been accustomed, by conducting themselves as boisterously

quam potuere in vestibulo regiæ, specie rixæ
 as they could in the porch of the palace, under pretence of a quarrel
 convertunt omnes regios apparitores in se :
 draw the attention of all the king's attendants to themselves;
 inde, cum ambo appellarent regem,
 then, when both appealed to the king.
 eorumque clamor pervenisset penitus in regiam,
 and their clamor reached even the interior of the palace,
 vocati pergunt ad regem. Primo
 they are called in, and proceed before the king. At first
 uterque vociferari, et alter certatim obstrepere alteri,
 both bawled aloud, and each furiously abused the other,
 coerciti ab lictore, et jussi dicere in vicem,
 until being restrained by the lictor, and commanded to speak in turns,
 tandem desistunt obloqui : ex composito
 they at length cease railing. According to concert
 unus orditur rem : dum rex intentus in eum
 one begins to state the matter ; when the king, attentive to him,
 averteret se totus, alter elatam securim
 turned himself quite *that way*, the other, raising up his axe,
 dejecit in caput, relictoque telo in vulnere
 struck it into his head, and leaving the weapon in the wound,
 ambo ejiciunt se foras.
 they both rush out of the house.

XLI.—Cum, qui circa erant, excepissent
 When those, who were around, had raised up
 Tarquinius moribundum, lictores comprehendunt
 Tarquinius in a dying state, the lictors seize on
 illos fugientes. Inde clamor
 the men who were endeavoring to escape. Upon this ensued an uproar
 concursusque populi mirantium, quid rei esset.
 and concourse of people, wondering what the matter was.
 Tanaquil inter tumultum jubet regiam claudi,
 Tanaquil, during the tumult, orders the palace to be shut,
 ejecit arbitros : simul
 turns out all who were present : at the same time

sedulo comparat, quæ opus sunt
she sedulously prepares such things as were necessary

curando vulnere, tamquam spes subesset :
for the dressing of the wound, as if a hope still remained :

simul, si spes destituat molitur
at the same time, in case her hopes should fail, she projects

alia præsidia. Accito propere Servio, cum
other means of safety. Sending immediately for Servius, after

ostendisset virum pæne exsanguem,
she had showed to him her husband almost expiring,

tenens dexteram orat, ne sinat
holding his right hand, she entreats him, not to suffer

mortem soceri inultam, ne socrum
the death of his father-in-law to go unavenged, nor his mother-in-law

esse ludibrio inimicis : "Servius," inquit,
to be an object of insult to their enemies. "Servius," she said,

"si es vir, regnum est tuum, non eorum
"if you are a man, the kingdom is yours, not theirs

qui manibus alienis fecere pessimum facinus :
who by the hands of others have perpetrated the basest of crimes.

erige te, sequereque duces deos, qui portenderunt
Exert yourself, and follow the guidance of the gods, who portended

hoc caput fore clarum quondam circumfuso
that this head would be illustrious, by having formerly shed around it

divino igni : nunc illa cœlestis flamma excitet te,
a divine fire. Now let that heavenly flame arouse you.

nunc expergiscere vere : et nos peregrini
Now awake in earnest. We too, though foreigners,

regnavimus : reputa, qui sis, non unde natus sis :
have reigned. Consider, who you are, not whence you are sprung.

si tua consilia torpent
If your own plans are not matured,

subita re, at tu sequere mea consilia."
by reason of the suddenness of this event, then follow mine."

Cum clamor impetusque multitudinis
When the uproar and violence of the multitude

vix posset sustineri, Tanaquil alloquitur populum
could hardly be withstood, Tanaquil addresses the populace

ex superiore parte ædium **per fenestras**
 from the upper part of the palace through the windows
versus in novam viam— **enim rex** **habitabat**
 facing the new street, (for the king resided
ad Jovis Statoris: **jubet esse bono animo:**
near the temple of Jupiter Stator). She bids *them* "be of good cheer;
regem sopitum fuisse subito ictu, ferrum
 that the king had been stunned by the sudden blow; that the weapon
haud descendisse alte in corpus: jam redisse
 had not sunk deep into his body; that he was already come
ad se: **vulnus inspectum**
 to himself again; that the wound had been examined,
cruore absterso, omnia salubria esse:
 the blood having been wiped off; that all *the symptoms* were favorable;
confidere, eos visuros ipsum prope diem.
 that she hoped, they would see him in a day or so;
Interim jubere populum audientem esse
and that in the mean time he commanded the people to obey
dicto Servio Tullio: eum redditurum esse jura
 the orders of Servius Tullius, who would administer justice,
obiturumque alia munia regis.
 and perform all the other functions of the king."
Servius prodit cum trabea et lictoribus, ac
 Servius comes forth with the robe of state and the lictors, and,
sedens regia sede decernit alia,
 seating himself on the king's throne, decides some cases;
de aliis simulat se consulturum esse regem:
 with respect to others, pretends that he will consult the king.
itaque morte celata per aliquot dies, cum
 Therefore the death being concealed for several days, though
Tarquinius jam exspirasset, per speciem
 Tarquin had already expired, he, under pretence
fungendæ vicis alienæ firmavit suas opes.
 of discharging the duty of another, strengthened his own interest.
Tum demum palam factum, et comploratione
 Then at length *the matter* being made public, and lamentations
orta in regia, Servius, munitus firmo præsidio,
 being raised in the palace, Servius, supported by a strong guard.

regnavit voluntate patrum primus
 assumed the throne by the consent of the senate, being the first who did so

injussu populi. Liberi
 without the orders of the people. [U. C. 176, B. C. 576.] The children

Anci ministris sceleris jam tum comprehensis,
 of Ancus, the instruments of their villainy having been already seized,

ut nuntiatum est regem vivere et
 as soon as it was announced that the king still lived, and that

opes Servii esse tantas, ierant exsulatum
 the power of Servius was so great, had gone into exile

Suessam Pometiam.

to Suessa Pometia.

XLV. Civitate aucta magnitudine urbis,

The state being increased by the enlargement of the city,

omnibus formatis domi ad usus
 and everything modeled at home and abroad for the exigencies

et pacis et ad belli, ne opes semper
 both of peace and of war, that power might not always

acquirerentur armis, conatus est
 be appropriated by force of arms, he endeavored

augere imperium consilio, simul et addere
 to extend his empire by policy, and at the same time to add

aliquod decus urbi. Fanum Dianæ Ephesiæ
 some ornament to the city. The temple of Diana at Ephesus

jam tum erat inclytum. Fama ferebat
 was even at that time in high renown. Fame represented it

factum a civitatibus Asiæ communiter.
 to have been built by all the states of Asia in common.

Servius inter procures Latinorum,
 Servius, in the presence of the chief men of the Latins,

cum quibus de industria junxerat
 with whom he had purposely formed connexion

hospitia amicitiasque publice privatimque,
 of hospitality and friendship both in his public and private capacity,

laudare mire eum consensum consociatosque deos:
 extolled in high terms such concord and association of their gods;

sæpe iterando eadem perpulit tandem,
and by often repeating the same sentiments, prevailed so far at last,

ut Latini populi facerent cum
that the Latin people agreed to build, in conjunction with

Romano populo fanum Dianæ Romæ.
the Roman people, a temple to Diana at Rome.

Ea erat confessio, Romam esse caput rerum,
This was an acknowledgment, that Rome was the head of both nations,

de quo toties certatum fuerat armis.
concerning which they had so often disputed in arms.

Quamquam id videbatur jam omissum
Though that object seemed to have been at the time left

ex cura omnium Latinorum, ob rem
out of consideration by all the Latins, in consequence of the matter

toties tentatam infelicitèr armis, fors visa est
having been so often attempted unsuccessfully by arms, the chance seemed

dare se uni ex Sabinis recuperandi imperii
to present itself to one of the Sabines of recovering independence

privato consilio. Bos dicitur nata
by his own address. A cow is said to have been calved

cuidam patrifamiliæ in Sabinos,
to a certain person, the head of a family among the Sabines,

miranda magnitudine ac specie. Cornua
of extraordinary size and beauty. Her horns

fixa in vestibulo templi Dianæ
which were hung up in the porch of the temple of Diana,

fuere per multas ætates monumentum ei miraculo.
remained for many ages a monument of this wonder.

Res habita est loco prodigii, ut erat,
The thing was looked upon in the light of a prodigy, as it was,

et vates cecinere, imperium fore,
and the soothsayers declared, that sovereignty would reside

ibi civitatis cujus cives immolassent
in that state of which a citizen should sacrifice

eam Dianæ : idque carmen pervenerat
this heifer to Diana : and this prediction had come

ad antistitem Dianæ fani. Sabinusque,
to the care of the priest of Diana's temple. The Sabine

ut prima visa est apta dies sacrificio, actam bovem
as soon as it was deemed a proper day for the sacrifice, drove the cow

Romam deducit ad fanum Dianæ
to Rome, brought her to the temple of Diana,

et statuit ante aram. Ibi Romanus antistes,
and set her before the altar. There the Roman priest,

magnitudo victimæ celebrata fama
he uncommon size of the victim so much celebrated by fame

cum movisset, memor respons, ita alloquitur
having struck him, remembering the prediction, thus accosted

Sabinum : "hospes, quidnam tu paras ?"
the Sabine : "Stranger, what are you preparing to do ?"

inquit ; "facere sacrificium Dianæ inceste ?
says he ; "to perform sacrifice to Diana with impure hands ?

quin tu ante perfunderis vivo flumine ?
Why do you not first dip yourself in a running stream ?

Tiberis præfluit infima valle. " Hospes tactus
The Tiber flows along in the bottom of that valley. " The stranger, touched

religione, qui cuperet omnia facta rite,
by the scruple, and desirous of having everything done in due order,

ut eventus responderet prodigio, extemplo descendit
that the event might answer to the prodigy, immediately went down

ad Tiberim : interea Romanus immolat
to the Tiber. In the meantime the Roman sacrificed

bovem Dianæ. Id fuit mire gratum regi
the heifer to Diana, which was eminently satisfactory to the king

atque civitati.
and to the whole state.

XLVI.—Servius, quamquam usu
Servius, although by long possession

jam possederat haud dubium regnum, tamen,
he had already gained an undisputed title to the throne, yet,

quia audiebat voces interdum jactari
as he heard that expressions were sometimes thrown out

a juvene Tarquinio, se regnare
by young Tarquin, 'that he held the government

injussu populi, prius conciliata
without the order of the people, having first secured

voluntate plebis, diviso viritim
the good-will of the commons, by dividing among them, man by man,

agro capto ex hostibus, ausus est ferre
the lands taken from their enemies, ventured to propose

ad populum, vellent juberentne
to the people, whether "they wished and ordered

se regnare : declaratusque est rex
that he should be king, and was declared king

tanto consensu, quanto haud quisquam alius ante.
with such unanimity, as was no other one before him.

Neque ea res diminuit Tarquinio spem
But this circumstance diminished not Tarquin's hope

affectandi regni : immo, quia senserat
of obtaining the throne ; nay, because he had observed

agi de agro plebis
that the proceedings relative to the lands for the commons

adversa voluntate patrum,
were contrary to the wishes of the patricians,

eo impensius ratus est occasionem
he was the more strongly convinced that an opportunity

datam sibi criminandi Servii apud patres
was now presented to him of arraigning Servius before the fathers,

crescendique in curia,— et ipse
and of increasing his own influence in the senate, he being himself

juvenis ardentis animi, et uxore Tullia
a youth of a fiery temper, and his wife, Tullia,

domi stimulante inquietum animum.
at home stimulating his restless spirit.

Enim et Romana regia tulit exemplum
For the Roman palace also afforded an instance

tragici sceleris, ut tædio regum libertas
of tragical villainy, so that, through their disgust of kings liberty

veniret maturior, regnumque, quod
might come more matured, and the throne, which

partum foret scelere, ultimum esset.
should be attained through crime, might be the last.

Hic L. Tarquinius—

This L. Tarquinius,

fuerit filius neposne
(whether he was the son or grandson

Tarquinius Prisci regis,
of Tarquinius Priscus, the king,

parum liquet;
is not clear;

pluribus auctoribus tamen ediderim filium—
with the greater number of authorities, however, I would say, his son),

habuerat fratrem
had a brother,

Arruntem Tarquinium
Arruns Tarquinius,

juvenem mitis ingenii.
a youth of a mild disposition.

His duobus,
To these two,

ut ante dictum est, duæ Tulliæ filiæ regis
as has been already stated, the two Tulliæ, daughters of the king,

nupserant, et ipsæ longe dispares moribus.
had been married, they also being of widely different tempers.

Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia
It had so happened, that the two violent dispositions

jungerentur matrimonio, fortuna, credo,
were not united in wedlock, through the good fortune, I presume,

Romani populi, quo regnum Servii
of the Roman people, in order that the reign of Servius

esset diuturnius, moresque civitatis
might be more protracted, and the morals of the community

possent constitui. Ferox Tullia angebatur
be firmly established. The haughty Tullia was chagrined,

nihil materiæ esse in viro neque ad cupiditatem
that there was no material in her husband either for ambition

neque ad audaciam :
or bold enterprise. aversa tota
Devoting herself entirely

in alterum Tarquinium, eum mirari,
to the other Tarquinius, him she admired

eum dicere virum ac ortum regio sanguine,
him she called a man and one truly descended of royal blood ;

sororem spernere, quod nacta virum
her sister she despised, because, having got a man

cessaret audacia muliebri. Similitudo
she was deficient in the spirit becoming a woman. Similarity of mind

celeriter contrahit eos, ut malum fere fit
soon draws them together, as wickedness is generally

aptissimum malo : most congenial to wickedness :		sed initium but the commencement
turbandi omnia of creating general confusion		ortum est a femina. originated with the woman.
Ea assuefacta She, accustomed	secretis sermonibus to the secret conversations	alieni viri, of the other's husband,
parcere nullis refrained not from using	contumeliis verborum the most contumelious language	
de viro concerning her husband	ad fratrem, to his brother,	de sorore concerning her sister
ad virum : to her (i. e. her sister's) husband,	et contendere and contended	
futurum fuisse rectius that it had been better	se that she herself	viduam were unmarried,
et illum cœlibem, and he single,	quam jungi than that they should be matched	
cum compari, unsuitably,	ut elanguescendum esset so that they must languish away through life	
ignavia aliena : by reason of the stupidity of others.	si dii dedissent If the gods had granted	
sibi her	eum virum, the husband,	quo digna esset of whom she was worthy,
se prope diem visuram fuisse she should soon see	regnum domi, the crown in her own house,	
quod videat which she now saw	apud patrem. at her father's.	Celeriter implet She soon inspires
adolescentem the young man	susæ temeritatis : with her own daring notions.	Lucius Tarquiniu Lucius Tarquinius
et minor Tullia, and the younger Tullia,	cum when they had,	prope continuati by almost successive
funeribus deaths,	fecissent made	domos vacuas novo matrimonio. their houses vacant for new nuptials,
junguntur nuptiis— are joined in matrimony,	Servio magis non prohibenti Servius rather not obstructing	
quam approbante. than approving of the match.		

XLVII.—Tum vero
Then indeed

senectus Tullii cœpit
the old age of Tullus began

esse in dies infestior, regnum infestius :
to be every day more disquieted, his authority more precarious ;

jam enim mulier spectare ab scelere
for now the woman looked from *one* crime

ad aliud scelus, nec pati virum conquiescere
to another, and suffered not her husband to rest

nocte nec interdiu, ne præterita parricidia
by night or by day, lest their past murders

gratuita essent : non sibi defuisse
might go for nothing. "That she wanted not *a person*

cui innupta diceretur, nec cum quo
whose wife she might be called, or *one* with whom

tacita serviret : defuisse
she might in silence live a slave : *what* she desired *was one*

qui putaret se dignum regno, qui meminisset
who would consider himself worthy of the throne, who would remember

se esse filium Tarquinii Prisci, qui mallet habere
that he was the son of Tarquinius *Priscus* ; who would rather possess

regnum quam sperare : "si tu, cui arbitror
a kingdom than hope *for it*. If you, to whom I consider

me nuptam esse, es is, appello
myself married, are such *a one*, I address you

et virum et regem : sin minus, res mutata est
both as husband and king : but if not, our condition has been changed

eo nunc pejus, quod istic est scelus
so far for the worse, because here is guilt

cum ignavia. Quin accingeris ? non necesse est
together with cowardice. Why not prepare yourself ? it is not necessary

tibi, ut tuo patri ab Corintho,
for you, as for your father *coming here* from Corinth

nec Tarquiniis, moliri peregrina regna : penates
or Tarquini, to strive for foreign thrones. Your household

patrique dii, et patris imago, et regia domus,
and country's gods, and your father's image, and the royal palace,

et regale solium in domo, et nomen Tarquinius
and the royal throne in *that* palace, and the name of Tarquinius.

creat vocatque te regem. Aut si parum est
 constitute and call you king. Or if you have too little
 animi ad hæc— quid frustraris civitatem?
 spirit for this, why do you disappoint the nation?
 quid sinis te conspici ut juvenem regium?
 Why do you suffer yourself to be looked up to as a youth of royal blood?
 facesse hinc Tarquinius aut Corinthum,
 Get you hence to Tarquinius or Corinth;
 devolvere retro ad stirpem, similior fratris
 sink back again to your original race, more like your brother
 quam patris.” Increpando iis aliisque
 than your father.” By chiding him in these and other terms,
 instigat juvenem, nec ipsa potest conquiescere,
 she spurs on the young man, nor can she herself rest,
 si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier,
 seeing that, when Tanaquil, a foreign woman,
 potuisset animo moliri tantum, ut dedisset
 could, by her resolution, achieve so great a project, as to bestow
 duo continua regna viro, ac deinceps
 two successive thrones on her husband, and then
 genero, ipsa, orta regio semine,
 on her son-in-law, she, sprung from royal blood,
 faceret nullum momentum in dando
 should have no influence in bestowing
 adimendoque regno. Tarquinius instinctus
 and taking away a kingdom. Tarquinius, driven on
 his furiis muliebribus circumire et prensare
 by these frenzied instigations of the woman, went round and solicited
 patres, maxime minorum gentium,
 the patricians, especially those of the younger families;
 admonere paterni beneficii ac repetere
 put them in mind of his father's kindness, and demanded
 gratiam pro eo, allicere juvenes donis,
 a requital of it; enticed the young men by presents;
 crescere cum pollicendo ingentia
 increased his interest both by promising magnificent gifts
 de se, tum criminibus regis omnibus locis:
 on his part, and by inveighing against the king at every opportunity

postremo, ut jam tempus visum est
 At length as soon as the time seemed convenient
 agendæ rei, irrupit in forum, stipatus
 for accomplishing his object, he rushed into the forum, accompanied
 agmine armatorum : inde, omnibus percussis
 by a party of armed men ; then, whilst all were struck
 pavore, sedens in regia sede pro curia,
 with dismay, seating himself on the throne before the senate-house,
 iussit patres citari in curiam
 he ordered the fathers to be summoned to the senate-house
 per præconem ad regem Tarquinium. Convenere
 by a herald, to attend their king Tarquinius. They assembled
 extemplo, alii jam præparati ad hoc,
 immediately, some being already prepared for the occasion,
 alii metu, ne non veniase
 some through fear, lest their not having come
 esset fraudi, attoniti novitate ac miraculo
 might be to their detriment, astounded at the novelty and strangeness
 et rati jam actum de Servio.
 of the matter, and considering that it was now all over with Servius.
 Ibi Tarquinius, orsus maledicta
 Then Tarquinius, commencing his invectives
 ab ultima stirpe : servum natumque serva
 against his immediate ancestors : " that a slave, and born of a slave
 post indignam mortem sui parentis, non interregno
 after the untimely death of his parent, without an interregnum
 inito ut antea, non comitiis habitis,
 being appointed as on former occasions, without an election being held,
 non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus—
 without the suffrages of the people, or the approbation of the senate,
 occupasse regnum dono muliebri :
 he had taken possession of the kingdom as the gift of a woman.
 ita natum ita creatum regem, fautorem
 That so born, so created king, a favorer
 infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit,
 of the lowest class of people, to which he himself belonged,
 odio honestatis alienæ ereptum
 through a hatred of the high rank of others, he had taken away

agrum primoribus divisisse
 their land from the chief men in the state, and distributed it
 cuique sordidissimo : omnia onera, quæ quondam
 among the very meanest ; all the burdens, which heretofore
 fuerint communia, inclinasse in primores
 had been borne in common, he had thrown on the leading members
 civitatis : instituisse censum, ut
 of the community ; that he had instituted the census, in order that
 fortuna locupletiorum esset insignis
 the fortunes of the more wealthy might be conspicuous
 ad invidiam et parata, unde,
 to excite envy, and be a ready fund, out of which he could,
 ubi vellet, largiretur egentissimis.
 when he chose, give bribes to the most needy."

XLVIII.—Cum Servius,

excitatus
aroused

trepido nuntio, intervenisset huic orationi,
 by the alarming announcement, came in during this harangue,

extemplo a vestibulo curiæ inquit magna voce,
 immediately from the porch of the senate-house, he says with a loud voice,

"quid hoc rei est, Tarquini ? qua audacia tu ausus es
 "What is the matter here, Tarquin ? By what audacity hast thou dared

vocare patres, me vivo, aut considerare
 to summon the fathers, while I am still alive, or to sit

in mea sede ? " ad hæc cum ille ferociter,
 on my throne ? " To this when he fiercely replied,

se filium regis tenere sedem sui patris,
 "that he, the son of a king, occupied the throne of his father,

multo potiore heredem regni, quam servum,
 a much fitter successor to the kingdom, than a slave ;

illum insultasse dominis satis diu
 that he, *Servius*, had insulted his masters full long enough

per eludentem licentiam : clamor oritur
 with his arbitrary insolence, " a shout arises

ab fautoribus utriusque : et concursus populi
 from the partisans of both, and a rush of the people

in curia fiebat, apparebatque,
 into the senate-house took place, and it became evident, that
 qui vicisset, regnaturum. Tum Tarquinius,—
 whoever came off victor, would have the throne. Then Tarquin,
 necessitate ipsa jam etiam cogente audere ultima,—
 necessity itself now obliging him to proceed to the last extremity,
 multo validior et ætate et viribus,
 having much the advantage both in years and strength,
 arripit Servium medium, elatumque e curia
 seizes Servius by the middle, and carrying him out of the senate-house
 dejecit per gradus in inferiorem partem: inde
 throws him down the steps to the bottom. He then
 rediit in curiam ad cogendum senatum.
 returns to the senate-house to assemble the senate.
 Regis apparitorum atque comitum fuga fit:
 The king's officers and attendants fly.
 ipse prope exsanguis, cum reciperet se domum
 He himself, almost lifeless, when he was returning home
 sine regio comitatu, interficitur ab iis, qui
 without his royal retinue, is slain by those, who
 missi ab Tarquinio consecuti erant
 had been sent by Tarquin, and had overtaken
 fugientem. Creditur, quia non abhorret
 him in his flight. It is believed that, because not inconsistent
 a scelere cetero, id factum
 with her impious conduct in other respects, this was done
 admonitu Tulliae: certe —id quod satis constat—
 by the advice of Tullia: certain it is, (for there is sufficient proof,)
 invecta in forum carpento, nec reverita cœtum
 that driving into the forum in her chariot, and not abashed at the crowd
 virorum, evocavit virum e curia,
 of persons there, she called her husband out of the senate-house,
 primaque appellavit regem: cum
 and was the first to style him king; and when,
 jussa a quo facessere ex tanto tumultu
 on being ordered by him to retire from so great a tumult,
 reciperet se domum, pervenissetque ad summum
 she was returning home, and had arrived at the top of

Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit,
 the Cyprian street, where Diana's temple lately was,
 is, qui agebat jumenta, pavidus, restitit
 the person, who drove the horses, struck with horror, stopped
 atque inhibuit frenos, ostenditque dominæ,
 and drew in the reins, and pointed out to his mistress,
 flectenti carpentum dextra in Urbium clivum,
 who was turning the chariot to the right towards the Urbian hill,
 it eveheretur in collem Esquiliarium,
 in order to ride up to the Esquiline,
 trucidatum Servium jacentem. Inde
 the murdered Servius lying on the ground. On this occasion
 fœdum inhumanumque scelus traditur,
 a revolting and inhuman crime is stated to have been committed,
 locusque est monumento,— vocant Sceleratum vicum,—
 and the place is a monument of it. They call it the Wicked Street,
 quo Tullia, amens, agitantibus furiis
 where Tullia, frantic and urged on by the furies
 sororis ac viri, fertur egisse carpentum
 of her sister and husband, is reported to have driven her chariot
 per patris corpus, tulisseque cruento vehiculo
 over her father's body, and to have carried, on her bloody vehicle,
 partem cædis ac sanguinis paternæ ad suos
 a portion of the body and blood of that parent to her own
 sui que viri penates, ipsa
 and her husband's household gods, herself also
 contaminata respersaque, quibus iratis,
 being stained and sprinkled with it; through whose vengeance
 sequerentur prope diem exitus similes
 followed shortly after a train of events corresponding
 malo principio regni. Servius Tullius
 to the iniquitous commencement of this reign. Servius Tullius
 regnavit quattuor et quadraginta annos ita, ut
 reigned forty-four years in such a manner, that
 æmulatio esset difficilis etiam bono
 a competition with him would prove difficult even for a good
 moderatoque succedenti regi: ceterum id quoque
 and moderate successor on the throne. But this also

accessit ad gloriam, quod simul cum illo
has been an accession to his glory, that, together with him

occiderunt justa ac legitima regna :
perished all just and legitimate reigns.

id ipsum imperium tam mite ac tam moderatum
This authority, so mild and so moderate,

tamen, quia unius esset, quidam auctores sunt,
yet, because vested in one, some authors tell us,

habuisse eum in animo deponere, ni scelus
that he had it in contemplation to resign, had not the wickedness

intestinum intervenisset agitati consilia
of his family interfered with him whilst planning

liberandæ patriæ.
for the liberation of his country.

XLIX.—Inde

After this period

L. Tarquinius occepit regnare,

Lucius Tarquinius began his reign,

cui facta indiderunt cognomen
[v. c. 220 ; b. c. 522.] whose actions procured him the surname

Superbo, quia gener prohibuit socerum sepultura,
of the Proud, for [a son-in-law] he refused his father-in-law burial,

dictitans Romulum quoque perisse insepultum,
alleging that Romulus likewise died without sepulture ;

primoresque patrum, quos credebat favisce
and the principal senators, whom he suspected of having favored

rebus Servii, interfecit. Deinde conscius,
the interest of Servius, he put to death. Then, conscious

exemplum quærendi regni male
that the precedent of acquiring the crown by wicked means

posse capi ab se ipso adversus se, circumspexit
might be adopted from him against himself, he surrounded

corpus armatis ; enim habebat
his person with armed men ; for he had

neque quidquam ad jus regni præter vim,
no kind of title to the throne except force,

ut qui regnaret neque jussu populi, neque
inasmuch as he reigned neither by order of the people nor

auctoribus patribus. Eo accedebat ut
 with the approbation of the senate. To this was added *the first* that,
 reponenti nihil spei in caritate civium
 as he reposed no hope in the affection of his subjects,
 tutandum esset regnum metu : quem ut incuteret
 he was obliged to secure his kingdom by terror ; and in order to strike this
 pluribus, exercebat cognitiones
 into the greater number, he took cognizance
 capitalium rerum solus per se sine consiliis,
 of capital cases solely by himself without assessors ;
 perque eam causam poterat occidere,
 and under that pretext he had it in his power to put to death,
 in exsilium agere, multare bonis, non modo
 banish, or impose fines, not only
 suspectos aut invisos, sed unde
 on those whom he suspected or disliked, but on those from whom
 posset sperare nihil aliud, quam prædam.
 he could expect nothing else but plunder.
 Numero patrum præcipue ita imminuto,
 The number of the senators especially being thus diminished,
 statuit legere nullos in patres, quo
 he determined to elect none into the senate, to the end that
 ordo esset contemptior ipsa paucitate,
 the order might be the more contemptible by their very paucity,
 minusque indignarentur nihil agi
 and that they might feel the less resentment at no business being transacted
 per se. Enim hic primus regum solvit morem
 by them. For he was the first king who violated the custom,
 traditum a prioribus consulendi senatum
 derived from his predecessors, of consulting the senate
 de omnibus, administravit rem publicam
 on all subjects ; he administered public affairs
 domesticis consiliis : bellum, pacem, fœdera,
 by domestic counsels : war, peace, treaties,
 societates ipse per se fecit diremitque,
 alliances he of himself contracted and dissolved
 cum quibus voluit, injussu populi
 with whomsoever he pleased, without the sanction of the people

ac senatus.
and the senate.

Gentem Latinorum maxime
The nation of the Latins in particular

conciliabat
he was eager to attach

sibi,
to himself,

ut
so that

peregrinis opibus quoque
by foreign influence also

esset tutior
he might be more secure

inter cives,
among his own subjects;

jungebat
and he formed

neque modo
not only

hospitia
ties of hospitality

sed
but

affinitates quoque
affinities also

cum eorum primoribus :
with their leading men.

Octavio Mamilio
To Octavius Mamilius

Tusculano— is erat princeps longe
of Tusculum, (he was the most illustrious by far

Latini nominis,
of the Latin name,

oriundus,
being descended,

si credimus famæ,
if we may give credit to fame,

ab Ulixæ
from Ulysses

deaque Circa—
and the goddess Circe,)

ei Mamilio
[to this Mamilius]

dat filiam
he gives his daughter

nuptum,
in marriage,

perque eas nuptias
and by this match

conciliat sibi
secures to himself

ejus multos cognatos
his numerous kinsmen

amicosque.
and friends.

LIII.—Nec fuit,
Nor was he,

ut injustus rex in pace,
though an iniquitous prince in peace,

ita pravus
equally reprehensible

dux belli :
as a general in war ;

quin ea arte
nay, in that capacity

æquasset superiores reges,
he would have equalled former kings,

ni degeneratum
had not his degeneracy

in aliis
in other respects

quoque offecisset decori huic.
likewise detracted from his merit here.

Is primus movit bellum Volscis
He began the war against the Volsci,

in amplius
which lasted for more than

ducentos annos
two-hundred years

post suam ætatem,
after his time;

cepitque
and took

ex his
from them

Suessam Pometiam
Suessa Pometia

vi.
by storm ;

Ubi
and where

cum divendita præda	refecisset
by the sale of the spoils	he had amassed
quadraginta talenta argenti,	concepit animo
forty talents of silver <i>and of gold,</i>	he designed
eam amplitudinem templi Jovis,	quæ esset digna
such magnificence for a temple to Jupiter,	as should be worthy
rege deûm hominumque,	quæ Romano imperio,
of the king of gods and men,	worthy of the Roman empire,
quæ etiam majestate loci ipsius :	in ædificationem
and [also] of the dignity of the place itself :	for the building
ejus templi	seposuit pecuniam captivam. *****
of this temple	he set apart the money arising from the spoils.

LVI.—Intentus perficiendo templo,

Intent on finishing the temple,

accitis

having sent for

fabris undique ex Etruria,

workmen from all parts of Etruria,

usus est ad id

he employed on it

non solum publica pecunia,

sed etiam operis

not only the public money,

but also the manual labor

ex plebe. Cum qui labor

haud parvus et ipse

of the people; and when this labor, by no means inconsiderable in itself,

addideretur

militiæ,

tamen plebs

was added

to their military service,

still the people

gravabatur minus,

se exædificare

murmured less

at their building

templa deûm

suis manibus,

quam

the temples of the gods

with their own hands,

than when

postquam

et traducebantur ad alia opera,

afterwards

they were transferred also to other works,

ut minora specie,

sic aliquanto majoris

which, though less in show,

were yet attended with considerably more

laboris,

faciendos foros in circo,

agendamque

toil;

the erecting seats in the circus,

and conducting

sub terram

maximam cloacam,

receptaculum

under ground

the principal sewer,

the receptacle

omnium purgamentorum urbis : quibus duobus operibus

of all the filth of the city ;

to which two works

hæc magnificentia nova the magnificence of modern times		potuit vix can scarcely
quidquam adæquare. produce anything equal.	Plebe The people	exercita having been employed
his laboribus, in these works,	quia because	et rebatur he both considered
multitudinem esse that such a multitude was	oneri urbi, a burden to the city,	ubi esset when there was
non usus, no employment for them,	et volebat and was anxious	fines that the frontiers
imperii of the empire		latius occupari should be more extensively occupied
mittendis colonis, by sending colonists,	misit colonos he sent colonists	Signiam to Signia
Circeiosque, and Circeii,	futura to serve hereafter	præsidia urbi as defensive barriers to the city
terra marique. by land and sea.	Hæc agenti While thus employed	terribile portentum a frightful prodigy
visum : appeared to him ;	anguis, a serpent,	elapsus ex lignea columna, sliding out of a wooden pillar,
cum fecisset terrorem after causing dismay	fugamque and a run	in regiam, into the palace,
non tam perculit not so much struck		pectus regis ipsius the heart of the king [himself]
subito pavore, with sudden terror,	quam implevit as filled him	anxiis curis. with anxious apprehensions.
Itaque cum Accordingly, when	Etrusci vates tantum Etrurian soothsayers only were employed	
ad publica prodigia, for public prodigies,	exterritus terrified at	hoc velut this as it were
domestico visu, domestic apparition,	statuit mittere he resolved to send	Delphos to Delphi
ad maxime inclytum oraculum to the most celebrated oracle		in terris : in the world ;
neque ausus committere and not venturing to entrust		responsa sortium the responses of the oracle
ulli alii, to any other person,	misit duos filios he dispatched his two sons	in Græciam to Greece

per terras through lands	ignotas ea tempestate, unknown at that time,	maria and seas,
ignotiora. still more unexplored.	Titus et Arruns Titus and Arruns	profecti : set out ;
iis to them	additus was added,	comes as a companion,
natus Tarquinia the son of Tarquinia	sorore regis, sister to the king,	L. Junius Brutus, L. Junius Brutus,
ingenio of capacity	longe alius, widely different	juvenis a young man
induerat. he had assumed.	quam from that	simulationem cujus the disguise of which
Cum audisset Having heard that	primores civitatis, the principal men of the state,	
in quibus and among others	suum fratrem his own brother	interfectum had been put to death
ab avunculo, by his uncle,	statuit relinquere he resolved to leave	neque quidquam nothing
in suo animo in his intellects	timendum regi, that might be dreaded by the king,	neque nor anything
in fortuna in his fortune	concupiscendum, to be coveted,	que and thus
esse tutus to be secure	contemptu, in contempt,	ubi esset where there was
parum præsidii but little protection	in jure. in justice.	Ergo Therefore
ex industria factus designedly fashioning himself	ad imitationem stultitiæ, to the semblance of foolishness,	
cum sineret se after he suffered himself	suaque and all his goods	esse prædæ regi, to become a prey to the king,
haud abnuit he did not refuse to take	quoque cognomen Bruti, even the surname of Brutus,	
ut, that,	latens concealed	sub obtentu ejus cognominis, under the cover of that appellation,
ille animus the genius,	liberator which was to be the deliverer	Romani populi of the Roman people.
opperiretur sua tempora. might await its proper time.		
Tum ductus Delphos At this time carried to Delphi		ab Tarquiniis,— by the Tarquiniæ,

verius ludibrium
rather as a subject of sport

tulisse
to have brought with him

aureum baculum,
a golden wand,

cavato ad id,
hollowed out for that purpose,—

sui ingenii.
of his own capacity.

patris mandatis perfectis,
their father's commission being executed,

animos juvenum
the minds of the young men

regnum Romanum
the kingdom of Rome

vocem redditam
that a voice was returned

"O juvenes,
"Young men,

matri,
his mother

habebit summum imperium
shall enjoy the sovereign power

Jubent
They, (*the Tarquinii*), order

summa ope,
with the utmost care,

relictus fuerat
had been left behind

responsi
of the response,

ipsi permittunt sorti
they cast lots

prior daret osculum matri,
should first kiss his mother,

Brutus,
Brutus,

alio,
in a different direction,

quam comes—
than as a companion,

donum Apollini
as an offering to Apollo

inclusum baculo corneo
enclosed in a staff of cornel-wood

per ambages effigiem
a mystical emblem

Postquam quo ventum est,
When they arrived there,

cupido incessit
a desire entered

sciscitandi, ad quem eorum
of inquiring on which of them

esset venturum. Ferunt
was to devolve. They say

ex infimo specu :
from the bottom of the cave,

primus tulerit osculum
shall first kiss

Romæ."
at Rome."

rem taceri
the matter to be kept secret

ut Tarquinius Sextus, qui
that Sextus, who

Romæ, esset ignarus
at Rome, might be ignorant

expersque imperii :
and have no share in the kingdom ;

inter se, uter
among themselves, as to which of them

cum redissent Romam.
after they had returned to Rome.

ratus Pythicam vocem spectare
thinking that the Pythian answer looked

velut si prolapsus cecidisset,
as if he had stumbled and fallen,

contigit terram osculo, scilicet, quod ea esset
touched the earth with his lips, considering, that she was

communis mater omnium mortalium. Inde
the common mother of all mankind. After this

reditum Romam, ubi parabatur
they all returned to Rome, where preparations were being made

summa vi bellum adversus Rutulos.
with the greatest vigor for a war against the Rutulians.

LVII.—Rutuli, gens, ut in ea regione
The Rutulians, a nation, for that country

atque in ea ætate præpollens divitiis,
and that age, very distinguished for opulence,

habebant Ardeam : eaque ipsa
were at that time in possession of Ardea ; and this very opulence

fuit causa belli, quod rex Romanus,
was the occasion for war ; for the king of the Romans,

exhaustus magnificentia publicorum operum,
being exhausted of money by the magnificence of his public works,

studebat cum ipse ditari, tum
was desirous both to enrich himself, and

præda delenire animos popularium,
by means of the spoils to soothe the minds of his subjects, who,

præter aliam superbiam infestos etiam
besides other instances of his tyranny, were incensed [also]

regno, quod indignabantur se
against his government, because they were indignant that they

habitos tam diu ab rege in ministerio
had been kept so long a time by the king in the employments

fabrorum ac opere servili. Res tentata est,
of mechanics, and in labor fit for slaves. A plan was tried,

si Ardea posset capi primo impetu : ubi
whether Ardea could be taken at the first assault ; when

id parum processit, hostes coepti premi
that did not succeed, the enemy began to be distressed

obsidione munitionibusque. In his
by a blockade, and the works thrown up around them. In this

stativis— fixed post,	ut fit as is usual	bello in a war	magis longo rather tedious
quam acri— than violent,	commeatus erant furloughs were	satis liberi, quite readily obtained,	
magis more so	primoribus tamen by the officers, however,	quam than	
militibus : by the common soldiers ;		juvenes regii quidem the young princes in particular,	
interdum terebant frequently spent	otium their leisure time	conviviis in feasting	
inter se comisationibusque. and mutual entertainments.		Forte It happened that	
his potantibus while these were drinking		apud Sex. Tarquinium, at the quarters of Sextus Tarquin,	
ubi where	Collatinus Tarquinius, Collatinus Tarquinius,	filius Egerii, son of Egerius,	
et cenabat, also supped,	mentio incidit mention was made	de uxoribus of their wives ;	
quisque laudare suam each extolled his own	miris modis : in an extravagant manner :	inde on this	
certamine accenso a dispute arising,		Collatinus negat, Collatinus said	
“opus esse verbis, “there was no need of words ;	id quidem posse it could easily	sciri be known	
paucis horis, in a few hours,	quantum how far	sua Lucretia his Lucretia	
præstet ceteris : excelled the rest.	quin, Why not,	si vigor juventæ inest, if the vigor of youth is ours,	
conscendimus equos mount our horses	invisimusque and inspect	præsentēs in person	
ingenia nostrarum ? the behavior of our wives ?		Id sit spectatissimum cuique, That must be most satisfactory to each,	
quod occurrerit oculis which shall meet his eyes		necopinato adventu viri.” on the unexpected arrival of the husband.”	
Incaluerant vino : They were heated with wine :	“Age sane,” “Come on, then,”	omnes : say all.	
citatis equis At full gallop	avolant they fly	Romam to Rome.	

Cum pervenissent quo, primis tenebris
 Having arrived there as the first shades of night
 se intendentibus, pergunt inde Collatiam, ubi
 were spreading round, they proceeded thence to Collatia, where
 inveniunt Lucretiam, haudquaquam ut
 they find Lucretia, not like
 regias nurus, quas viderant terentes tempus
 the king's daughters-in-law, whom they had seen spending their time
 in luxu convivioque cum æqualibus, sed
 in luxurious entertainments with their equals, but
 deditam lanæ sera nocte sedentem
 busily employed at her wool, though at that late hour, sitting
 in medio ædium inter ancillas lucubrantes.
 in the middle of the house amid her maids working around her.
 Laus certaminis muliebris fuit penes
 The merit of the contest about the ladies was assigned
 Lucretiam. Vir adveniens
 to Lucretia. Her husband, on his arrival,
 Tarquiniique benigne excepti: maritus
 and the Tarquini were kindly received: the husband
 victor comiter invitat
 proud of his victory, politely extends an invitation to
 regios juvenes. Ibi mala libido
 the young princes. There the villainous passion
 stuprandæ Lucretiæ per vim capit
 for violating Lucretia by force seizes
 Sex. Tarquinius: cum forma, tum
 Sextus; both her beauty and
 spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem
 her approved purity serve as incentives. And then [indeed]
 ab juvenali ludo nocturno redeunt in castra.
 after this youthful frolic of the night, they return to the camp.

LVIII.—Paucis diebus interjectis,

inscio

A few days after,

without the knowledge

Collatino,
of Collatinus,

Sex. Tarquinius
Sextus

venit Collatiam
came to Collatia

cum uno comite. Ubi benigne exceptus
 with *but* a single attendant, where, being kindly received
 ab ignaris consilii, cum deductus esset
 by them *as being* ignorant of his design, when he had been conducted
 post cenam in hospitale cubiculum, ardens amore,
 after supper into the guests' chamber, burning with passion,
 —postquam circa videbantur satis tuta
 as soon as everything around seemed sufficiently secure,
 omnesque sopiti— venit gladio stricto
 and all *the family* at rest, he comes with his sword drawn
 ad Lucretiam dormientem, sinistraque manu
 to Lucretia as *she* lay asleep, and with his left hand
 oppresso mulieris pectore inquit,
 pressing down the woman's breast, he says,
 "tace Lucretia, sum Sex. Tarquinius : ferrum est
 "Be silent, Lucretia ; I am Sextus Tarquin : my sword is
 in manu : moriere, si emiseric vocem." Cum
 in my hand ; you shall die, if you utter a word." When
 pavida ex somno mulier videret nullam opem,
 awaking terrified from sleep, the woman beheld no aid,
 imminentem mortem prope, tum Tarquinius
 impending death nigh at hand ; then Tarquin
 fateri amorem, orare, miscere minas
 acknowledged his passion, entreated, mixed threats
 precibus, versare muliebrem animum
 with entreaties, and tried the female's mind
 in omnes partes. Ubi videbat obstinatum,
 in every *possible* way. When he saw her inflexible,
 et ne inclinari quidem metu mortis, addit
 and not to be moved even by the fear of death, he added
 ad metum dedecus : ait positurum
 to *that* fear the threat of dishonor ; he says, that he will lay
 jugulatum servum nudum cum mortua,
 a murdered slave naked by her *side* when dead,
 ut dicatur necata in sordido adulterio.
 so that she may be said to have been slain in infamous adultery.
 Cum quo terrore libido velut victrix
 When by *this* terrible threat his lust, as it were victorious,

vicisset obstinam pudicitiam, Tarquiniusque
 had overcome her inflexible chastity, and Tarquin
 profectus esset inde ferox expugnato
 had departed thence, priding himself on having triumphed
 muliebri decore, Lucretia, mæsta tanto
 over a lady's honor, Lucretia, deeply distressed at so dreadful
 malo, mittit eundem nuntium Romam ad patrem
 a disaster, dispatches the same messenger to Rome to her father,
 Ardeamque ad virum, ut veniant
 and to Ardea to her husband, that they would come
 cum singulis fidelibus amicis : opus esse
 each with one trusty friend ; that it was necessary
 ita facto maturatoque, atrocem rem
 so to do and speedily, for that a dreadful affair
 incidisse. Spurius Lucretius venit cum
 had happened. Spurius Lucretius comes with
 P. Valerio, filio Volesi, Collatinus cum
 P. Valerius, the son of Volesus ; Collatinus, with
 L. Junio Bruto, cum quo rediens Romam
 L. Junius Brutus, with whom, as he was returning to Rome,
 forte erat conventus ab uxoris nuntio. Inveniunt
 he happened to be met by his wife's messenger. They find
 Lucretiam sedentem in cubiculo mæstam.
 Lucretia sitting in her chamber in sorrowful dejection.
 Adventu suorum obortæ lacrimæ:
 On the arrival of her friends she burst into tears ;
 viroque querenti "satin' salve ?" "Minime"
 and on her husband's asking, "Is all well ?"— "Far from it,"
 inquit : "enim quid est salvi mulieri,
 said she ; "for how can it be well with a woman,
 pudicitia amissa : vestigia alieni viri sunt
 whose chastity is gone. The traces of another man are
 in tuo lecto, Collatine. Ceterum corpus tantum
 on your bed, Collatinus. But my body only
 violatum est, animus insons : mors erit testis.
 has been violated, my mind is guiltless ; death shall be my witness.
 Sed date dexteras fidemque,
 But give me your right hands and your honor

adultero haud impune fore : est Sex. Tarquinius,
that the adulterer shall not go unpunished. It is Sextus Tarquin,

qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte
who, an enemy in the guise of a guest, last night

armatus vi hinc abstulit gaudium pestiferum
by armed violence bore away hence a triumph fatal

mihi sibi que, si vos estis viri."
to me and to himself, if you are men."

Omnes dant fidem ordine :
They all pledge their honor, one after the other ;

consolantur ægram animi,
they endeavor to comfort her distracted as she was in mind,

avertendo noxam ab coacta
by turning away the guilt from her constrained by force,

in auctorem delicti : mentem peccare, non corpus,
on the perpetrator of the crime ; that it is the mind sins, not the body ;

et, unde consilium abfuerit, culpam abesse.
and that, where intention was wanting, guilt could not be.

"Vos videritis" inquit "quid debeatur illi :
"It is for you to see," says she, "what is due to him.

ego etsi absolvo me peccato, supplicio
As for me, though I acquit myself of guilt, from punishment

non libero : nec ulla deinde vivet impudica
I do not discharge myself ; nor shall any woman ever survive her dishonor,

exemplo Lucretiæ." Eum cultrum, quem habebat
pleading the example of Lucretia." The knife, which she kept

abditum sub veste, defigit in corde,
concealed beneath her garment, she plunges into her heart,

prolapsaque in vulnus cecidit moribunda.
and falling forward on the wound, she dropped down expiring.

Vir paterque conclamat.
The husband and father shriek aloud.

LIX.—Brutus, illis occupatis luctu,
Brutus, while they were overpowered with grief,
extractum cultrum ex vulnere Lucretiæ.
drawing the knife from the wound of Lucretia.

tenens manantem cruore, præ se, inquit,
and holding it out, reeking with blood, before him, said,
 “per hunc sanguinem castissimum ante
 “By this blood, most chaste before
 injuriam regiam juro, facioque vos, dii,
the pollution of royalty, I swear, and call you, O ye gods,
 testes, me exsecuturum ferro igni,
to witness, that I will prosecute to destruction by sword, fire,
 quacumque vi possim dehinc, L. Tarquinium
and every forcible means I can henceforth command, Lucius Tarquin,
 Superbum cum scelerata conjugē
 the Proud, together with his impious wife
 et omni liberorum stirpe, nec passurum illos,
 and all their race; nor will I ever suffer them;
 nec quemquam alium regnare Romæ.” Deinde
 or any other person, to be king in Rome.” He then
 tradit cultrum Collatino, inde Lucretio
delivered the knife to Collatinus, afterward to Lucretius
 ac Valerio stupentibus miraculo rei,
and Valerius, who were struck with wonder at the prodigy,
 unde novum ingenium in pectore Bruti.
as to whence such unusual sentiment in the breast of Brutus.
 Ut præceptum erat jurant, que
 As had been directed, *however,* they all take the oath, and,
 versi ab luctu toti in iram,
turning away from their grief entirely unto wrath,
 sequuntur Brutum ducem, vocantem
 follow Brutus as their leader, who called upon them,
 jam inde ad expugnandum regnum. Corpus
 forthwith to abolish the regal power. The body
 Lucretiæ elatum domo deferunt in forum,
of Lucretia, brought out from the house, they convey to the forum,
 concientque homines miraculo atque indignitate
 and assemble the people by the strangeness and atrocity
 novæ rei, ut fit. Queruntur
of the extraordinary occurrence, as usually happens. They complain,
 quisque pro se regium scelus ac vim.
 each for himself, of the royal villainy and violence.

advocavit populum **ad tribunum Celerum—**
summoned the people *to attend the tribune of the Celeræ,*
in quo magistratu **Brutus** **forte erat**
in which office *Brutus* *happened to be*
tum : **ibi oratio** **habita,**
at that time employed. *There an harangue* *was delivered by him,*
nequaquam **ejus pectoris ingenique,** **quod**
by no means *of that feeling and capacity,* *which*
simulatum fuerat ad eam diem, **de vi ac libidine**
had been counterfeited up to that day, *concerning the violence and lust*
Sex. Tarquinii, **de infando stupro Lucretiæ** **et**
of Sextus Tarquin, *the horrid violation of Lucretia,* *and*
miserabili cæde, **de orbitate Tricipitini,** **cui**
her lamentable death, *the bereavement of Tricipitinus,* *to whom*
causa filiæ mortis **esset indignior**
the cause of his daughter's death *was more exasperating*
ac miserabilior **morte :** **addita**
and deplorable *than the death itself.* *To this was added*
superbia regis ipsius **miseriæque et labores plebis**
the insolence of the king himself, *and the miseries and toils of the people,*
demersæ **in exhauriendas** **fossas cloacasque :**
buried in the earth *in cleansing* *sinks and sewers ;*
Romanos homines, **victores omnium circa populorum,**
that the Romans, *the conquerors of all the surrounding states,*
pro bellatoribus **factos** **opifices ac lapicidas :**
instead of warriors *had become* *laborers and stone-cutters.*
indigna cædes **regis Servii Tullii** **memorata,**
The barbarous murder *of king Servius Tullius* *was dwelt on,*
et filia invecta **corpore patris**
and his daughter's driving over, *the body of her father*
nefando vehiculo, **diique** **ultores parentum**
in her impious chariot ; *and the gods,* *avengers of parents,*
invocati. **Memoratis** **his aliisque,**
were invoked by him. *By stating* *these and other,*
credo, **atrocioribus,** **quæ** **haudquaquam**
I suppose, *more aggravating circumstances* *which,* *though by no means*
facilia **relatu scriptoribus** **indignitas rerum**
easily *detailed by writers,* *the atrocity of the case*

subjicit præsens, suggested at the time,	perpulit he persuaded	multitudinem the multitude,
incensam already incensed,	ut abrogaret imperium to wrest the government	regi from the king,
juberetque and order	exsules esse the banishment of	L. Tarquinius L. Tarquin
cum with		
conjuges ac liberis. his wife and children.	Ipse, He himself,	lectis armatisque having selected and armed
junioribus, some of the young men,	qui ultro who readily	dabant nomina, gave in their names,
profectus est set out	in castra for the camp	Ardeam at Ardea
ad concitandum exercitum inde to excite the army there		adversus regem : against the king :
imperium the command	in urbe in the city	relinquit Lucretius, he leaves to Lucretius,
jam ante who had some time before been	instituto appointed	præfecto urbis prefect of the city
ab rege. by the king.	Inter hunc tumultum During this tumult	Tullia Tullia
profugit domo, fled from her house,	viris both men	mulieribusque and women
exsecrantibus, cursing her,		quacumque incedebat, wherever she went,
invocantibusque and invoking on her	furias the furies,	parentum. the avengers of parents.

LX.—Nuntiis

News

harum rerum

of these proceedings

perlatis

being brought

in castra, to the camp,	cum rex when the king,	trepidus nova re, alarmed at this sudden revolution,
pergeret Romam was going to Rome		ad comprimendos motus, to quell the commotions,
Brutus— Brutus	enim senserat (for he had notice of	adventum,— his approach)
flexit viam, turned out of the way,	ne obvius fieret, that he might not meet him;	fereque and very nearly

eodem tempore, at the same time,	diversis itineribus, by different routes,	Brutus Brutus
venerunt Ardeam, arrived at Ardea,	Tarquinius and Tarquin	Romam. at Rome.
Portæ clausæ Tarquinio, The gates were shut against Tarquin,	exsiliuniquē and a sentence of banishment	
indictum : passed upon him ;	liberatorem urbis the deliverer of the city	castra the camp
acceperē received	læta, with great joy,	regisque liberi and the king's sons
inde exacti. were expelled.	Duo Two of these	secuti sunt patrem, followed their father,
qui ierunt exsulatum and went into exile	Cære in Etruscos. at Cære among the Etrurians.	
Sextus Tarquinius Sextus Tarquin,	profectus Gabios, having gone to Gabii,	tamquam as
in suum regnum, to his own kingdom,	interfectus est was slain	ab ultoribus by the avengers
veterum simultatium, of the old feuds,	quas ipse concierat sibi which he had raised against himself	
rapinis cædibusque. by his rapines and murders.	L. Tarquinius Superbus Lucius Tarquin the Proud	
regnavit reigned	quinque et viginti annos. twenty-five years.	Regnatum The government of kings
Romæ at Rome continued	ab condita urbe from the building of the city	
ad liberatam to this period of its deliverance	ducentos quadraginta quattuor two hundred and forty-four	
annos. years.	Inde comitiis centuriatis After that, in an assembly of the centuries, held	
a præfecto urbis by the prefect of the city,	creati sunt, were elected,	ex commentariis according to the commentaries
Servii Tullii, of Servius Tullius,	duo consules two consuls,	[v. c. 245; æ. c. 507,] via.
L. Junius Brutus Lucius Junius Brutus	et L. Tarquinius Collatinus. and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus.	

CONTENTS OF BOOK II.

I. Brutus binds the people by oath, never to suffer any king to reign at Rome; II. obliges Tarquinius Collatinus, his colleague, had in suspicion on account of his relationship to the Tarquinius, to resign the consulship and leave the state; V. orders the goods of the royal family to be rifled; consecrates their land to Mars, and calls it *Campus Martius*; beheads some young noblemen, and among the rest his own and his sister's sons, for plotting a conspiracy to receive the kings into the city; accords freedom to the discoverer of the plot, a slave by the name of *Vindicius*, from whom the "*Vindicta*" derives its name; VI. on leading his troops into an engagement against the kings, who made war upon him with the united forces of the Veientians and Tarquiniensians, he is killed in single combat with Arruns, the son of Tarquin the Proud, and expires at the same time with his adversary. The ladies mourn for him a whole year. VIII. P. Valerius, the consul, passes the law concerning an appeal to the people. The Capitol dedicated. IX, X. Porsena, king of Clusium, undertaking a war in favor of the Tarquins, after he had advanced as far as the Janiculum, is prevented from crossing the Tiber by the valor of Horatius Cocles, who alone and unassisted sustains the attack of the Etruscans, while his comrades demolish the Sublician bridge; on the falling of which he throws himself, armed as he was, into the stream, and swims across to his party. XII. Another instance of bravery is added by Mucius, who, on penetrating the enemy's camp for the purpose of assassinating Porsena, slays the king's secretary by mistake; is arrested, and in the king's presence lays his right hand on the altar, where sacrifice was being made, and allows it to consume in the flames; he tells the king, that three hundred such youths were sworn to plot against his death. Porsena is constrained by admiration of such intrepidity to offer terms of peace, and on the receipt of hostages breaks up the war. XIII. A young lady, called Clælia, one of these hostages, deceiving the guards, swims across the Tiber to her friends; and on her being remanded is honorably discharged by Porsena, and rewarded for her bravery with an equestrian statue. Appius Claudius removes from the country of the Sabines to Rome; for this reason the Claudian tribe is added to the former number, which by this means is increased to twenty-one. A. Postu

mius, the dictator, came off victorious at the lake Regillus, making war upon Tarquin the Proud with an army of Latins. The commons, on account of the great numbers confined for debt, secede to the Sacred Mount; brought back by the prudence of Menenius Agrippa. The same Agrippa at his death is buried at the expense of the state on account of his poverty. XXXIII. Five tribunes of the people created. Corioli a town of the Volscians, reduced by the valor and exertions of Caius Martius, who from this receives the name of Coriolanus. XXXVI, etc. Titus Latinus, a plebeian, on being warned in a dream to bring information to the senate concerning certain religious observances, and failing to do so, loses one of his sons; is struck with paralysis; and subsequently conveyed in a litter to the senate-chamber, where he makes known those particulars; restored to the use of his feet, he returns home. XXXIX, XL. Caius Martius, who had been banished, is made leader of the Volscian army; advances upon the city with the forces of its enemies; at first ambassadors are sent to him, then priests; they intercede with him in vain, that he shall make no war upon his native country; Veturia, his mother, and his wife Volumnia, however, prevail on him to desist from his purpose. The Agrarian law first made. Sp. Cassius, of consular rank, condemned and put to death upon the charge of aspiring to regal power. Oppia, a vestal virgin, buried alive for incontinence. The neighboring Veientians having declared hostilities, the Fabian family undertake to carry on that war, and for that purpose send out three hundred and six men in arms, who were all cut off by the enemy. Ap. Claudius decimates his army, because he had been unsuccessful in the war with the Veientians. An account of the wars with the Volscians, Æquians and Veientians; and of the dissensions between the patricians and plebeians. [U. C. 245-286. B. C. 507-466.]

LIBER SECUNDUS

BOOK SECOND.

CHAP'S. I—X. XII. XIII. XXXIV—XL.

I.—*Res gestas Romani populi* *jam hinc liberi,*
The achievements of the Roman people, henceforward free,
annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum potentiora
their annual magistrates, and the authority of the laws, more powerful
quam hominum, peragam. Superbia
than *that* of men, I shall *now* detail.— The haughty insolence
proximi regis fecerat, quæ libertas
of the late king had caused this liberty
ut esset lætior : nam priores ita regnarunt,
to be the more welcome : for the former kings governed in such a manner,
ut omnes deinceps haud immerito numerentur
that they all in succession might be not undeservedly reckoned
conditores partium certe urbis, quas addiderunt
as founders of the parts at least of the city, which they added
novas sedes multitudinis auctæ ab se :
as new residences for the population augmented by themselves.
neque ambigitur, quin idem Brutus, qui
Nor is there a doubt, but that the same Brutus, who
meruit tantum gloriæ exacto superbo rege,
earned so much glory for expelling *that* haughty king,
facturus fuerit id pessimo publico, si
would have done so with the greatest injury to the state, if,
cupidine immaturæ libertatis extorsisset regnum
through an overhasty zeal for liberty, he had wrested the kingdom

alicui priorum regum. from any of the preceding kings.		Enim For	quid what
futurum fuit, would have been the result,	si if	illa plebs pastorum that fable of shepherds	
convenarumque— and strangers,	transfuga ex suis populis— fugitives from their own countries,		
sub tutela inviolati templi having, under the protection of an inviolable asylum,		adepta obtained	
aut libertatem [either] liberty	aut certe impunitatem, or at least impunity,	soluta emancipated	
metu regio, from the dread of kingly power,	coepta esset agitari had begun to be distracted		
tribuniciiis procellis by tribunician storms,	et serere and to engage in	certamina contests	
cum patribus with the patricians	in aliena urbe, in a strange city,	priusquam before	
pignera conjugum ac liberorum the pledges of wives and children,		caritasque and love	
ipsius soli, of the very soil, to which one becomes habituated	cui assuescitur only	longo tempore, after a long time,	
consociasset had united	eorum animos? their affections?	res The state	nondum not yet
adultæ grown to maturity	forent dissipatæ would have been torn to pieces	discordia, by discord,	
quas tranquilla moderatio imperii which the tranquil moderation of the government	so cherished,	fovit and	que
nutriendo by due nourishment	perduxit brought forward	eo, to such a condition,	ut that,
viribus its powers	jam maturis being now ripened,	posset it was capable	ferre of producing
bonam frugem the glorious fruit	libertatis. of liberty.	Autem originem libertatis But the origin of liberty	
numeres you may date	inde from this period,	magis, rather	quia because
consulare imperium the consular authority	factum est was made	annuum, annual,	quam quod than that
quidquam diminutum sit any diminution was made		ex regia potestate: from the kingly prerogative.	

primi consules **tenuere** **omnia jura.**
 The first consuls had all their privileges

omnia insignia : **modo id cautum est,** **ne,**
and [all] their ensigns of authority, only care was taken ; lest,

si ambo **haberent fasces,** **terror**
 if both had the fasces *at the same time,* the terror

videretur duplicatus. **Brutus** **concedente collega**
 might appear doubled. Brutus, with the consent of his colleague,

prior habuit **fasces,** **qui non fuerat**
 was first attended by the fasces, who had not been

acrior vindex libertatis, **quam fuit deinde custos.**
 a more zealous assertor of liberty than he was afterwards its guardian.

Primum omnium **adegit populum** **avidum**
 First of all he bound over the people, whilst still enthusiastic

novæ libertatis **jurejurando,**
 for their newly-acquired freedom, by an oath

passuros neminem **regnare Romæ,** **ne**
 that they would suffer no one to be king in Rome, lest

postmodum **posset flecti** **precibus aut donis**
 afterwards they might be perverted by the importunities or presents

regiis. **Deinde,** **quo frequentia etiam ordinis**
 of the princes. Next in order, that the fulness [also] of their body

faceret plus virium **in senatu,** **explevit**
 might produce more of strength in the senate, he filled up

numerus patrum **diminutum** **regis cædibus**
 the number of the senators, diminished by the king's murders,

ad summam trecentorum, **electis primoribus**
 to the amount of three hundred, having elected the principal men

equestris gradus : **que inde fertur traditum**
 of the equestrian rank ; and from thence is said to have been handed down

ut vocarentur in senatum, **qui patres,**
the custom of summoning to the senate those, who were patres,

quique conscripti : **videlicet,** **appellabant**
 and those who were conscripti. Forsooth they styled

lectos **in novum senatum** **conscriptos.**
 those who were elected into the new senate Conscripti.

Id mirum **quantum** **profuit**
 It is wonderful how much that contributed

ad concordiam civitatis,
to the concord of the state,

plebis patribus.
of the commons to the patricians.

jungendosque animos
and to attach the affection

II.—Cura deinde habita
Attention was next given

et, quia
and, because

factitata erant
had been *usually* performed

ne esset desiderium regum
in order that there should be no want of one

creant regem sacrificulum :
they elect a king of the sacrifices.

subjecere pontifici,
they made subject to the pontiff, *fearing*

additus nomini
being joined to the title

libertati, cujus tunc erat
to liberty, which was then

Ac nescio an,
And I know not whether,

minimis rebus
even in the most trivial matters,

enim, cum nihil aliud offenderit,
for when there was nothing else to offend,

alterius consulis
of one of the consuls

Tarquinius
"That the Tarquinius

initium factum a Prisco,
the start was made by Priscus;

regnasse dein, quidem
reigned next ; that, even *though*

Tarquinius Superbum ne
Tarquinius Superbus, not

rerum divinarum :
to matters of religion ;

quædam publica sacra
some public religious rites

per reges ipsos,
by the kings in person,

ubiubi,
on any occasion,

id sacerdotium
This office

ne honos
lest honor

aliquid offenderet
might in some shape be injurious

prima cura.
the first object of *their* concern.

muniendo eam undique nimis
by fencing it on every side to excess,

excesserint modum :
they may *not* have exceeded bounds ;

nomen
the name

fuit invisum civitati :
became a subject of jealousy to the state.

nimum assuesse regno :
had been too much habituated to sovereignty ;

Ser. Tullium
that Servius Tullius

intervallo facto,
an interruption *thus* occurred,

oblitum regni,
losing sight of the kingdom

tamquam alieni, repetisse scelere ac vi,
as the *property* of another, had reclaimed it by crime and violence,

velut hereditatem gentis : Superbo pulso,
as the hereditary right of his family. That Superbus being expelled,

imperium esse penes Collatinum : Tarquinius
the government was in the hands of Collatinus : that the Tarquinius

nescire vivere privatos : nomen
knew not how to live in a private station ; the name

non placere, esse periculosum libertati.
pleased them not ; that it was dangerous to liberty."

Sermo tentantium animos
Such language by persons sounding the dispositions of the people

hinc primo sensim datus est per totam civitatem,
was at first gradually circulated through the entire state,

plebemque sollicitam suspicione Brutus vocat
and the commons now excited by jealousy, Brutus convenes

ad concionem. Ibi primum omnium
to an assembly. There first of all

recitat populi iusjurandum, passuros
he recites the people's oath : " that they would suffer

neminem regnare nec esse Romæ,
no one to be king nor anything else to be in Rome,

unde periculum foret libertati : id
whence danger might result to liberty. That this resolution

tuendum esse summa ope neque ullam rem,
ought to be maintained with all their might, nor anything,

quæ pertineat eo, contemnendam : se dicere
that might tend that way, ought to be overlooked ; he mentioned it

invitum causa hominis, nec
with reluctance for the sake of the person alluded to, nor

dicturum fuisse, ni caritas
would he have mentioned it at all, did not his affection

reipublicæ vinceret : Romanum populum
for the commonwealth predominate ; the Roman people

non credere solidam libertatem recuperatam esse :
did not think, that entire liberty had been recovered ;

regium genus, regium nomen esse
the regal family, the regal name remained,

non solum in civitate, sed etiam in imperio
 not only in the state, but even in the government,
 id officere, id obstare libertati : "tu,
 that was unfavorable, that was injurious to liberty. Do you,
 L. Tarquini," inquit, "tua voluntate
 L. Tarquinius," says he, "do you, of your own accord,
 remove hunc metum : meminimus, fatemur,
 remove this apprehension. We remember, we acknowledge it,
 ejecisti reges : absolve tuum beneficium,
 you expelled the royal family ; complete your kindness ;
 aufer hinc regium nomen : tuas res
 take hence the royal name. Your property
 tui cives non solum reddent tibi, me auctore,
 your fellow-citizens shall not only restore to you, by my advice,
 sed, si quid deest, munifice augebunt :
 but, if anything is wanting, they will generously supply.
 abi amicus : exonera civitaten
 Depart in friendship. Deliver the state
 forsitan vano metu : ita
 from *this*, it may be, groundless apprehension ; so *firmly*
 persuasum est animis, cum Tarquinia gente
 are they persuaded in mind, that *only* with the Tarquinian race
 regnum abiturum hinc." Admiratio tam novæ
 will kingly power depart hence." Astonishment at so extraordinary
 ac subitæ rei primo incluserat
 and sudden an occurrence at first impeded
 consuli vocem : deinde incipientem dicere
 the consul's utterance ; then, when *he was* commencing to speak
 primores civitatis circumsistunt,
 the chief men of the state stand around him
 multis precibus orant eadem.
 and by many importunities urge the same request.
 Et ceteri quidem movebant minus : postquam
 Others indeed affected him less. After
 Spurius Lucretius, major ætate ac dignitate
 Spurius Lucretius, *his* superior in age and rank
 ipsius socer præterea, cœpit agere varie,
 and his father-in-law besides, began to try various methods.

rogando by entreating	suadendoque and advising	alternis, alternately,
ut pateretur that he would suffer	se himself	vinci to be overcome
consensu civitatis, by the general sentiment of the state,	consul the consul,	timens, apprehending
ne postmodum lest hereafter	illa eadem these same things	acciderent sibi might befall him
privato when again in a private station,	cum amissione bonorum, together with loss of property	
aliaque addita insuper ignominia, and other additional disgrace,		abdica- resigned
se consulatu, his consulship,	que translatis omnibus suis rebus and removing all his effects	
Lavinium to Lavinium	cessit civitate. he withdrew from the state.	Brutus Brutus,
ex according to	consulto senatus a decree of the senate,	tulit ad populum, proposed to the people,
omnes that all who were	Tarquinie gentis of the Tarquinian family	exsules essent : should be banished ;
comitiis and in an assembly	centuriatis of the centuries	creavit P. Valerium, he elected P. Valerius,
quo adjutore with whose assistance	ejecerat he had expelled	reges, the royal family,
sibi collegam. for his colleague.		

III.—Cum haud cuiquam Though nobody

in dubio esset,
doubted,

bellum imminere ab Tarquiniis, id quidem
that a war was impending from the Tarquins, yet that event

fuit serius omnium spe. Ceterum libertas
came later than was universally expected ; but liberty

prope amissa est per dolum ac prodicionem,
was well-nigh lost by treachery and fraud,

id quod non timebant. Erant in Romana juventute
a thing they had never apprehended. There were among the Roman youth

aliquot adolescentes, nec hi tenui loco orti,
 several young men, and these, too, of no mean descent,
 quorum libido in regno fuerat solutio,
 whose license during the reign of the king had been unrestrained ;
 æquales sodalesque
 being of the same age with, and companions
 adolescentium Tarquiniorum, assueti vivere
 of, the young Tarquins, and accustomed to live
 regio more. Quærentes eam licentiam
 In princely style. Longing for that licentiousness
 tum, jure omnium æquato, conquerebantur
 now that the privileges of all were equalized, they complained heavily
 inter se libertatem aliorum vertisse
 among themselves, that the liberty of others had been converted
 in suam servitutem : regem esse hominem,
 to their slavery : " that a king was a human being,
 a quo impetres, ubi jus,
 from whom you can obtain, where right,
 ubi injuria opus sit : esse locum gratiæ,
 or where wrong may be necessary ; that there was room for favor
 esse beneficio : posse et irasci et ignoscere :
 and for kindness ; that he could [both] be angry and could forgive ;
 nosse discrimen inter amicum atque inimicum.
 that he knew a distinction between a friend and an enemy ;
 Leges esse surdam, inexorabilem rem
 that laws were a deaf, inexorable thing,
 salubriorem melioremque inopi, quam potenti,
 more beneficial and advantageous for the poor than the rich ;
 habere nihil laxamenti nec veniæ,
 that they allowed of no relaxation or indulgence,
 si excesseris modum : esse periculosum
 if you transgress bounds ; that it was a perilous thing,
 in tot humanis erroribus vivere
 amid so many human errors, to live
 sola innocentia. Animis jam
 solely by one's integrity." Whilst their minds were already
 ita ægris sua sponte, legati ab regibus
 thus discontented of their own accord, ambassadors from the royal family

superveniunt some unexpectedly,	sine mentione who, without any mention	reditus of their restoration,
repetentes tantum bona. demand only their effects.		Postquam verba After their application
audita sunt was heard	in senatu, in the senate,	ea consultatio the deliberation on it
tenuit lasted	per aliquot dies ; for several days;	ne non reddita fearing lest the non-restitution
esset might be	causa belli, a pretext for war,	reddita and the restitution
materia et adjumentum belli. a fund and assistance for war.		Interim In the meantime,
alii legati the [different] ambassadors		moliri alia, were planning different schemes ;
aperte repetentes bona, openly demanding the property,		clam struere consilia they secretly concerted measures
recuperandi regni: for recovering the kingdom ;	et ambientes, and soliciting them	tamquam as if
ad id, for the object	quod videbatur which appeared	agi, to be under consideration,
pertinent animos they sound the sentiments		adolescentium nobilium : of the young nobles ;
iis, to those,	a quibus oratio by whom their proposals	placide accepta est, were favorably received,
reddunt they delivered	litteras ab Tarquiniis, letters from the Tarquins,	et and
colloquuntur conferred with them	de accipiendis regibus about admitting the royal family	clam privately
in urbem into the city	nocte. by night.	

IV.—Res primo commissa est

The matter was first intrusted

fratribus
to brothersVitelliis
of the name of Vitelliique
and those of the name ofAquilis.
Aquilii.Soror Vitelliorum
A sister of the Vitelliinupta erat
had been marriedBruto consuli,
to Brutus the consul,

que erant liberi and there were two sons		ex eo matrimonio born of that marriage,
jam adolescentes now grown up,	Titus Tiberiusque. Titus and Tiberius.	Eos quoque These also
avunculi assumunt their uncles admit	in societatem into a participation	consilii. of the plot.
Præterea [Besides]	aliquot adolescentes nobiles et several young noblemen also	
assumpti conscii, were taken in as associates,	memoria quorum the memory of whose names, however	
abiit has been lost	vetustate. from distance of time.	Interim In the mean time,
cum sententia when <i>that</i> opinion	vicisset had prevailed	in senatu, in the senate,
quæ censebat which recommended	reddenda bona, the restitution of the property,	que and
legati haberent the ambassadors made use of	eam ipsam this very <i>fact</i>	causam moræ as a pretext for delay
in urbe, in the city,	quod sumpsissent because they had obtained	a consulibus from the consuls
spatium time	ad comparanda vehicula, to procure carriages,	quibus by which
asportarent they might convey away	res regum, the effects of the princes ;	omne id tempus all this time
absumunt they spend	consultando in consulting	cum conjuratis, with the conspirators,
instandoque evincunt, and by pressing they prevail <i>so far</i> ,	ut that	litteræ darentur sibi letters are given to them
ad Tarquinius : for the Tarquins :	nam aliter qui for otherwise how	eos credituros were they to believe
afferri that the report	ab legatis by the ambassadors	super rebus tantis on matters of such importance
non vana ? was not groundless ?	Litteræ The letters,	datæ, ut essent pignus given to be a pledge
fidei of their sincerity,	fecerunt manifestum made known	facinus. the plot ;
Nam cum, for when,	pridie quam the day before	legati proficiscerentur the ambassadors were to return

ad Tarquinius, et cenatum esset forte
to the Tarquins, they had supped by chance

apud Vitellios, conjuratique ibi,
at the house of the Vitellii, and the conspirators there,

remotis arbitris, egissent multa,
after the removal of the other persons present, discoursed much,

ut fit, de novo consilio, unus ex servis
as was natural, concerning their new enterprise, one of the slaves,

qui jam antea senserat id
who before this had discovered that such a design

agi, excepit eorum sermonem, sed
was in agitation, overheard their conversation ; but

expectabat eam occasionem, ut litteræ darentur
waited for this opportunity, until the letters should be given

legatis, quæ deprehensæ possent coarguere rem :
to the ambassadors, which, being seized, would prove the transaction ;

postquam sensit datas, detulit rem
as soon as he perceived that they were delivered, he laid the matter

ad consules. Consules profecti domo
before the consuls. The consuls, having set out from home

ad deprehendendos legatos conjuratosque,
to apprehend the ambassadors and conspirators,

oppressere omnem rem sine tumultu :
crushed the whole affair without any tumult ;

in primis cura habita litterarum, ne interciderent.
particular care being taken of the letters, lest they should escape them.

Proditoribus extemplo coniectis in vincula, paululum
The traitors being immediately thrown into chains, a little

addubitatum est de legatis, et, quamquam
doubt was entertained respecting the ambassadors ; and, though

visi sunt commisisse ut
they manifestly deported themselves in such a way as that

essent loco hostium, tamen
they should be treated as enemies, yet

jus gentium valuit.
the law of nations prevailed.

V.—De bonis regiis,			quæ ante censuerant
With respect to the effects of the princes,			which they had before ordered
reddi,	res	refertur ad patres	
to be restored,	the business	was now laid before the senate	
integra.	Victi	ibi	ira
afresh.	Actuated entirely	in the matter	by resentment,
vetuere	reddi,	vetuere	redigi
they forbade them	to be restored,	and forbade them	to be converted
in publicum :	data sunt	diripienda	
to the use of the state ;	they were given	to be rifled	
plebi,	ut,	contacta præda regia,	
by the commons,	so that,	having shared in the plunder of the princes,	
amitteret in perpetuum	spem pacis	cum iis.	
they might lose	for ever	all hopes of a reconciliation	with them.
Ager Tarquiniorum,	qui fuit inter urbem ac Tiberim,		
The land of the Tarquinii,	which lay between the city and the Tiber,		
consecratus Marti,	fuit deinde		
being consecrated to Mars,	has from that time been called		
Campus Martius.	Dicitur	seges farris	
the Campus Martius.	It is said	a crop of corn	
forte fuisse	ibi tum,	matura messi :	quia
happened to be	on it at the time,	ripe for the harvest ;	and because
erat religiosum	consumere	quem fructum campi,	
it would be an impiety	to make use of	this produce of the field,	
magna vis hominum	immissa simul	segetem	
a great number of men	were sent in at once	to gather the grain,	
desectam	corbibus	cum stramento	
after it was reaped,	in baskets	along with the straw,	
fudere	in Tiberim,	fluentem	
and throw them	into the Tiber,	which then flowed	
tenui aqua,	ut solet	mediis caloribus :	
in shallow water,	as is usual	in the middle of summer ;	
ita acervos frumenti	hæsitantis in vadis		
that thus the heaps of corn,	as it stuck in the shallows,		
sedisse	illitos limo ;	et inde	
became settled	when covered over with mud,	and by these means	
eodem invectis aliis,	quæ flumen		
with the afflux of other materials,	which the stream		

temere fert,
happened to carry down,

insulam paulatim factam :
an island was gradually formed.

credo moles postea additas,
I suppose that mounds were afterwards added,

que adjutum
and assistance given

manu,
by art,

ut area esset tam eminens,
that the surface might be of the proper height,

firmaque sustinendis quoque templis
and be firm enough for sustaining [even] temples

ac porticibus. Direptis bonis regum
and porticoes. After plunder had been made of the effects of the princes,

proditores damnati,
the traitors were condemned

que supplicium sumptum,
and capital punishment inflicted,

eo conspectius,
this being the more remarkable,

quod consulatus imposuit
because the consulship imposed

patri ministerium capiendæ poenæ de liberis,
on the father the office of visiting punishment on his own children;

et eum ipsum,
and him,

qui amovendus erat spectator,
who should have been removed as a spectator,

fortuna dedit
fortune assigned

exactorem supplicii.
as the person to exact the punishment.

Juvenes nobilissimi stabant deligati ad palum :
Young men of the highest quality stood tied to a stake ;

sed consulis liberi averterant in se
but the consul's sons attracted [to themselves]

oculos omnium a ceteris, velut
the eyes of all the spectators from the rest of the criminals, as

ab capitibus ignotis, que non homines
from persons unknown ; nor did the people

magis miserebat poenæ quam sceleris,
feel more compassion for their punishment, than for the crime

quo meriti essent poenam : illos,
by which they had deserved that punishment. "That they,

eo anno potissimum, induxisse in animum
in that year particularly, entertained the design

ut proderent quondam superbo regi,
of betraying unto that whilom tyrannical king,

tum infesto exsuli, patriam liberatam,
then exasperated exile, their country just delivered.

patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum
 their father its deliverer, the consulate which had commenced

ex Junia domo, patres, plebem, quidquid
 in the Junian family, the patricians, commons, and whatever
 esset deorum hominumque Romanorum.
 belonged to the gods and to the citizens of Rome."

Consules processere in suam sedem, que lictores
 The consuls seated themselves in their tribunal, and the lictors

missi ad sumendum supplicium : nudatos
 were despatched to inflict punishment ; stripped naked

cædunt virgis, securique feriunt,
 they beat them with rods, and strike off their heads,

cum inter omne tempus pater—
 whilst during all this time, the father,

vultusque et ejus os— esset spectaculo,
 his looks and his countenance, presented a touching spectacle,

animo patrio eminente inter
 the feelings of the father clearly appearing, in the midst of

ministerium publicæ poenæ. Secundum
 the execution of a public punishment. Next after

poenam nocentium, ut esset nobile exemplum
 the punishment of the guilty, that there might be a striking example

in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus, pecunia
 in either way for the prevention of crime, a sum of money

ex ærario, libertas et civitas
 out of the treasury, his freedom and the rights of a citizen

data præmium indici. Ille dicitur
 were granted as a reward to the discoverer. He is said to have been

primum liberatus vindicta. Quidam putant
 the first person made free by the vindicta ; some think

quoque nomen vindictæ tractum ab illo :
 even that the term "Vindicta" is derived from him,

ipsi nomen fuisse Vindicio. Post illum
 his name having been Vindicus. After him

observatum, ut, qui liberati essent ita,
 it obtained as a rule, that those who were made free in this manner,

viderentur accepti in civitatem.
 were supposed to be admitted to the privileges of Roman citizenship.

VI.—His nuntiatis,

On these things being announced to him,

sicut acta erant,

as they had occurred,

Tarquinius

Tarquin,

incensus

inflamed

non solum dolore

not only with grief

ad irritum cadentis

for the frustration

tantæ spei,

of such great hopes,

sed odio

but with hatred

iraque etiam,

and resentment also,

postquam vidit

when he saw

viam obseptam

that the way was blocked up

dolo,

against stratagem,

ratus molendum

considering that he should have recourse

bellum aperte,

to war openly,

circumire supplex

went round as a suppliant

urbes Etruriæ,

to the cities of Etruria,

orare maxime

and addressed himself particularly

Veientes Tarquiniensesque,

to the people of Veii and Tarquinii,

ne sinerent

“that they should not suffer

ortum se

him sprung from themselves,

ejusdem sanguinis,

of the same blood,

modo ex tanto regno

lately in possession of so great a kingdom,

extorrem egentem

now exiled and in want,

perire ante suos oculos

to perish before their eyes,

cum adolescentibus liberis.

together with the young men his sons.

Alios accitos

That others had been invited

Romam

to Rome

peregre

from foreign countries

in regnum :

to the throne ;

se regem

that he, a king,

augentem

extending

Romanum imperium

the Roman empire

bello

by his arms,

pulsum a proximis

was driven out by those nearest to him

scelerata conjuratione :

by a villainous conspiracy ;

quia nemo unus

that, as no one individual among them

visus sit

was deemed

satis dignus

sufficiently deserving of

regno,

the kingdom,

rapuisse

they had forcibly shared

partes regni

the several parts of it

inter se,

among themselves,

dedisse

and had given up

sua bona

his property

diripienda populo,

to be plundered by the populace

ne quis esset expers sceleris.

that no one might be free from that guilt.

Se velle

That he wished only

repetere to recover	patriam his country	suum regnumque, and his kingdom,
et persequi and to punish	ingratos cives : his ungrateful subjects.	ferrent opem, They should bring succor,
adjuvarent : and aid him ;		quoque ultum irent they might also revenge
injurias suas veteres, the wrongs done to them of old,		legiones toties cæsas, their legions so often slaughtered,
agrum ademptum. their land taken from them."	Hæc These arguments	moverunt prevailed on
Veientes, the people of Veii,	ac and	minaciter fremunt with menaces they declare,
quisque pro se every one for himself,	saltem that now at least	duce Romano, under the conduct of a Roman
ignominias demendas, their former disgrace should be wiped off,		que amissa bello and what they had lost in war
repetenda. should be recovered.	Nomen ac cognatio His name and relation to them	movet had weight with
Tarquinienses : the people of Tarquini ;	videbatur pulchrum it seemed an honor	suos that their countrymen
regnare Romæ. should reign at Rome.	Ita Thus	duo exercitus two armies
duarum civitatum of two states		secuti Tarquini- um, followed Tarquin,
ad repetendum regnum in order to recover his kingdom,		que persequendos bello and prosecute war against
Romanos. the Romans.	Postquam When	ventum est they advanced
in Romanum agrum, into the Roman territories,		consules eunt obviam the consuls marched out to meet
hosti : the enemy.	Valerius ducit peditem Valerius led up the foot	quadrato agmine in a square battalion,
Brutus and Brutus	cum equitatu with his cavalry	antecessit marched before them
ad explorandum. to procure intelligence.	Eodem modo In like manner	eques fuit the horse constituted
hostium primus agminis, the enemy's vanguard ;		Arruns Tarquinius Arruns Tarquin.

filius regis	præerat :	rex ipse sequebatur
son of the king,	commanded it;	the king himself followed

cum legionibus.	Arruns, ubi cognovit procul
with the legions.	Arruns, when he perceived at a distance.

ex lictoribus	esse consulem,	deinde
by the lictors,	that it was a consul,	and afterwards

jam propius **ac certius**
when now *approaching* nearer and *seeing* more distinctly, *discovered*

facie quoque **Brutum,** **inflammatus ira,**
by the face [also] that it was Brutus, became inflamed with rage

inquit,
and cried out,

“ ille est vir,
“ That is the man.

qui expulit
who has driven

nos extorres patria : en ipse ille
us as exiles from our country ! see how he

incedit magnifice,
marches in state,

decoratus nostris insignibus:
decorated with our ensigns!

di	ultores regum	adeste."
ye gods,	avengers of kings,	assist me!"

Concitat calcaribus equum, **atque dirigit infestus**
He put spurs to his horse, **and drove furiously**

in ipsum consulem, against the consul.	Brutus sensit Brutus perceived
---	-----------------------------------

iri in se:	erat decorum	tum
that it was meant for him;	as it was honorable	at that time

ducibus ipsis	capessere pugnam,	avide offert
for generals themselves	to engage in fight,	he eagerly offered

se	itaque	certamini:
himself	[on that account]	to the combat:

que concurrerunt **adeo infestis animis,**
and they encountered one another **with such furious animosity.**

neuter memor protegend	sui corporis,	dum
(neither thinking of guarding	his own person,	provided only

vulneraret	hostem,	ut uterque
he could wound	his adversary,)	that each of them.

transfixus per parmam	ictu contrario,
transfixed through the buckler	by the blow from the opposite <i>direction</i>.

lapi sint moribundi	ex equis,	hærentes
fell lifeless	from their horses,	entangled together

duabus hastis.
by the two spears.

Pugna et cetera equestris
The engagement between the rest of the horse

coepit simul,
commenced at the same time,
pedites et superveniunt.
the infantry also came up.

neque ita multo post
and not long after

Ibi pugnatum est
There they fought

varia victoria, et velut æquo Marte :
with doubtful success, and as it were with equal advantage ;

dextera cornua utrimque vicere læva superata :
for the right wings of both armies were victorious, and the left worsted.

Veientes, assueti vinci ab Romano milite,
The Veientians, accustomed to be vanquished by the Roman troops,

fusi fugatique, Tarquinienses novus hostis
wererouted and dispersed ; the Tarquinienses, a new enemy,

non solum stetit, sed etiam ab sua parte
not only stood their ground, but even, on their side,

pepulit Romanum.
made the Romans give way.

VII.—Cum ita
Though such

esset pugnatum,
was the issue of the battle,

tantus terror
yet so great a terror

incessit
seized

Tarquinius atque
Tarquin and

Etruscos,
the Etrurians,

ut ambo exercitus,
that both armies,

Veiens
the Veintian

Tarquiniensisque,
and the Tarquinian,

omissa re irrita
giving up the matter as impracticable,

abirent nocte
retired by night

suas quisque domos.
to their respective countries.

Adjiciunt
They annex

miracula
strange incidents

huic pugnae:
to this battle,—

silentio
that in the silence

proximæ noctis
of the following night,

ingentem vocem editam
a loud voice was uttered

ex Arsia silva ; eam creditam vocem Silvani :
from the Arsian wood ; that it was believed to be the voice of Silvanus .

hæc dicta,
these words were spoken,

plus Tuscorum uno
“ that more of the Etrurians by one

cecidisse in acie, had fallen in the battle;	Romanum vincere bello. that the Roman was victorious in the war."	
Ita [Thus]	Romani certe the Romans certainly	abiere inde, departed thence
ut victores, as conquerors,	Etrusci pro victis : the Etrurians as vanquished;	nam, for
postquam illuxit, as soon as it was day,	nec quisquam hostium and not one of the enemy	erat was now
in conspectu, in sight,	P. Valerius consul P. Valerius, the consul,	legit spolia, collected the spoils,
que rediit and returned	inde thence	triumphans Romam. in triumph to Rome.
Collegæ funus His colleague's funeral	fecit, he celebrated	quanto apparatu with all the magnificence
tum potuit: then possible;	sed but	multo majus decus morti a far greater honor to his death
fuit publica mæstitia, was the public sorrow,	ante omnia singularly	insignis remarkable
eo, in this particular,	quia matronæ that the matrons	luxerunt eum, mourned for him
ut parentem as for a parent,	annum, during a whole year,	quod fuisset because he had been
tam acer ultor so vigorous an avenger	violatæ pudicitiæ. of violated chastity.	Deinde Afterwards
orta consuli, there arose towards the consul,	qui superfuerat,— who survived,	ut (so
mutabiles sunt changeable are	animi vulgi,— the minds of the people,)	ex favore out of his popularity
non modo invidia, not only jealousy,	sed suspicio but suspicion	etiam [also]
cum attended with	atroci crimine : an atrocious charge.	fama ferebat Report represented
eum affectare regnum, that he aspired to the sovereignty,	quia nec subrogaverat because he had not substituted	
collegam a colleague	in locum Bruti, in the room of Brutus,	et ædificabat and was building a house
in summa Velia, on the summit of Mount Velia,	ubi where,	alto atque from its lofty and

munito loco fieri inexpugnabilem arcem.
well-fortified situation, it would constitute an impregnable fortress.

Cum hæc dicta vulgo creditaque
When these things thus circulated and believed

angerent consulis animum indignitate,
affected the consul's mind with indignation,

vocato populo ad concilium,
having summoned the people to an assembly,

escendit in concionem, submissis fascibus. Id fuit
he mounts the rostrum, after lowering the fasces. It was

gratum spectaculum multitudini, insignia imperii
a grateful sight to the multitude, that the insignia of authority

submissa esse sibi, confessionemque factam
were lowered to them, and that an acknowledgment was made,

majestatem vimque populi esse majorem
that the majesty and power of the people were greater

quam consulis. Jussis audire ibi
than that of the consul. On their being called to silence there,

consul laudare fortunam collegæ, quod
the consul extolled the good fortune of his colleague, how that

liberata patria in summo honore
after delivering his country, and being raised to the highest post of honor

occubisset mortem, dimicans pro republica,
he met with death, while fighting in defence of the republic,

gloria matura, necdum vertente se
when his glory was in its maturity, and not yet converted

in invidiam: se superstitem
into jealousy; that he himself, having survived

susæ gloriæ superesse ad crimen
his glory, now remained as an object of accusation

atque invidiam, ex liberatore patriæ
and calumny; that from the liberator of his country

se recidissee ad Aquilios Vitelliosque
he had fallen to the level of the Aquilii and Vitellii.

"eritne ulla virtus ergo" inquit "numquam
"Will no merit then," says he, "ever

adeo spectata a vobis, ut nequeat violari
be so tried and approved by you, as to be secure from the attacks of

suspicione ? suspicion ?	Ego timerem Could I apprehend	me ipsum, that myself,
illum acerrimum the bitterest	hostem regum, enemy of kings,	subiturum should fall under
crimen the charge	cupiditatis regni ? of a desire of royalty ?	Ego crederem Could I believe that,
si habitarem even though I dwelt	in ipsa arce in the very citadel	Capitolioque, and the Capitol,
me posse metui I could be dreaded	a meis civibus ? by my fellow-citizens ?	Mea fama Does my reputation
apud vos among you	pendet tam levi momento ? depend on so mere a trifle ?	Estne fides Is my integrity
adeo leviter fundata, so slightly founded,	ut referat magis, that it matters more	ubi sim, where I am,
quam qui sim ? than what I am ?	ædes Publii Valerii The house of Publius Valerius	
non obstabunt vestræ libertati, shall not stand in the way of your liberty,		Quirites : Romans ;
Velia erit tuta vobis : the Velian mount shall be secure to you.	non modo deferam I will not only bring down	
ædes my house	in planum, into the plain,	sed etiam but will [even]
subjiciam colli, fix it under the hill,	ut vos habitetis supra me that you may dwell above me,	
suspectum civem : a suspected citizen.	ædificent in Velia, Let those build on the Velian mount,	
quibus libertas melius creditur, to whom liberty is more safely intrusted,	quam P. Valerio." than to P. Valerius."	
Confestim omnis materia Immediately all the materials		delata were brought down
infra Veliam, to the foot of the Velian mount,		et domus ædificata and the house was built
in infimo clivo, at the foot of the hill,	ubi Vicæ Potæ where the temple of Victory	nunc est. now stands.

VIII.—Deinde leges latæ,
After this laws were proposed,

quæ non solum
which not only

absolverent consulem
cleared the consul

suspicionē
of the suspicion

regni,
of aiming at the regal power,

sed quæ
but [which]

verterent adeo
tended so largely

in contrarium,
in the opposite direction,

ut etiam facerent
that they even rendered

popularem :
him popular :

inde cognomen Publicolæ
from thence the surname of Publicola

factum est.
was assigned him.

Ante omnes
Above all,

leges de provocatione
the laws concerning an appeal

ad populum
to the people

adversus magistratus
against the magistrates,

sacrandoque
and that devoting

capite
both the person

cum bonis
and property

ejus,
of any one,

qui inisset consilia
who should form a design

occupandi regni,
of assuming regal authority,

fuere gratæ in vulgus.
were acceptable to the people

Cum
And after

pertulisset
he had passed

quas
these

solus,
as being alone in office,

ut gratia
in order that the merit

in his
in them

esset unius sua,
might be exclusively his own,

tum deinde
he then

habuit
held

comitia
an assembly

subrogando collegæ.
for the election of a new colleague.

Sp. Lucretius
Sp. Lucretius

creatus
was chosen

consul,
consul,

qui
who

magno natu,
being very old,

viribus
and his strength

jam non sufficientibus
being now inadequate

ad obeunda
to discharge

consularia munera,
the consular duties,

moritur
died

intra paucos dies
in a few days.

M. Horatius Pulvillus
M. Horatius Pulvillus

suffectus
was substituted

in locum Lucretii.
in the room of Lucretius.

Apud quosdam
In some

veteres auctores
old writers,

invenio non
I find no mention of

Lucretium consulem :
Lucretius as consul ;

suggerunt
they place

Horatium statim Bruto :
Horatius immediately after Brutus.

credo
I suppose

intercidisse memoria, quia nulla res gesta
he has escaped notice, because no important transaction

fecerit insignem consulatum. Jovis aedes
signallised his consulate. Jupiter's temple

in Capitolio nondum dedicata erat. Consules
in the Capitol had not yet been dedicated; the consuls

Valerius Horatiusque sortiti,
Valerius and Horatius cast lots

uter dedicaret. Evenit sorte Horatio :
which should perform the dedication. It fell by lot to Horatius.

Publicola profectus ad bellum Veientium.
Publicola departed to the war of the Veientians.

Necessarii Valerii tulere ægrius, quam erat dignum,
The friends of Valerius were more chagrined than was becoming,

dedicationem templi tam inclyti
that the dedication of a temple so celebrated

dari Horatio. Conati omnibus modis
should be given to Horatius. Having endeavored by every means

impedire id, postquam
to prevent that, when

alia tentata erant frustra, incutiant
all other attempts had been tried in vain, they suddenly announce

consuli jam tenenti postem
to the consul, already holding the door-post

inter precationem deum foedum nuntium,
during his offering of prayer to the gods, the shocking intelligence,

ejus filium mortuum esse, que familia funesta
that his son was dead, and that, his family being defiled,

non posse dedicare eum templum. Non crediderit
he could not dedicate the temple. Whether he did not believe

factum an fuerit tantum roboris animo, nec
the fact, or possessed such great firmness of mind, is neither

traditur certum nec est interpretatio facilis :
handed down for certain, nor is a conjecture easy :

aversus a proposito ad eum nuntium
but diverted from his purpose at this intelligence

nihil aliud, quam ut juberet cadaver efferri,
in no other way than to order that the body should be buried,

tenens postem <i>still</i> holding the post	peragit he finished	precationem his prayer,
et dedicat templum. and dedicated the temple.	Hæc gesta These were the transactions	domi at home
militiæque and abroad	primo anno the first year	post exactos reges : after the expulsion of the royal family.
inde After this	P. Valerius iterum, P. Valerius, a second time,	T. Lucretius and Titus Lucretius
facti consules. were elected consuls. [U. C. 246; B. C. 506.]		

IX.—Jam By this time	Tarquinius the Tarquins	perfugerant had fled
ad Lartem Porsinam, to Lars Porsena,	regem Clusinum. king of Clusium.	Ibi, There,
miscendo consilium mixing advice with		precesque, their entreaties,
nunc orabant, “they at one time besought him	ne pateretur se not to suffer them,	oriundos who were sprung
ex Etruscis, from the Etrurians,	ejusdem sanguinis and of the same blood	nominisque, and name,
exsulare egentes, to live in exile and poverty;	nunc monebant etiam, then advised him [also]	ne sineret not to let
orientem morem pellendi reges <i>this</i> new practice of dethroning kings		inultum : pass unpunished ; <i>adding</i>
libertatem that liberty	habere had	ipsam in itself
	satis dulcedinis : sufficient sweets ;	
nisi reges and unless kings	defendant regna defend their crowns	tanta vi, with as much vigor
quanta civitates expetant eam as the people pursue that <i>liberty</i> ,		summa that the highest <i>rank</i> s
æquari <i>must</i> be reduced to a level		infimis : with the lowest ;
fore nihil excelsum, there would be nothing exalted,	nihil quod emineat nothing distinguished	
supra cetera, above the rest,	in civitatibus : in the community ;	adesse there would <i>soon</i> be

finem an end	regnis, of regal government,	pulcherrimæ rei the most beautiful institution
inter deos both among gods	hominesque. and men."	Porsina, Porsena,
ratus amplum Tuscis, thinking it were an honor to the Tuscans,	cum both that	esse there should be
regem Romæ, a king at Rome,	tum and especially	regem one
Etruscæ gentis, of the Etrurian nation,	venit Romam advanced upon Rome	infesto exercitu. with a hostile army.
Non umquam Never	ante before,	alias on any other occasion
tantus terror invasit did so great terror seize	senatum, the senate ;	adeo valida erat so powerful was
res Clusina the state of Clusium	tum at the time,	magnumque and so great
nomen Porsinæ. the renown of Porsena.	Nec ipsi modo timebant Nor did they only dread	
hostes their enemies,	sed but even	suosmet cives, their own citizens,
ne Romana plebs, lest the Roman populace,	perculsa metu, overcome by their fears,	
receptis regibus should, by receiving the royal family	in urbem, into the city,	acciperet pacem accept peace
vel cum even at the price of	servitute. slavery.	Multa blandimenta Many conciliatory concessions
igitur data were therefore granted	plebi to the commons	ab senatu by the senate
per id tempus : during that period.	cura Their attention,	in primis in the first place,
habita annonæ, was directed to the markets, and	et missi persons were sent,	alii in Volscos some to the Volscians,
alii Cumas others to Cumæ,	ad comparandum frumentum : to buy up corn.	
arbitrium vendendi salis The privilege of selling salt,	quoque also,	quia venibat as it was sold
impenso pretio, at an extravagant price,	ademptum privatis was taken away from private individuals,	

omni sumptu all the expense incurred <i>being transferred</i>	in publicum : to the public treasury ;	
plebesque liberata and the people were freed	portoriis et tributo, from port-duties and taxes ;	
ut divites, qui essent ferendo oneri, that the rich, who were able to bear the burden,	conferrent : should contribute ;	
pauperes pendere that the poor paid	stipendii satis, tax enough,	
si educant liberos if they educated their children.	Hæc indulgentia This indulgent care	patrum of the fathers
itaque accordingly	tenuit civitatem kept the <i>whole</i> state	adeo concordem, in such concord
postmodum asperis rebus amid the subsequent severities	in obsidione ac fame, in the siege and famine,	
ut summi horrent that the highest abhorred	nomen regium the name of king	non magis no more
quam infimi, than the lowest ;	nec esset quisquam unus nor was any single individual	postea afterwards
tam popularis so popular	malis artibus, by intriguing practices,	quam universus as the whole
senatus tum fuit senate then was	bene imperando. by their wise administration.	

X.—Cum hostes adessent,
As the enemy drew nigh,

pro se quisque
every one

demigrant removed hastily	ex agris from the country	in urbem, into the city,
urbem ipsam which	sæpiunt præsiidiis. they encompass with guards.	Alia Some parts
videbantur tuta muris, alia objecto Tiberi. seemed well-secured by the walls, others by the interposition of the Tiber		
Sublicius pons The Sublician bridge	pæne dedit well-nigh afforded	iter a passage
hostibus, to the enemy,	ni fuisset had there not been	unus vir one man,
Horatius Cocles : Horatius Cocles,	id munimentum 'that defence	fortuna the fortune

urbis Romanæ habuit illo die: qui
 of Rome had on that day,) who,
 forte positus in statione pontis, cum vidisset
 happening to be posted on guard at the bridge, when he saw
 Janiculum captum repentino impetu atque
 the Janiculum taken by a sudden assault, and
 hostes decurrere inde citatos,
 that the enemy were pouring down from thence in full speed,
 trepidamque turbam suorum
 and the panic-stricken throng of his comrades
 relinquere arma ordinesque, reprehensans singulos,
 were abandoning their arms and ranks, laying hold of them one by one,
 obsistens, obtestansque fidem deū
 standing in their way, and appealing to the faith of gods
 et hominum, testabatur, nequidquam
 and men, declared, that "it was in vain
 eos fugere deserto præsidio: si transitum pontem
 they fled after deserting their post; if they passed the bridge
 reliquissent a tergo, jam fore plus hostium
 and left it behind them, there would soon be more of the enemy
 in Palatio Capitolioque, quam in Janiculo.
 in the Palatium and Capitol, than in the Janiculum;
 Itaque monere, prædicere,
 for that reason he advised: and charged them
 ut interrumpant pontem ferro igni
 to demolish the bridge by their swords, fire,
 quacumque vi possint :
 or any other effectual means they could command ;
 se excepturum impetum hostium, quantum
 that he would sustain the attack of the enemy as long as
 posset obsisti uno corpore. Inde vadit
 they could be withstood by one man." He then advances
 in primum aditum pontis, insignisque
 to the first entrance of the bridge, and being readily distinguished
 inter conspecta terga cedentium pugnae,
 among those who showed their backs in retreating from the fight,
 obversis armis ad ineundum cominus
 by his facing to the front with his arms prepared for close

proelium, stupefecit hostes ipso miraculo audaciæ.
 combat, he astonishes the enemy by such wonderful intrepidity.

Duos tamen pudor tenuit cum eo,
 Two, indeed, a sense of shame kept with him,

Sp. Lartium ac T. Herminium, ambos
 Sp. Lartius and T. Herminius, both of them

claros genere factisque. Cum his
 men distinguished by birth and character. With them

parumper sustinuit primam procellam periculi
 he for a short time stood the first storm of the danger,

et quod erat tumultuosissimum pugne :
 and [what proved to be] the severest brunt of the battle ;

quoque eos ipsos deinde coegit cedere
 even these he eventually obliged to withdraw

in tutum, exigua parte pontis relicta,
 to a place of safety, when but a small part of the bridge remained,

qui rescindebant revocantibus.
 and those, who were cutting it down, were calling them back.

Inde circumferens truces minaciter oculos
 Then darting fierce menacing looks

ad proceres Etruscorum, nunc
 at each of the leaders of the Etrurians, he sometimes

provocare singulos nunc increpare omnes,
 challenged them singly, sometimes upbraided them all together,

servitia superborum regum immemores
 "as slaves of haughty kings, who, regardless

sue libertatis, venire oppugnatum alienam.
 of their own freedom, came to oppress the liberty of others."

Aliquamdiu cunctati sunt, dum circumspectant
 For a considerable time they hesitated, looking round

alius alium, ut incipiant proelium. Pudor deinde
 one at the other, to commence the fight. Shame, at length,

commovit aciem, et clamore sublato,
 put the army in motion, and a shout being raised,

conjiciunt tela undique in unum hostem.
 they pour their javelins from all sides against their single adversary ;

Cum quæ cuncta hæsisent in scuto objecto,
 and when they all stuck in the shield held before him,

ille neque minus obstinatus obtineret pontem
and he with no less obstinacy kept possession of the bridge
 ingenti gradu, jam conabantur detrudere virum
with a lofty bearing, they now endeavor to force the warrior from it
 impetu, cum simul fragor rupti pontis,
by one push, when at once the crash of the falling bridge,
 simul clamor Romanorum, sublatus alacritate
at the same time a shout of the Romans, raised for joy
 perfecti operis, sustinuit impetum
at having completed their purpose, checked their ardor
 subito pavore. Tum Cocles inquit
with sudden panic. Then Cocles says,
 “sancte pater Tiberine, precor te accipias
 “Holy father Tiberinus, I beseech thee that thou wouldst receive
 hæc arma et hunc militem propitio flumine.”
these arms and this thy soldier in thy propitious stream.’
 Ita sic armatus desiluit in Tiberim
And so armed as he was, he leaped into the Tiber,
 multisque telis superincidentibus tranavit
and amid showers of darts which fell around him swam across
 incolumis ad suos, ausus rem
safe to his party, having dared an act
 habituram plus famæ quam fidei
which is likely to obtain more fame than credit
 ad posteros. Civitas fuit grata erga
with posterity. The state was grateful towards
 tantam virtutem: statua posita in comitio,
such valor; a statue was erected to him in the comitium,
 quantum agri datum circumaravit uno die.
and as much land given him as he ploughed around in one day.
 Studia privata quoque eminebant
The zeal of private persons, too, was conspicuous
 inter publicos honores: nam in magna inopia,
among the public honors; for, amid the great scarcity,
 unusquisque contulit aliquid ei pro copiis domesticis,
everyone contributed something to him, according to his supply at home,
 ipse fraudans se suo victu.
abridging himself of his own proper support.

XII.—Obsidio erat nihilominus

The siege continued notwithstanding,

et
and

inopia frumenti

there was a scarcity of corn,

cum summa caritate,
with a very high price;

que Porsina habebat spem

and Porsena entertained hopes

sedende

that by holding out

se expugnaturum urbem,
he should become master of the city,cum C. Mucius,
when C. Mucius,adolescens nobilis,
a young nobleman,cui videbatur indignum
to whom it seemed a disgraceRomanum populum,
that the Roman people,cum esset servientem
while they were in bondagesub regibus,
under their kings,nec nullo bello
were never in any warobsessum esse
besiegedab ullis hostibus,
by any enemy,eundem populum
and that the same peopleliberum
when now freeobsideri ab iisdem Etruscis,
were held besieged by those very Etrurians,quorum exercitus
whose armiessæpe fuderit;
they had often routed,ratus
consideringeam indignitatem
that such indignityvindicandam
ought to be avengedaliquo magno
by some greataudacique facinore,
and daring effort,constituit
resolved,itaque
therefore,primo
in the first instancepenetrare in hostium castra
to penetrate into the enemy's campsua sponte :
of his own accord ;dein
but afterwardsmetuens,
dreadingne,
lest,si iret
if he should goinjussu consulum
without the order of the consulset ignaris omnibus,
and the knowledge of any,forte deprehensus
he might be apprehendeda Romanis custodibus
by the Roman guardsretraheretur
and be brought backut transfuga—
as a deserter,fortuna urbis
(the circumstances of the citytum
at the timeaffirmante crimen,—
justifying the charge,)adit senatum :
he went to the senate“patres,”
“Fathers,”inquit,
says he,“volo transire Tiberim, et intrare,
“I intend to cross the Tiber, and to enter.

si possim, hostium castra, non prædo, nec
 if I can, the enemy's camp; not as a plunderer, or

ultor in vicem populationum : majus facinus
 as an avenger, in our turn, of their depredations. A greater deed

est in animo, si dii juvant." Patres approbant :
 is in my mind, if the gods assist." The senate gave their approbation,

proficiscitur ferro abdito intra vestem.
 and he set out with a sword concealed under his garment.

Ubi venit eo, constitit
 When he came thither, he stationed himself

in confertissima turba prope regium tribunal.
 among the thickest of the crowd, near the king's tribunal.

Ibi cum forte stipendium daretur
 There, when, as it happened, their pay was being delivered

militibus, et scriba sedens cum rege
 to the soldiers, and a secretary, sitting beside the king,

ornatu fere pari ageret multa, eum
 dressed nearly in the same style, was busily engaged, and to him

milites vulgo adirent, timens sciscitari,
 the soldiers generally addressed themselves; being afraid to inquire

uter esset Porsena, ne ignorando regem
 which was Porsena, lest by not knowing the king

ipse aperiret semet quis esset, quo fortuna
 he should discover on himself [what he was,] as fortune

temere traxit facinus, obtruncat scribam
 blindly directed the blow, he killed the secretary

pro rege. Cum vadentem inde, qua
 instead of the king. When as he was going off thence, where

cruento mucrone ipse fecerat sibi viam
 with his bloody dagger he had made his way

per trepidam turbam, concursu facto
 through the dismayed multitude, a concourse being attracted

ad clamorem, regii satellites
 at the noise, the king's life-guards

comprehensum retraxissent, destitutus ante
 seized and brought him back; standing alone before

regis tribunal— quoque tum, inter
 the king's tribunal, even then, in the midst of

fortunæ tantas minas, fortune's severest threats,	magis metuendus rather inspiring dread		
quam metuens— than feeling it,	"sum" "I am,"	inquit says he,	"Romanus civis, "a Roman citizen ;
vocat C. Mucium : they call me C. Mucius ;	hostis as an enemy	volui I intended	occidere hostem, to have slain an enemy,
nec est minus animi nor have I less of resolution	ad mortem to suffer death	quam fuit than I had	
ad cædem : to inflict it.	et facere Both to act	et pati and to suffer	fortia with fortitude
est Romanum. is a Roman's part.	Nec unus ego gessi Nor have I alone harbored	hos animos such feelings	
in te : towards you ;	est post me there is after me	longus ordo a long train	petentium of persons aspiring to
idem decus : the same honor.	accingere proinde, Prepare, therefore,	si juvat, if you choose,	
in hoc discrimen, for this peril,—	ut dimices to contend	tuo capite for your life	
in singulas horas ; every hour ;	habeas ferrum to have the sword	hostemque and the enemy	
in vestibulo regiæ : 'n the very porch of your pavilion ;	hoc bellum this is the war		
Romana juvenus indicimus tibi : we the Roman youth declare against you ;	timueris fear		
nullam aciem, not an army in the field,	nullum prælium, nor a battle ;		
res erit tibi uni the affair will be to yourself alone	et cum singulis." and with each of us singly."		
Cum rex, When the king,	infensus ira inflamed with rage,	simulque and at the same time	
conterritus terrified at	periculo, the danger,	minitabundus in a menacing manner	
juberet ignes circumdari, ordered fires to be kindled round him,	nisi propere expromeret unless he instantly explained		
quos insidiarum what those plots were, with which	minas jaceret sibi he threatened him		
per ambages : in these ambiguous terms—	"en tibi," "Behold me,"	inquit, said Mucius.	

“ ut sentias, quam vile corpus sit his,
 “ that you may be sensible of how little account the body is to those
 qui magnam gloriam vident:” que inicit
 who have great glory in view;” and immediately he thrusts
 dextram foculo accenso
 his right-hand into a chafing-dish of coals which had been lighted
 ad sacrificium. Cum torreret quam velut
 for the purpose of a sacrifice. And when he continued to broil it as if
 alienato animo ab sensu, rex, attonitus prope
 bereft of all sense of feeling, the king, thunder-struck in a manner
 miraculo, cum prosiluisset ab sua sede
 by such surprising conduct, after he had leaped from his throne;
 que jussisset juvenem amoveri ab altaribus,
 and ordered the youth to be removed from the altars,
 inquit, “ Tu abi vero ausus
 says, “ Retire in safety, having had the resolution
 hostilia magis in te quam in me.
 to act the enemy more towards thyself than [to] me.
 Juberem macte esse virtute, si ista virtus staret
 I should wish a blessing on thy valor, if that valor stood
 pro mea patria : nunc dimitto te hinc
 on the side of my own country. I now dismiss you [hence]
 intactum inviolatumque liberum jure belli.”
 untouched and unhurt, exempted from the right of war.”
 Tunc Mucius quasi remunerans meritum
 Then Mucius, as if making return for the favor,
 inquit “ quando quidem apud te honos est
 says, “ Since with you honor attaches
 virtuti, ut tuleris a me beneficio, quod
 to bravery, that you may obtain from me by kindness what
 nequisti minis : trecenti principes
 you could not by threats, know that three-hundred of us, the chief
 Romanæ juventutis conjuravimus, ut grassaremur
 of the Roman youth, have conspired to proceed
 in te hac via : fuit me, sors prima :
 against you in this manner. It was my lot first.
 ceteri aderunt quisque suo tempore,
 The others will be with you, each in his turn,

utcumque ceciderit primi, quoad fortuna dederit
 according as the lot shall set *time* foremost, until fortune shall afford
 opportunum te.
 an opportunity of you.

XIII.—Mucium dimissum, cui cognomen Scævola
 Mucius being dismissed, to whom the surname of Scævola
 postea inditum a clade dextræ manus legati
 was afterwards given, from the loss of his right hand, ambassadors
 a Porsina secuti sunt Romam : et casus
 from Porsena followed him to Rome. [Both] the contingency
 primi periculi, quo nihil texisset se
 of the first peril, from which nothing had protected him
 præter errorem insidiatoris, et dimicatio subeunda
 but the mistake of the assailant ; and the hazard he must undergo
 toties, quot conjurati superessent,
 as many times as there were conspirators still remaining,
 moverat eum adeo, ut ultro ferret
 affected him so deeply, that of his own accord he made
 conditiones pacis Romanis. In conditionibus
 propositions of peace to the Romans. During the negotiation
 jactatum nequidquam de restituendis Tarquiniis
 mention was made to no purpose of the restoration of the Tarquinius
 in regnum, magis, quia ipse nequiverat negare id
 to the throne, rather because he had been unable to refuse that
 Tarquiniis, quam quod ignoraret negatum iri sibi
 to the Tarquinius, than from not knowing that it would be refused to him
 ab Romanis : de restituendo agro
 by the Romans. *The point* respecting the giving up of their territory
 Veientibus impetratum, necessitasque dandi obsides,
 to the Veientes he carried, and the necessity of giving hostages,
 si vellent præsidium deduci Janiculo,
 in case they wished the garrison to be withdrawn from the Janiculum,
 expressa Romanis. Pace composita his conditionibus,
 was extorted from the Romans. Peace being concluded on these terms,
 Porsina deduxit exercitum ab Janiculo,
 Porsena withdrew his troops from the Janiculum,

et excessit
and marched out of
 Romano agro.
the Roman territories.
 C. Mucio
To Caius Mucius
 dono causa virtutis
as a reward of his valor,
 patres
the senate
 dedere agrum
gave a tract of ground
 trans Tiberim,
on the other side of the Tiber,
 quæ sunt postea appellata
which was afterwards called
 Mucia prata.
the Mucian meadows.
 Ita honorata virtute,
Such honor being paid to courage,
 quoque feminæ
even the other sex
 ergo
was [in consequence]
 excitatæ
excited
 ad publica decora :
to merit public distinctions.
 et, cum castra
[And,] as the camp
 Etruscorum
of the Etrurians
 forte locata essent
happened to be pitched
 haud procul
not far from
 ripa Tiberis,
the banks of the Tiber,
 virgo
a young lady
 Clœlia,
called Clœlia,
 una ex obsidibus,
one of the hostages,
 frustrata custodes,
deceiving the guards,
 tranavit
swam across
 Tiberim
the Tiber,
 inter tela hostium
amid the darts of the enemy,
 dux agminis virginum,
at the head of a band of maidens,
 que restituit
and restored
 omnes sospites
them all in safety
 ad propinquos
to their relations
 Romam.
at Rome.
 Ubi
When
 quod nuntiatum est
information was brought of this
 regi,
to the king
 primo incensus ira,
being at first highly incensed,
 misit
he sent
 oratores
deputies
 Romam
to Rome,
 ad deposcendam obsidem
to demand the hostage
 Clœliam,
Clœlia;
 haud facere magni alias :
that he did not regard the others ;
 deinde
afterwards,
 versus
being changed
 in admirationem,
into admiration of her courage,
 dicere
he said
 id facinus esse
"that this exploit was
 supra Coclites Muciosque,
superior to those of Coclès and Mucius,"
 et præ se ferre
and declared
 quemadmodum,
that as,
 si obses non dedatur,
in case the hostage should not be given up,
 se habiturum fœdus
he would consider the treaty
 pro rupto,
as broken off,
 sic deditam
so, if she were surrendered,

remissurum ad suos inviolatamque.
 he would return her to her friends, and *that too* unharmed

Utrimque constitit fides : et Romani restituerunt
 Both parties kept their faith : [both] the Romans restored

pignus pacis ex fœdere, et apud regem Etruscum
 their pledge of peace according to treaty, and with the king of Etruria

virtus fuit non solum tuta, sed honorata etiam ;
 merit found not only security, but honor [also] ;

que dixit virginem laudatam
 and he told the young lady, *after* complimenting her,

se donare parte obsidum, ipsa legeret,
 that he made her a present of half the hostages, and that she should choose

quos vellet. Omnibus productis,
 whom she liked. *When they were* all brought out,

dicitur elegisse impubes, quod
 she is said to have picked out the very young boys, which

erat decorum virginitati et consensu
 was both consonant to maiden delicacy, and by consen'

obsidum ipsorum probabile, eam ætatem,
 of the hostages themselves highly reasonable, that the age,

quæ esset maxime opportuna injuriæ,
 which was most liable to injury,

potissimum liberari ab hoste.
 should in preference be delivered from the *hands of* the enemy.

Pace redintegrata, Romani inde
 The peace being reestablished, the Romans [thereupon]

donavere novam virtutem in femina
 rewarded the uncommon instance of bravery in the woman

novo genere honoris, equestri statua :
 with an uncommon kind of honor,— an equestrian statue ;

virgo insidens equo posita fuit
he statue representing a lady sitting on horseback was placed

in summa Sacra via.
 at the head of the Sacred street.

XXXIV.—Deinde

Some time after,

consulibus M. Minucio

in the consulship of M. Minucius

et A. Sempronio magna vis frumenti
 and A. Sempronius, a great quantity of corn
 advecta ex Sicilia, agitatumque in senatu
 was imported from Sicily, and it was debated in the senate
 quanti daretur plebi. Multi putabant
 at what price it should be given to the commons. Many were of opinion
 tempus venisse premendæ plebis recuperandique
 that the time was come for putting down the commons, and for recovering
 jura, quæ extorta essent patribus
 these rights, which had been wrested from the patricians
 secessione ac vi: in primis Marcius Coriolanus,
 by secession and violence. In particular Marcius Coriolanus,
 hostis tribunicia potestatis, inquit
 an enemy to tribunitian power, says,
 “ si volunt annonam veterem, reddant
 ‘ if they desire provisions at the former rate, let them restore
 patribus pristinum jus. Cur ego,
 to the patricians their former rights. Why do I,
 missus sub jugum, redemptus tamquam
 after being sent under the yoke, after being ransomed, as it were,
 ab latronibus, video plebeios magistratus, cur
 from robbers, behold plebeian magistrates, and [why]
 Sicinium potentem ? Egone patiar
 Sicinius invested with power ? Shall I submit to
 has indignitates diutius quam necesse est ?
 these indignities longer than is necessary ?
 Qui non tulerim regem Tarquinium,
 Shall I, who would not have endured king Tarquin,
 feram Sicinium ? Nunc secedat,
 tolerate Sicinius ? Let him now secede,
 avocet plebem. Via patet
 let him call away the commons. The road is open
 in Sacrum montem aliosque colles. Rapiant frumenta
 to the Sacred Mount and to other hills. Let them carry off the corn
 ex nostris agris, quemadmodum rapuere
 from our lands, as they did
 tertio anno ; fruantur annona,
 two years ago. Let them have the benefit of the state of the market

quam fecere suo furore. Audeo dicere,
 which they have occasioned by their own madness. I will venture to say,
 domitos hoc malo, ipsos fore
 that brought to reason by these sufferings, they will themselves become
 cultores agrorum potius quam armati
 tillers of the lands, rather than take up arms
 ut prohibeant coli per secessionem."
 to prevent their being tilled by their revolting."
 Est haud tam facile dictu, faciendumne fuerit,
 It is not so easy to say, whether it should have been done,
 quam arbitror potuisse fieri, patres
 as I think that it might have been practicable for the patricians,
 conditionibus laxandi annonam,
 on the condition of lowering the price of provisions,
 ut demerent sibi et tribuniciam potestatem,
 to have rid themselves of both the tribunitian power,
 et omnia jura imposita invitis.
 and all other restraints imposed on them against their will.

XXXV.—Sententia et visa est

This proposal both appeared

senatui
to the senate

nimis atrox, et ira
 too harsh, and from exasperation
 prope armavit plebem : se jam peti
 well-nigh drove the people to arms : "that they were now assailed
 fame sicut hostes, fraudari
 with famine, as if enemies, that they were defrauded
 cibo victuque : peregrinum frumentum,
 of food and sustenance ; that the foreign corn,
 sola alimenta quæ ex insperato
 the only support which, unexpectedly,
 fortuna dederit, rapi ab ore,
 fortune had given them, was to be snatched from their mouth,
 nisi tribuni dedantur vincti Caio Marcio,
 unless the tribunes were surrendered up in bonds to Caius Marius,
 nisi satisfiat de tergo Romanæ plebis :
 unless he glut his rage on the backs of the Roman commons:

eum that in him	sibi novum carnificem a [to them] new executioner	exortum, had started up,
qui jubeat who ordered	aut mori aut servire. them to die or be slaves."	Impetus An assault
factus esset would have been made	in exeuntem e curia, on him as he came out of the senate-house,	
ni tribuni had not the tribunes	peropportune very opportunely	dixissent diem. appointed him a day for trial;
Ibi by this	ira est suppressa : their rage was suppressed ;	quisque everyone
videbat se factum saw himself become	judicem the judge,	se dominum vitæ the arbiter of the life
necisque inimici. and death of his foe.	Primo Marcius audiebat At first Marcius heard	
minas tribunicias the threats of the tribunes	contemptim : with scorn,—	jus " That the authority
auxilii for <i>affording</i> protection,	non pœnæ not for <i>inflicting</i> punishment,	datum had been granted
illi potestati, to that office ;	que esse tribunos plebis and they were tribunes of the commons	
non patrum. not of the patricians."	Sed plebs erat coorta But the commons had risen	
adeo infensa, with such violent determination,	ut that	defungendum esset safety had to be purchased
patribus for the patricians	pœna unius. by the punishment of one.	Restiterunt They resisted,
tamen however,	adversa invidia in spite of <i>the popular</i> odium,	usique sunt and employed,
quisque each individual	qua suis viribus, as well his own powers,	qua as
totius ordinis : <i>those</i> of the entire order.	ac primo And first,	res tentata est, the trial was made,
si possent disjicere rem whether they could upset the affair,		dispositis by posting
clientibus, their clients in <i>several</i> places,		absterrendo singuloe by deterring individuals
a coitionibus from <i>attending</i> the meetings	conciliisque : and cabals.	deinde Afterward

universi processere— they all came forth in a body,		diceres (you would suppose
quidquid erat patrum that every one of the senators	reos— was on his trial,) earnestly	precibus exposcentes entreating
plebem, the commons,	si nollent absolvere innocentem, that if they would not acquit as innocent,	
sibi they should, on their request, at least,	donarent pro nocente pardon as guilty,	
unum civem one citizen,	unum senatorem. one senator.	Cum ipse As he himself
non adesset did not appear	die dicta, on the day appointed,	perseveratum est they persisted
in ira. in their resentment.		Damnatus absens Being condemned in his absence,
abiit exsulatum he went into exile	in Volscos, to the Volsolans,	minitans uttering menaces
patriæ against his country,	que and	jam tum even then
gerens spiritus hostiles. breathing the resentment of an enemy.		Volsci The Volscians
excepere benigne received him kindly	venientem, on his arrival,	colebantque and treated him
benignius still more kindly	in dies every day	quo major in proportion as
ira his resentful feelings	in suos towards his countrymen	eminebat, became more striking,
que nunc and one time	crebræ querelæ frequent complaints,	nunc minæ another time threats
percipiebantur. were heard.	Utebatur hospitio Attii Tullii : He enjoyed the hospitality of Attius Tullius,	
is who	erat tum was then	longe princeps much the foremost man
Volsci nominis, of the Volsoian people,	semperque and always	infestus an inveterate enemy
Romanis : to the Romans.	ita, Thus,	cum vetus odium when old animosity
stimularet alterum, stimulated the one,	recens ira recent resentment	alterum, the other

conferunt consilia
they concert schemes

de bello Romano.
for bringing about a war with Rome

Credebant
They judged, however,

suam plebem
that their people

posse haud
could not

facile impelli,
easily be persuaded

ut caperent arma
to take up arms,

toties
so often

infelicitè tentata :
unsuccessfully tried ;

multis sæpe bellis,
that by the many frequent wars,

postremo
and lately

amissa juventute
by the loss of their young men

pestilentia,
in the pestilence,

spiritus
their spirits

fractos esse :
were broken ;

agendum arte
that recourse must be had to art

in odio
in view of their animosity

jam exoletò
having now become blunted

vetustate, ut animi exacerbarentur
from length of time, so that their feelings might become exasperated

aliqua recenti ira.
by some fresh cause of resentment.

XXXVI.—Forte

As it happened,

parabantur
preparations were making

Romæ
at Rome

ex instauratione
for a repetition

magni ludi.
of the great games ;

Causa instaurandi
the cause of repeating them

fuerat hæc :
was this :

mane
on the morning

ludis,
of the games,

spectaculo nondum commisso,
the show having not yet commenced,

quidam paterfamilias
a certain master of a family,

cæsum servum
after flogging his slave

sub furca egerat medio circo.
loaded with a neck-yoke, had driven him through the middle of the circus ;

Inde ludi cœpti, velut ea res
after this the games were commenced, as if this affair

nihil pertinuisset ad religionem. Haud ita multo post
had no relation to religion. Not long after

somnium fuit
a vision appeared

Tito Latinio,
to Titus Latinus.

homini de plebe
one of the plebeians

Jupiter visus dicere, præsaltatorem
 Jupiter seemed to him to say, "that the person who danced previous
 ludis displicuisse sibi : nisi
 to the games had displeased him ; and, unless
 ii ludi instaurentur magnifice
 these games were repeated on a magnificent scale
 periculum fore urbi : iret,
 danger might accrue to the city ; that he should go,
 nuntiaret ea consulibus. Quamquam animus
 and announce these things to the consuls." Although his mind
 erat haud sane liber religione,
 was not altogether free from superstitious feelings,
 tamen verecundia majestatis magistratuum
 yet his respectful awe of the dignity of the magistrates
 vicit timorem, ne abiret in ora hominum
 overcame his religious fear, lest he might pass into the mouths of people
 pro ludibrio. Ea cunctatio stetit illi magno,
 as a laughing-stock. This delay cost him dear ;
 namque amisit filium intra paucos dies.
 for he lost his son within a few days ;
 Ne causa cujus repentinae cladis esset dubia,
 and lest the cause of this sudden disaster should be doubtful,
 illa eadem species obversata in somnis
 that same phantom, appearing in his sleep
 ægro animi visa est rogitare,
 to him sorrowful in mind, seemed to ask him,
 satin' haberet magnam mercedem spreti numinis :
 whether he had received a sufficient requital for his contempt of the deity ;
 majorem instare, ni eat propere
 that a still greater awaited him, unless he went immediately,
 ac nuntiet consulibus.
 and delivered the message to the consuls.
 Res erat jam præsentior. Cunctantem tamen
 The matter was now still more pressing. Hesitating, however,
 ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est
 and delaying, a severe stroke of disease took him
 subita debilitate. Tunc enim vero
 with a sudden paralysis. Then of a truth

ira deorum admonuit.	Fessus igitur
the anger of the gods aroused him.	Wearied out therefore
præteritis malis	instantibusque,
by his past sufferings	and by those threatening him,
adhibito consilio propinquorum,	cum
having called a council of his intimate friends,	after
exposuisset	visa
he had detailed to them	all he had seen
et Jovem toties obversatum	atque audita,
and Jupiter's having so often presented himself to him	and heard,
minas irasque	somno,
the threats and anger	in his sleep,
coelestes	repræsentatas
of heaven	realized
suis casibus,	haud dubie consensu
in his own calamities,	by the unhesitating assent
omnium,	qui aderant,
of all	who were present,
inde defertur	inde defertur
he is [thereupon] carried	
lectica	in forum
in a litter	into the forum
ad consules,	
to the consuls;	
inde delatus	consulum jussu
from thence being conveyed	by their order
in curiam,	
into the senate-house,	
cum	enarrasset
after	he had stated
illa eadem	
those same particulars	
patribus	ingenti admiratione
to the senators,	to the utter astonishment
omnium,	
of all,	
ecce aliud miraculum :	traditum memoriæ est,
behold, another miracle!	It is recorded,
eum,	
that he,	
qui delatus esset	in curiam
who had been conveyed	into the senate-house
captus	
deprived of the use	
omnibus membris,	redisse domum
of all his limbs,	returned home
suis pedibus	
on his own feet	
functum officio.	
after he discharged his duty.	

XXXVII.—Senatus decrevit,

The senate decreed,

ut ludi

that the games

fierent

should be celebrated

quam amplissimi.

on as grand a scale as possible.

Ad eos ludos magna vis Volscorum venit,
To these games a great number of Volscians came

auctore Attio Tullio. Priusquam ludi
by the advice of Attius Tullius. Before the exhibitions

committerentur, Tullius— ut fuerat compositum
were commenced, Tullius, as had been concerted

domi cum Marcio— venit ad consules,
at home with Marcins, comes to the consuls ;

dicit esse quæ velit
and tells them that there were matters on which he wished

agere secreto de republica.
to treat with them in private concerning the commonwealth.

Arbitris remotis inquit " invitus
All witnesses being removed, he says, " With reluctance

loquor de meis civibus, quod sequius sit.
I say that of my countrymen, which is rather disparaging.

Non tamen venio criminatum
do not however come to allege against them

quidquam admissum ab his
anything as having been committed by them,

sed cautum ne admittant
but to caution them lest they should commit anything.

Ingenia nostrorum sunt nimie plus mobilia
The minds of our people are far more fickle

quam velim. Sensimus id multis cladibus,
than I could wish. We have felt that by many disasters ;

quippe qui simus incolumes
seeing that we are still preserved

non nostro merito sed vestra patientia.
not through our own deserts, but through your forbearance.

Est nunc hic magna magnitudo Volscorum.
There is now here a great multitude of Volscians.

Ludi sunt. Civitas erit intenta
The games are going on. The city will be intent

spectaculo. Memini, quid commissum sit
on the exhibition I remember what has been committed

in hac urbe per eandem occasionem, juventute
in this city on a similar occasion, by the youth

Sabinorum. of the Sabines.	Animus horret, My mind shudders	ne quid lest anything
fiat should be perpetrated	inconsulte inconsiderately	ac temere. and rashly.
Ratus sum, I considered,	hæc that these matters	nostra causa should both for our own sake
vestraque and for yours	dicenda prius be mentioned before-hand	vobis, to you
consules. <i>who are consuls.</i>	Quod attinet ad me, With regard to myself,	est in animo it is my determination
abire hinc domum to depart hence home	extemplo, immediately,	ne præsens lest, if present,
violenter I may be affected	contagione by the contagion	cujus facti of any word
dictive." or deed."	Locutus hæc Having said this,	abiit. he departed.
Cum consules When the consuls	detulissent ad patres laid before the senate	rem the matter
dubiam unsupported by proof,	sub certo auctore, though from creditable authority,	
auctor magis quam res, the authority more than the thing <i>itself</i> ,	ut fit, as usually happens,	
movit determined <i>them</i>	ad præcavendum to use precautions	vel ex supervacuo, even though unnecessary;
que and	consulto senatus facto, a decree of the senate being passed,	ut that
Volsci excederent the Volscians should retire from	urbem, the city,	præcones criers
dimituntur, are sent in different directions,	qui juberent to order	eos omnes them all
proficisci to depart	ante noctem. before night.	Ingens pavor A great panic
perculit primo struck them at first	discurrentes as they ran about	in hospitibus to their lodgings
ad tollendas to take away	suas res: their effects.	deinde proficiscentibus Afterwards when setting out,
indignatio oborta, indignation arose in their breasts:		ut se that they,

consceleratos contaminatosque <i>as if polluted with crime and contaminated,</i>	abactos esse <i>were driven away</i>
ab ludis, <i>from the games,</i>	festis diebus, <i>on festival days,</i>
quodam modo <i>in a manner,</i>	hominum deorumque. <i>of men and gods.</i>

XXXVIII.—Cum irent prope continuato agmine,
As they went along in an almost continuous train,

Tullius <i>Tullius</i>	prægressus <i>having preceded them</i>	ad caput Ferentinum, <i>to the fountain of Ferentina,</i>
excipiens <i>accosting</i>	primores eorum, <i>the chiefs among them,</i>	ut quisque eveniret, <i>as each arrived,</i>
quærendo <i>by asking questions</i>	indignandoque <i>and expressing indignation,</i>	deduxit et eos ipsos <i>led both themselves,</i>
sedulo audientes <i>who greedily listened to</i>	verba <i>expressions</i>	secunda iræ, <i>congenial to their resentment,</i>
et per eos <i>and through them</i>	aliam multitudinem <i>the rest of the multitude,</i>	in campum <i>into a plain</i>
subjectum viæ. <i>adjoining the road.</i>	Ibi exorsus orationem <i>There having commenced an address</i>	
in modum <i>after the manner</i>	concionis, <i>of a public harangue,</i>	inquit, <i>he says,</i>
“ut obliviscamini <i>“Though you were to forget</i>		veteres injurias <i>the former ill-treatment</i>
Romani populi <i>at the hands of the Roman people,</i>	cladesque <i>and the calamities</i>	gentis <i>of the nation</i>
Volscorum— <i>of the Volsci,</i>	omnia alia, <i>and all other such matters,</i>	quo animo <i>with what feelings,</i>
tandem <i>pray,</i>	fertis <i>do you bear</i>	hanc contumeliam <i>this outrage</i>
hodiernam, <i>offered you to-day,</i>	qua <i>whereon</i>	commisere ludos <i>they have commenced their games</i>
per nostram ignominiam? <i>by insulting us?</i>	An <i>Or</i>	non sensistis <i>did you not perceive</i>
triumphatum esse <i>the triumph had</i>	de vobis <i>over you</i>	hodie? <i>this day?</i>
		Vos <i>that you</i>

abeuntes **fuisse spectaculo** **omnibus—**
when departing *were a spectacle* *to all,*
civibus, **peregrinis,** **tot finitimis populis,**
citizens, *foreigners,* *so many neighboring states?*
vestras conjuges, **vestros liberos** **traductos**
that your wives, *your children* *were exposed*
per ora hominum? **Quid** **putatis**
before the eyes of the public? *What* *do you suppose*
existimasse eos, **qui** **audivere**
to have been the sentiments of those *who* *heard*
vocem præconis, **quid,** **qui videre vos abeuntes,**
the voice of the orier? *what of those* *who beheld you departing?*
quid eos, **qui fuere obvii** **huic ignominioso agmini,**
what of those *who met* *this disgraceful cavalcade?*
nisi **aliquid profecto nefas** **esse :** **quo**
what except that *some enormous impiety* *attaches to us,* *by which*
simus, **si intersimus spectaculo,** **violaturi ludos,**
we should, *if present at the exhibition,* *contaminate the games,*
que meritori piaculum, **ideo**
and render necessary an expiatory sacrifice ; *and that therefore*
nos abigi **ab sede** **piorum**
we were driven away *from the residences* *of these pious people,*
cœtu concilioque? **Quid** **illud non succurrit**
from their converse and meeting? *What,* *does it not strike you,*
nos deinde vivere, **quod maturarimus** **proficisci?—**
that we still live, *because we hastened* *our departure?*
si hoc **est profectio** **et non fuga.**
if this *is a departure* *and not a flight.*
Et vos non ducitis **hanc** **urbem hostium,**
And do you not consider *this to be* *the city of enemies,*
ubi **si morati essetis** **unum diem,**
where, *if you had delayed* *a single day,*
omnibus moriendum fuit? **Bellum indictum est vobis**
you must have all died? *War has been declared against you,*
magno malo eorum, **qui indixere,** **si estis viri.”**
to the heavy injury of those, *who declared it,* *if you are men.”*
Ita, **et sua sponte pleni irarum**
Thus, *being both of themselves charged with resentment*

et incitati,
and incited, *by this hurangue,*
instigandoque
and, by instigating
efficere,
brought *matters* to such a pass,
deficeret.
revolted.

inde digressi sunt domos,
they separated to their *several* homes,
quisque
each
suos populos
his own state,
ut omne Volscum nomen
that the whole Volsoian nation

XXXIX.—Imperatores lecti ad id beilum
The commanders, appointed for this war

de sententia omnium populorum Attius Tullius
by the unanimous choice of all the states, were Attius Tullius

et C. Marcius, Romanus exsul, in quo
and Caius Marcius the Roman exile, on the latter of whom

repositum aliquanto plus spei : quam spem
they reposed by far the greater part of their hopes ; and this hope

nequaquam fefellit, ut facile appareret
he by no means disappointed : so that it clearly appeared

Romanam rem esse validiorem
that the Roman commonwealth was more powerful

ducibus quam exercitu. Profectus Circeios,
by reason of its generals than its army. Having marched to Circeii,

primum expulit inde Romanos colonos,
he first expelled from thence the Roman colonists,

que tradidit eam urbem liberam Volscis :
and delivered that city in a state of freedom to the Volscians.

inde transgressus transversis tramitibus
From thence passing across the country through by-roads

in Latinam viam, ademit Romanis
into the Latin way, he deprived the Romans of

hæc novella oppida, Satricum, Longulam, Poluscam,
their lately-acquired towns, Satricum, Longula, Polusca,

Coriolos, Bovillas : inde recipit Lavinium,
Corioli, Bovillæ. He next retook Lavinium ;

tum cepit deinceps Corbionem, Vitelliam,
and then took in succession Corbio, Vitellia,

Trebiam, Labicos, Pedum : a Pedo postremum
 Trebia, Lavici, and Pedum. From Pedum, lastly,
 ducit ad urbem, et positis castris
 he marches to the city, and having pitched his camp
 ad Cluilias fossas, quinque millia passuum ab urbe,
 at the Cluilian trenches five miles from the city,
 inde populatur Romanum agrum, custodibus missis
 he from thence ravages the Roman territory, guards being sent
 inter populatores, qui servarent agros patriciorum
 among the plunderers to preserve the lands of the patricians
 intactos, sive infensus magis plebi
 intact; either as being incensed chiefly against the plebeians,
 sive ut discordia inde oriretur inter patres
 or in order that dissension might [thence] arise between the senators
 plebemque. Quæ profecto orta esset,
 and people. And this certainly would have arisen,
 adeo tribuni criminando in primores
 so powerfully did the tribunes, by inveighing against the leading men
 civitatis instigabant plebem jam ferocem
 of the state, incite the plebeians already sufficiently violent
 per se : sed timor externus,
 of themselves; however, their dread of a foreign enemy,
 maximum vinculum concordiae, jungebat inter se animos
 the strongest tie of concord, united their minds,
 suspectos infensosque quamvis. Id modo
 distrustful and rancorous though they were. This alone
 non conveniebat, quod senatus consulesque
 was a point of disagreement, that the senate and consuls
 ponebant spem nusquam alibi quam in armis,
 rested their hopes on nothing else than on arms;
 plebes quam malebat omnia bellum. Sp. Nautius
 the plebeians preferred anything to war. Sp. Nautius
 et Sex. Furius jam erant consules.
 and Sex. Furius were now consuls.
 Recensentes legiones, distribuentes præsidia
 Whilst they were reviewing the legions, posting guards
 per muros aliaque loca, in quibus
 along the walls and other places, where

placuerat it was thought proper	esse there should be	stationes vigiliasque, posts and watches,
ingens multitudo a vast multitude	poscentium of persons demanding	pacem peace
conterruit eos terrified them	primum at first	seditioso clamore, by their seditious clamor;
deinde coegit vocare then compelled them to convene	senatum, the senate,	referre to consider the question
de mittendis legatis of sending ambassadors	ad C. Marcium. to C. Marcius.	Patres The senate
acceperunt relationem, entertained the question,	postquam apparuit after it became evident	animos that the spirits
plebis of the plebeians	labare; were giving way;	que oratores missi and deputies being sent
ad Marcium to Marcius	de pace concerning peace,	retulerunt atrox responsum : brought back a harsh answer :
si ager "If their lands	redderetur Volscis, were restored to the Volscians,	posse that they might then
agi consider the question	de pace : of peace ;	si velint frui if they were disposed to enjoy
præda belli the plunder of war	per otium, at their ease	se that he,
		memorem mindful
et injuriæ civium, both of the injustice of his countrymen,		et beneficii as well as of the kindness
hospitum of strangers,	adnisurum would do his utmost	ut appareat, to make it appear,
sibi animos irritatos esse that his courage was irritated	exsilio by exile,	non fractos. not depressed.
Deinde iidem missi When the same persons are sent back		iterum a second time
non recipiuntur they are not admitted	in castra. into the camp.	Traditum est, It is recorded,
sacerdotes that the priests	quoque, also,	velatos suis insignibus, arrayed in their insignia,
isse went	supplices as suppliants	ad hostium castra : to the enemy's camp ;
nihilo flexisse animum and that they did not influence his mind		magis quam legatos. more than the ambassadors.

XL.—*Tum matronæ*

Then the matrons

coeunt frequentes

assemble in a body

ad Veturiam,
around Veturia,*matrem Coriolani,*
the mother of Coriolanus,*que*
and*uxorem Volumniam.*
his wife Volumnia:*Id*
whether this*fuerit*
was*consilium publicum*
a scheme of government,*an muliebris timor,*
or the result of the women's fear,*parum invenio :*
I cannot ascertain.*certe pervicere,*
They certainly carried their point,*ut*
that*et Veturia,*
[both] Veturia,*mulier magno natu,*
a lady advanced in years,*et Volumnia*
and Volumnia,*ferens duos*
leading her two*parvos filios*
little sons*ex Marcio,*
by Marcius,*secum irent*
should go with them*in castra hostium ;*
to the camp of the enemy,*et,*
and,*quoniam viri*
as men*non possent*
were unable*defendere urbem*
to preserve the city*armis,*
by arms,*mulieres defenderent*
that women should defend it*precibus*
by entreaties*lacrimsque.*
and tears.*Ubi ventum est*
When they arrived*ad castra*
at the camp,*nuntiatumque est Coriolano,*
and it was announced to Coriolanus,*ingens agmen mulierum*
that a great procession of women*adesse—*
was approaching,*ut qui*
he, as being one who*motus esset*
had been moved*nec majestate publica*
neither by the majesty of the state,*in legatis,*
in its ambassadors,*nec religione*
nor by the sanctity of religion*tanta*
so strikingly*offusa*
addressed*oculis animoque*
to his eyes and understanding*in sacerdotibus—*
in its priests,*erat*
was*multo obstinatio*
much more obdurate*adversus muliebres lacrimas.*
against the women's tears.*Dein*
Then*quidam familiarium,*
one of his acquaintances,*qui*
who*cognoverat Veturiam*
recognised Veturia,*insignem*
distinguished*inter ceteras*
from all the others

mæstitia by her sadness,	stantem standing	inter nurum between her daughter-in-law
nepotesque, and grand-children,	inquit, says,	"nisi oculi frustrantur me, " Unless my eyes deceive me,
tibi mater your mother	conjuxque and wife	et liberi and children
adsunt." are coming."	Cum Coriolanus, When Coriolanus,	prope ut amens, almost like one distracted,
consternatus rushing in consternation	ab sua sede from his seat,	ferret offered
complexum to embrace	matri obviæ, his mother as she met him,	mulier the lady,
versa ex precibus turning from entreaties	in iram to angry rebuke,	inquit, says,
" priusquam " Before	accipio complexum, I receive your embrace,	sine sciam let me know
venerim whether I am come	ad hostem to an enemy	an ad filium, or to a son ;
sim whether I am	in tuis castris in your camp	captiva materne. a prisoner or a mother.
Longa vita Has length of life	et infelix senecta and a hapless old age	traxit me in hoc. reserved me for this—
ut viderem to behold	te exulem, you an exile,	deinde hostem ? then an enemy ?
Potuiſti populari Can you lay waste	hanc terram, this land,	quæ te genuit which gave you birth
atque aluit ? and nurtured you ?		Quamvis perveneras Though you had come
infesto et minaci animo, with an incensed and vengeful mind,		non ira cecidit did not your resentment subside
tibi ingredienti on your entering	fines ? its borders ?	Cum Roma When Rome
fuit in conspectu, came within view,	non succurrit did it not recur to you,—	intra 'within
illa moenia those walls	mei domus ac penates my house and guardian gods	sunt, are,
mater, my mother,	conjux liberique ? wife and children ?	Ergo, So then,

nisi ego peperissem, had I not been a mother,	Roma non oppugnaretur ; Rome would not be besieged :	
nisi haberem filium, had I not a son,	mortua essem I might have died	libera free
in libera patria : in a free country.	sed But	ego possum I can
jam pati nihil now suffer nothing	nec turpius that is not more discreditable	tibi to you
quam miserius mihi, than distressing to me ;	nec, nor,	ut miserrima sum, however wretched I may be,
futura sum diu : shall I be so long.	videris de his, Look to these,	quos, whom,
si pergis, if you persist,	aut immatura mors either an untimely death	aut longa or prolonged
servitus bondage	manet." awaits."	Uxor ac liberi His wife and children
deinde then	amplexi, embraced him,	fletusque and the lamentation
ortus proceeding	ab omni turba from the entire crowd	mulierum, of women,
et comploratio sui and their bemoaning themselves	patriæque, and their country,	tandem at length
fregere virum. overcame the man.	Inde Then,	complexus suos after embracing his family,
dimittit, he sends them away ;	et ipse movit and himself moved	castra his camp
retro farther back	ab urbe. from the city.	Deinde Some time after
abductis legionibus when he had drawn off his troops	ex Romano agro, from the Roman territory,	tradunt they say
perisse that he lost his life,	oppressum overwhelmed	invidia rei, by the odium of the proceeding:
alii different writers say	alio leto : by different modes of death :	invenio I find
apud Fabium, in Fabius,	longe antiquissimum auctorem, far the most ancient writer,	
eundem vixisse that he lived	usque ad senectutem : even to old age ;	refert certe, he states positively,

exacta ætate **eum sæpe usurpasse hanc vocem,**
that, advanced in years, he frequently made use of this phrase,

exsilium esse multo miserius **seni.**
"That exile bore much the heavier on the aged."

Viri Romani **non inviderunt** **sua laude**
The men of Rome were not remiss in awarding their praises

mulieribus : **adeo** **vivebatur**
to the women, so truly did they live

sine obtrectatione **gloriæ aliæ :** **templum**
without detracting from the merit of others ; a temple

sedificatum est **quoque** **dedicatumque**
was built also, and dedicated

muliebri Fortunæ, **quod esset monumento.**
to female Fortune, [which was] to serve as a monument.

CONTENTS OF BOOK III

1, etc. Disturbances about the Agrarian laws. The Capitol seized by exiles and slaves. Quintius Cincinnatus called from the cultivation of his farm to conduct a war against the Æquans; vanquishes them, and makes them pass under the yoke. The number of the tribunes of the people augmented to ten. Ten magistrates, called decemvirs, invested with the authority of the consuls, and of all other magistrates, are appointed for the purpose of digesting and publishing a body of laws. These, having promulgated a code of laws, contained in ten tables, obtain a continuation of their authority for another year, during which they add two more to the former ten tables. Refusing to resign their office, they retain it a third year. Their conduct at first equitable and just; afterwards arbitrary and tyrannical. XLIV. An end is made of their odious administration through the unbridled lust of Appius Claudius, one of their number, who, having conceived a passion for a young woman of plebeian rank, secretly dispatches one of his clients to claim her as his slave; subsequently imposes on her father the dire necessity of snatching a butcher's knife from an adjoining shed, and putting an end to his daughter's life,—seeing that he could not otherwise save her from being led to prostitution. L-LIX. The commons provoked by an act of such flagrant injustice, seize on the Aventine mount, and compel the decemvirs to resign their office. Appius and Oppius, two of the most obnoxious, are thrown into prison, where they put a period to their own lives; the rest are banished. LX. etc. War with the Sabines, Volscians, and Æquans. Unfair decision of the Roman people, who, being chosen arbitrators between the people of Ardea and Aricia concerning some disputed lands, adjudge them to themselves. [U. C. 287-309; A. C. 465-443.]

LIBER TERTIUS.

BOOK THIRD.

CHAP'S. XLIV—LIX.

XLIV.—Sequitur in urbe aliud nefas,
 There followed in the city another atrocious proceeding,
 ortum ab libidine, eventu haud minus fœdo,
 originating in lust; in its consequences no less tragical,
 quam quod per stuprum cædemque
 than that which, through the injured chastity and violent death
 Lucretiæ expulerat Tarquinios
 of Lucretia, had occasioned the expulsion of the Tarquins
 regno que urbe, ut esset decemviris
 from the throne and the city; so that there was to the decemvirs
 non solum idem finis, qui regibus,
 not only the same end, as had been to the kings,
 sed eadem causa etiam amittendi imperii.
 but the same cause also of losing their power.
 Libido cepit Ap. Claudium stuprandæ
 A criminal passion seized Appius Claudius for violating the person
 virginis plebeis. Virginis pater
 of a young woman of plebeian rank. The young woman's father
 L. Virginius ducebat honestum ordinem
 Lucius Virginius, held an honorable rank
 in Algido, vir exempli recti
 in the army on the Algidus, a man of exemplary good conduct
 domi militæque : uxor instituta fuerat
 both at home and in the service. His wife had been educated

perinde
 in a similar manner,

liberique instituebantur :
 and so were their children educated.

desponderat filiam L. Icilio tribunicio,
 He had betrothed his daughter to Lucius Icilius, who had been a tribune,

viro acri, et expertæ virtutis
 a man of spirit and of approved zeal

pro causa plebis. Hanc virginem adultam,
 in the cause of the commons. This maiden, in the bloom of youth,

excellentem forma, Appius ardens amore,
 distinguished for beauty, Appius, burning with love,

adortus pellicere pretio ac spe, postquam
 attempted to seduce by bribes and promises ; and when

animadverterat omnia sæpta pudore,
 he perceived every avenue to his hopes barred by modesty,

convertit animum ad crudelem superbamque vim.
 he turned his thoughts to cruel and tyrannical violence

Dedit negotium M. Claudio clienti
 He gave instructions to Marcus Claudius, a dependant of his,

ut assereret virginem in servitutem, neque cederet
 that he should claim the young woman as his slave, and not yield

postulantibus vindicias secundum libertatem,
 to those who might demand her interim retention of liberty ;

ratus, quod puellæ pater abesset,
 considering that, because the damsel's father was absent,

esse locum injuriæ.
 there was an opportunity for committing the injury.

Minister decemviri libidinis injecit manum virgini
 The minister of the decemvir's lust laid hands on the girl

venienti in forum— namque ludi litterarum
 as she was coming into the forum, (for the schools of learning

erant ibi in tabernis— appellans
 were held there in sheds ; calling her

natam sua serva servamque jubebat se
 "the daughter of his slave and a slave herself," he ordered her

sequi, abstracturum vi cunctantem.
 to follow him ; that he would drag her away by force if she demurred.

Puella stupente pavida, concursus fit
 The girl being stupefied with terror, a crowd collects

ad clamorem nutricis, implorantis
 at the cries of her nurse, who implored
 fidem Quiritium : populare nomen patris
 the protection of the citizens. The popular names of her father,
 Virginii sponsique Icili celebrabatur :
 Virginius, and of her spouse, Icilius, are heard on every side.
 gratia eorum conciliat notos virgini,
 Their regard for them wins their acquaintances in favor of the maiden,
 indignitas rei turbam.
 whilst the heinousness of the proceeding gains over the crowd.
 Erat jam tuta a vi, cum assertor ait
 She was now safe from violence, when the claimant says,
 nihil opus esse concitata multitudine,
 "that there was no occasion for raising a mob;
 se grassari jure non vi : vocat puellam
 that he was proceeding by law, not by force." He cites the girl
 in jus, qui aderant, auctoribus,
 into court ; those, who stood by her, advising her
 ut sequerentur. Perventum est ad tribunal Appii.
 to follow him, they arrived at the tribunal of Appian.
 Petitor peragit fabulam notam judici—
 The claimant rehearses the farce well known to the judge
 quippe apud ipsum auctorem argumenti—
 (for he does it in the presence of the very author of the plot),
 puellam natam suæ domi, furtoque
 "that a girl born in his house and clandestinely
 translata inde in domum Virginii,
 removed from thence to the house of Virginius,
 suppositam esse ei : se afferre
 had been fathered on the latter. That he stated
 id compertum indicio probaturumque
 a thing ascertained by certain evidence, and would prove it
 judice vel Virginio ipso, ad quem
 to the satisfaction even of Virginius himself, to whom
 major pars ejus injuriæ pertineat ;
 the principal portion of that loss would accrue.
 sequum esse interim ancillam sequi
 That it was but just that in the meantime the servant should attend

dominum. her master."	Advocati puellæ, The advocates for the maiden,	cum dixissent after they had urged
Virginium "that Virginius	abesse was absent	causa rei publicæ, on business of the state,
affuturum biduo that he would be here in two days		si nuntiatum sit ei, if word were sent to him,
esse iniquum that it was unfair	absentem that in his absence	dimicare he should run any risk
de liberis, regarding his children,"	postulant, demand,	ut differat that he adjourn
integram rem the whole matter	in patris adventum, until the father's arrival,	det that he should allow
vindicias secundum libertatem the claim for her interim liberty		lege according to the law
lata ab ipso, framed by himself,	neu patiatur and not suffer	virginem adultam a young woman of ripe age
adire periculum to encounter the hazard	famæ of her reputation	priusquam libertatis. before that of her liberty.

XLV.—Appius
Appius

præfatus decreto,
prefaced his decree by observing

eam ipsam legem, "that the very law,	quam amici Virginii which the friends of Virginius	
prætendant were putting forward	susæ postulationi, as the ground of their demand,	declarare, clearly showed
quam faverit libertati : how much he favored liberty.	ceterum That however	fore there would be
in ea in that law	firmum præsidium a firm security	libertati for liberty
ita, only on this condition,	si variet that it varied	nec causis neither with respect to cases
nec personis : nor persons.	enim For	in his, with respect to those individuals,
qui asserantur in libertatem, who were claimed as free,		id juris esse, that point of law was good,
quia quivis because any citizen	possit agere lege can proceed by law and act for them.	

in ea, quæ sit in manu patris, esse
but in the case of her, who is in the hands of her father, there was
 neminem alium, cui dominus cedat
no other person, to whom her master need relinquish
 possessione : itaque placere
his right of possession. It was therefore his determination,
 patrem arcessiri : interea
that the father should be sent for: that in the meantime
 assertorem facere non jacturam
the claimant should suffer no loss
 sui juris, quin ducat
of his right, but that he should carry off
 puellam que promittat sistendam
the maiden with him, and promise that she should be produced
 in adventum ejus, qui dicatur pater. Cum multi
on the arrival of him, who was called her father." When many
 magis fremerent adversus injuriam decreti,
rather murmured against the injustice of this decision,
 quam quisquam unus auderet recusare
than any one individual ventured to protest against it,
 puellæ avunculus P. Numitorius et sponsus
the girl's uncle, Publius Numitorius, and her betrothed spouse,
 Icilius interveniunt: que via
Icilius, just come in; and way
 data inter turbam, cum multitudo crederet
being made through the crowd, while the multitude were of the opinion
 Appio posse maxime resisti interveniu
that Appius might be most effectually resisted by the intervention
 Iciliï, lictor ait decresse,
of Icilius, the lictor declares that "he had decided the matter,"
 que submovet Icilium vociferantem.
and removes Icilius, when attempting to raise his voice.
 Injuria tam atrox accendisset quoque
Injustice so atrocious would have fired even
 placidum ingenium :— "Appi," inquit,
a cool temper. "Appius," says he,
 "tibi submovendus sum hinc ferro,
"you will have to remove me hence with the sword,

ut feras tacitum that you may accomplish, in silence,	quod vis celari. what you wish to be concealed.	
Hanc virginem This young woman	sum ducturus I am about to wed,	que habiturus and will have in her
pudicam nuptam. a chaste bride.	Proinde convoca Wherefore call together	omnes lictores all the lictors
quoque collegarum, even of the colleagues ;	jube virgas et secures order the rods and axes	
expediri : to be got ready ;	sponsa the betrothed wife	Icili of Icilius
non manebit shall not remain	extra domum without the house	patris. of her father.
Si ademistis Though you have taken <i>from us</i>	auxilium tribunicium the protection of tribunes	
et provocationem and the power of appeal	plebi Romanæ— to the commons of Rome,—	duas arces the two bulwarks
tuendæ libertatis— for securing our liberty,—	regnum absolute dominion	
non ideo datum est has not therefore been granted	libidini to your lust	in liberos quoque over our children [also]
que nostros conjuges. and our wives.	Sævite Vent your fury	in tergum on our backs
et in nostras cervices : and [our] necks ;	pudicitia saltem let chastity, at least,	sit in tuto. be secure.
Si vis afferetur If violence be offered	huic, to her,	implorabimus I shall implore
fidem Quiritium the protection of the citizens	præsentium here present	pro sponsa, in behalf of my spouse ;
Virginium Virginius <i>shall implore that</i>	militum of the soldiers	pro unica filia, in behalf of his only daughter ;
omnes all of us <i>shall implore the protection</i>	deorum hominumque, of gods and men,	
neque tu umquam nor shall you ever	referes istud decretum carry that sentence into effect	sine without
nostra cæde. our blood.	Postulo, Appi, I demand <i>of you</i> , Appius,	consideres consider
etiam atque etiam, again and again	quo progrediare. to what lengths you are proceeding.	

Virginus,	ubi venerit,	viderit,
Let Virginus,	when he comes,	determine
quid agat	de	filia :
what measures he will pursue	in regard to	his daughter.
tantum sciat hoc,	si cesserit vindiciis	
Let him only be assured of this,	that, if he yield to the claims	
hujus,	sibi quærendam	conditionem
of this man,	he will have to seek out	another match
filiae :	me	vindicantem
for his daughter :	as for me,	in vindication
in libertatem sponsam	vita deseret	citius
of the liberty of my spouse,	life shall leave me	sooner
quam fides."		
than my honor."		

XLVI.—Multitudo erat concitata, certamenque
 The multitude was now excited and a contest

videbatur instare. Lictores circumsteterant
 seemed likely to ensue. The lictors had gathered round

Icilius: nec tamen processum est ultra
 Icilius; nor did they however proceed beyond

minas, cum Appius diceret, non Virginiam
 threats, when Appius said, "that it was not Virginia

defendi ab Icilio, sed
 that was defended by Icilius, but that

inquietum hominem et etiam nunc spirantem
 being a restless man, and even now breathing

tribunatum, quærere locum seditionis.
 the spirit of the tribuneship, he was seeking an occasion of sedition

se non præbiturum illi materiam
 That he would not afford him material

eo die: sed ut jam sciret,
 on that day; but in order that he may now know

id datum non suæ petulantiae
 that this indulgence was granted not to his petulance,

sed absenti Virginio et nomini patrio
 but to the absent Virginus, to the name of father

et libertati, and to liberty,	se non dicturum that he would not decide <i>the cause</i>	justo die on the regular day
neque interpositurum nor interpose	decretum : a decree :	petiturum that he would <i>even</i> request
a M. Claudio, of Marcus Claudius	ut decederet to depart <i>somewhat</i>	suo jure from his right,
que pateretur and suffer	puellam the maiden	vindicari to be bailed
in posterum diem : until the next day.	quod nisi But unless	pater affuisset the father attended
postero die on the following day,	se denuntiare he <i>now</i> gave notice	Icilio to Icilius
similibusque and to men like	Icili, Icilius,	neque latorem that neither the founder
defore would be wanting	susæ legi to his own law,	neque constantiam nor firmness
decemviro : to the decemvir ;	nec se convocaturum nor would he assemble	utique by any means
lictiores collegarum the lictors of his colleagues	ad coercendos to put down	auctores the promoters
seditionis, of sedition ;	se fore contentum that he would be content	suis lictoribus. with his own lictors."
Cum tempus When the time	injurisæ of this <i>act of</i> injustice	dilatatum esset was deferred,
que and	advocati puellæ the advocates of the maiden	secessissent, had retired,
omnium primum placuit, it was first of all determined,		fratrem Icili that the brother of Icilius
filiumque and the son	Numitorii, of Numitorius,	impigros juvenes, active young men,
pergere inde should proceed thence	recta straightforward	ad portam to the gate,
et Virginium and that Virginius	acciri should be called home	e castris, from the camp.
quantum accelerari posset : with as much expedition as possible.		salutem puellæ That the safety of the girl
verti depended	in eo, si præsto esset on his being present	ad tempus in time

postero die next day,	vindex injuriæ. as her protector from injury.	Pergunt They proceed
jussi, as directed,	citatisque equis and with all speed	perferunt carry
nuntium the account	ad patrem. to her father.	Cum assertor puellæ When the claimant of the maiden
instaret, was pressing him (Icilius)	ut vindicaret to become defendant,	que daret and give
sponsores, sureties,	atque Icilius diceret and Icilius said	id ipsum that that was the very thing
agi, he was doing,	sedulo terens tempus, designedly spinning out the time,	dum nuntii until the messengers,
missi in castra sent to the camp,		præciperent iter, might gain time for their journey,
multitudo the multitude	tollere manus raised their hands	undique on all sides,
et quisque and every one	ostendere se showed himself	paratum ready
ad spondendum to be surety	Icilio. to Icilius.	Atque ille And he
lacrimabundus with tears in his eyes	inquit, says,	"gratum est, "It is very kind of you ;
crastina die on to-morrow	utar I will avail myself	vestra opera, of your assistance ;
nunc at present	est satis sponsorum." I have sufficient sureties."	Ita Virginia Thus Virginia
vindicatur is bailed	spondentibus propinquis. on the security of her relations.	Appius Appius,
moratus paulisper, having delayed a short time,	ne videretur lest he should seem	sedisse to have sat
causa ejus rei, merely for the sake of the present case,	postquam when	nemo adibat no one applied,
aliis rebus omissis all other concerns being given up	præ by reason of	cura their solicitude
unius, about the one,	recepit se domum betook himself home	que scribit collegis and writes to his colleagues
in castra, in camp,	ne dent commeatum not to grant leave of absence	Virginio to Virginius

atque and	etiam even	habeant to keep him	in custodia. in confinement.
Improbum consilium This wicked scheme		fuit serum, was late,	ut debuit, as it deserved to be,
et for	Virginii Virginii	jam sumpto commeatu having already obtained his leave,	
profectus erat had set out	prima vigilia, at the first watch,	cum litteræ while the letter	
de eo retinendo regarding his detention	redduntur was delivered	postero die mane on the following morning	
nequidquam. to no purpose.			

XLVII.—At in urbe, But in the city,				cum civitas staret when the citizens were standing
in foro in the forum	erecta expectatione, erect with expectation,	Virginii Virginii,		
sordidatus clad in mourning,	prima luce by break of day	deducit filiam brings down his daughter,	secum like him	
veste obsoleta, attired in weeds,	comitantibus aliquot matronis, attended by some matrons,			
in forum into the forum,	cum ingenti advocazione. with a great number of advocates.	Ibi There		
coepit he began	circumire to go round	et prensare and to solicit	homines, individuals;	
et non solum and not only	orare opem requested their aid	precariam as a favor,	sed petere but demanded it	
pro debita : as his due :	se stare quotidie "that he stood daily	in acie in the field of battle		
pro in defence of	eorum liberis their children	ac conjugibus, and wives,	nec esse nor was there	
alium virum, any other man,	cujus strenue ac ferociter facta whose brave and intrepid deeds			
in bello in war	possent memorari can be rehearsed	plura :— in greater abundance.		
quid prodesse, What availed it,	si if,	urbe incolumi whilst the city was still secure,		

suis liberis sint patienda
their children were exposed to suffer

ultima,
those extremities

quæ
which

timeantur
would have to be dreaded

capta ?
if it was taken ?

Hæc prope concionabundus

Uttering these sentiments much like one addressing an assembly,

circumibat homines.
he solicited them individually.

Similia his
Arguments similar to these

jactabantur
were urged

ab Icilio.
by Icilius :

Muliebris
the female

comitatus
attendants

movebat plus tacito fletu quam ulla vox.
affected them more deeply by their silent tears than any language.

Animo obstinato
With a mind hardened

adversus quæ omnia—
against all this,

tanta vis amentię
(such a paroxysm of madness,

verius quam
rather than

amoris
of love,

turbaverat mentem—
had perverted his understanding,)

Appius escendit in tribunal,
Appius ascended the tribunal ;

et petitore
and the claimant

ultra
on his part

querente pauca,
beginning to complain briefly

quod
that

per ambitionem
through partiality

dictum non esset
justice had not been done

sibi
to him

pridie,
on the preceding day,

priusquam aut ille
before either he

perageret
could go through with

postulatum,
his claim,

aut
or

locus respondendi
an opportunity of reply

daretur Virginio,
was afforded to Virginius,

Appius interfatur.
Appius interrupts him.

Forsan
It may be that

antiqui auctores tradiderint
ancient authors have recorded

aliquem verum sermonem,
some real discourse,

quem prætenderit
which he prefixed

decreto :—
to his decree ;

quia
because

nusquam invenio
I no-where find

ullum veri similem
any probable one

in tanta foeditate decreti,
for such a scandalous decree,

videtur
it seems sufficient

nudum
that the naked fact

proponendum,
should be stated,

id quod constat,
as being a point which is agreed on:

decesse vindicias secundum servitatem. Primo
 he passed a sentence consigning her to bondage. At first

stupor defixit omnes admiratione
 the shock of surprise struck all of them motionless with amazement

tam atrocis rei, inde silentium tenuit aliquamdiu.
 at so heinous a proceeding; then silence prevailed for some time.

Dein, cum M. Claudius iret
 Afterwards, when Marcus Claudius proceeded

adprehendendam virginem, matronis circumstantibus,
 to seize the maiden, the matrons standing around her,

lamentabilisque comploratio mulierum
 and the piteous lamentation of the women

excepiisset eum, Virginus intentans
 opposed him, Virginus menacingly extending

manus in Appium inquit "Icilio non tibi,
 his hands towards Appius, says, "To Icilius and not to you,

Appi, despondi filiam, et ad nuptias
 Appius, have I betrothed my daughter; and for matrimony,

non ad stuprum educavi. Placet
 not for prostitution, have I brought her up. Do you wish

ruere in concubitus promisce ritu pecudum
 men to indulge their lust promiscuously after the manner of cattle

ferarumque? Isti passurine hæc,
 and wild beasts? Whether these persons will endure such things,

nescio: spero illos esse non passuros
 I know not; I hope that those will not [tolerate them]

qui habent arma." Cum assertor virginis
 who carry arms." When the claimant of the girl

repelleretur a globo mulierum que advocatorum
 was forced back by the crowd of women and advocates

circumstantium, silentium factum
who were standing around her, silence was commanded

per præconem.
 by the crier.

XLVIII.—Decemvir,
 The decemvir,

alienatus animo
 engrossed in mind

ad libidinem,
 by his ungovernable lust,
 ex convicio Icili hesterno
 from the abusive language of Icilius yesterday
 Virginii—
 of Virginius,
 cujus habeat
 of which he had
 Romanum populum
 the entire Roman people
 testem—
 as witnesses,
 sed certis indiciis
 but from authentic information
 quoque
 also
 se habere compertum,
 he had learned,
 coetus factos esse in urbe
 that cabals had been held in the city,
 tota nocte
 during the whole night,
 ad movendam
 to stir up
 seditionem.
 a sedition.
 Itaque se
 Accordingly that he,
 haud inscium ejus dimicationis
 being aware of that danger,
 descendisse
 had come down
 cum armatis—
 with armed soldiers;
 non ut violaret
 not that he would molest
 quemquam quietum,
 any peaceable person,
 sed ut coerceret
 but in order to punish,
 pro majestate
 suitably to the majesty
 imperii
 of government,
 turbantes
 persons disturbing
 otium civitatis :
 the tranquillity of the state.
 “erit proinde,”
 “It will therefore,”
 inquit,
 said he,
 “melius quiesce :
 “be better to remain quiet.
 lictor, submove turbam,
 Go, lictor, remove the crowd;
 et da viam
 and make way
 domino
 for the master
 adprehendendum
 to seize
 mancipium.”
 his slave.”
 Cum plenus iræ
 When, bursting with passion,
 intonuisset
 he had thundered out
 hæc,
 these words,
 multitudo ipsa
 the multitude of themselves
 sua sponte dimovit,
 voluntarily separated,
 puellaque
 and the maiden
 stabat deserta
 stood forsaken,
 præda injuriæ.
 a prey to injustice.
 Tum
 Then
 Virginius,
 Virginius,
 ubi vidit
 when he saw
 nihil auxilii
 no aid
 usquam,
 anywhere,
 inquit,
 says,
 “quæso,
 “I beg you,
 Appi,
 Appius,
 primum ignosce
 first make allowance
 patrio dolori,
 for a father’s grief,
 si sum invectus
 if I have said

quid inclementius in te: deinde sinas hic
 anything too harsh against you: and then allow me here,
 coram virgine percontari nutricem,
 in the presence of the maiden, to question her nurse,
 quid hoc rei sit, ut, si falso dictus sum pater,
 what all this matter is? that, if I have been falsely called her father,
 discedam hinc sequiore animo."
 I may depart hence with a more resigned mind."
 Venia data, seducit filiam ac nutricem
 Permission being granted, he draws the girl and the nurse aside
 ad tabernas prope Cloacinæ—
 to the sheds near the temple of Cloacina,
 quibus nunc est nomen novis,— atque ibi
 which now go by the name of the new sheds; and there
 arrepto cultro ab lanio, "hoc modo, filia,"
 snatching a knife from a butcher, "In this manner, my child,"
 ait, "uno quo possum, vindico te in libertatem:"
 says he, "the only one in my power, do I secure to you your liberty."
 deinde transfigit puellæ pectus, respectansque
 He thereupon transfixes the girl's breast, and looking back
 ad tribunal inquit "hoc sanguine
 towards the tribunal, he exclaims, "With this blood
 consecro te, Appi, tuumque caput." Appius,
 I devote thee, Appius, and thy head." Appius,
 excitus clamore orto ad tam atrox facinus,
 alarmed by the cry raised at such a horrid deed,
 jubet Virginium comprehendi. Ille facere viam
 orders Virginius to be seized. But he cleared a passage
 ferro, quacumque ibat, donec tuente etiam
 with the weapon wherever he went, until, protected also
 multitudine prosequentium perrexit ad portam
 by the crowd of persons attending him he reached the gate.
 Iulius Numitoriusque sublatum exsangue corpus
 Iulius and Numitorius, raising up the lifeless body,
 ostentant populo: deplorant scelus Appii,
 exhibit it to the people: they deplore the villainy of Appius,
 infelicem formam puellæ
 the fatal beauty of the maiden

necessitatem patris.
and the dire necessity of the father.

Matronæ sequentes
The matrons who followed

clamitant
join in exclaiming,

eamne esse conditionem
"Was this the condition

procreandorum
of rearing

liberorum,
children?

ea præmia
were these the rewards

pudicitiae?
of chastity?"

cetera,
and other things

quæ muliebris dolor
which female grief

in tali re
on such occasions

subjicit
suggests,

querentibus
when their complaints

eo magis
are so much the more

miserabilia
affecting

quo
in proportion as *their grief*

est maestior
is more intense

imbecillo animo.
from the *natural* tenderness of their minds.

Vox virorum,
The discourse of the men,

et maxime Icili
and particularly of Icilius,

erat tota
turned entirely

ereptæ
on the withdrawal

potestatis
of the power

tribunicie ac provocationis
of the tribunes and the right of appeal

ad populum,
to the people,

indignationum
and on the indignities

publicarum.
thrown upon the state.

XLIX.—Multitudo
The multitude

concitatur
was strongly excited

partim
partly

atrocitate
by the atrocious nature

sceleris,
of the deed,

partim
partly

spe repetendæ libertatis
by the hope of recovering their liberty

per occasionem.

through a favorable opportunity.

Appius nunc jubet
Appius now orders

Icilium vocari
Icilius to be called *before him*;

nunc
then,

retractantem
on his refusing to come,

arripi, postremo,
to be seized; at last,

cum locus
when an opportunity

adeundi
of approaching him

non daretur
was not afforded

apparitoribus,
to the heralds,

ipse
he himself,

vadens
proceeding

per turbam
through the crowd

cum agmine
with a band

juvenum patriciorum
of young patricians,

duci in vincula.
orders him to be taken into confinement.

Jam non solum multitudo sed quoque
By this time not only the multitude but [even]
 L. Valerius et M. Horatius duces multitudinis
Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, the leaders of the multitude.
 erant circa Icilium, qui, repulso lictore,
stood around Icilius: who, driving back his lictor,
 aiebant, si ageret jure se vindicare Icilium
stated that, "if he meant to proceed by law, they would protect Icilius
a privato, si conaretur
from one who was but a private citizen; if he should attempt
 afferre vim, ibi quoque haud fore impares.
to make use of force, in that point too they would not be his inferiors."
 Hinc oritur atrox rixa. Decemviri lictor
Hence arises a furious scuffle. The decemvir's lictor
 invadit Valerium Horatiumque: fasces franguntur
attacks Valerius and Horatius: the fasces are broken
 a multitudine. Appius escendit in concionem;
by the people. Appius ascends the tribunal;
 Horatius Valeriusque sequuntur: eos
Horatius and Valerius follow him: to these
 concio audit, obstrepitur
the assembly pays attention, but drowns with clamor
 decemviro. Valerius jam pro imperio jubeat
the voice of the decemvir. Valerius now authoritatively ordered
 lictores discedere a privato,
the lictors to depart from one who was but a private citizen;
 cum Appius, fractis animis, metuens vitæ
when Appius, bereft of courage, and dreading for his life,
 recipit se in domum propinquam foro,
betook himself into a house in the vicinity of the forum,
 insciis adversariis, capite obvoluto. Sp. Oppius,
unobserved by his enemies, with his head covered up. Spurius Oppius,
 ut auxilio esset collegæ, irrumpit in forum
in order to assist his colleague, rushes into the forum
 ex altera parte: videt imperium victum vi:
from the opposite side; he sees their authority overpowered by force.
 deinde agitatus consiliis— atque
After debating with himself upon various expedients, and

trepidaverat assentiendo multis auctoribus
 confused by listening to a multitude of advisers
 ex omni parte— postremo jussit senatum vocari.
 on every side, he eventually commanded the senate to be summoned.
 Quod acta decemvirosum videbantur
 Because the proceedingr of the decemvirs seemed
 displicere magnæ parti patrum, ea res
 to be displeasing to the greater portion of the patricians, this ste
 sedavit multitudinem spe ejus potestatis
 quieted the people with the hope that the government
 finiendæ per senatum. Senatus censuit
 would be abolished through the senate. The senate gave their opinion
 plebem nec irritandam, et multo magis
 that the commons should not be farther exasperated ; and much more
 providendum, adventus Virginii
 that care should be taken, that the arrival of Virginiius
 ne quid faceret motus in exercitu.
 should not occasion any commotion in the army.

L.—Itaque juniores patrum missi
 Accordingly some of the younger patricians, being sent
 in castra, quæ tum erant in monte Vecilio,
 to the camp which, at that time, was on mount Vecilius,
 nuntiant decemviris, ut omni ope
 announce to the decemvirs, “that by every means in their power
 contineant milites ab seditione. Ibi Virginiius
 they should keep the soldiers from mutinying.” Here Virginiius
 excivit majorem motum, quam reliquerat in urbe :
 caused greater commotion than he had left in the city ;
 nam, præterquam quod conspectus est veniens
 for, besides that he was seen coming
 agmine prope quadringentorum hominum— qui
 with a body of near four hundred men, who
 accensi indignitate rei dederant se comites ei
 fired at the heinous enormity of the occurrence, had accompanied him
 ab urbe— strictum telum etiam, que ipse
 from the city, the unsheathed weapon [also] and himself

respersus cruore convertit in se tota castra : et
 besmeared with blood, attracted to him the entire camp ; while
 togæ, visæ multifariam in castris, fecerant
 the gowns, observed in many different parts of the camp, made
 speciem multitudinis urbanæ aliquanto majoris quam
 the number of people from the city appear much larger than
 erat. Quærentibus, quid rei esset
 it really was. Upon their asking what was the matter, in consequence
 flens diu misit non vocem : tandem, ut jam
 of his weeping he for a long time uttered not a word : at length, as soon as
 turba concurrentium constitit ex trepidatione : ac
 the crowd of those running together grew still, and
 silentium fuit exposuit cuncta ordine ut
 silence took place, he related everything in order as
 gesta erant : deinde tendens manus supinas,
 it occurred. Then extending his hands towards heaven,
 appellans commilitones orabat, ne attribuerent
 addressing his fellow-soldiers, he besought them, "not to impute
 sibi, quod esset scelus Appii Claudii, neu
 to him that which was the crime of Appius Claudius, nor
 aversarentur se ut parricidam liberum : sibi
 to abhor him as the murderer of his child ; to him
 vitam filiæ fuisse cariorem sua, si
 the life of his daughter was dearer than his own, if
 licitum fuisset vivere libere ac pudice : cum
 she had been allowed to live in freedom and chastity : when
 videret rapi ad stuprum velut servam,
 he saw her dragged to violation as if a slave,
 ratum melius liberos amitti morte quam
 thinking it better that his child should be lost by death than
 contumelia, misericordia se lapsum in
 by dishonor, through compassion for her he had fallen under
 speciem crudelitatis : nec se futurum fuisse
 the appearance of cruelty : nor would he have
 superstitem filiæ, nisi habuisset spem
 survived his daughter, had he not placed hope
 ulciscendæ ejus mortis in auxilio commilitonum :
 of avenging her death in the aid of his fellow-soldiers ;

enim illis quoque esse filias sorores conjugesque,
for they also had daughters, sisters, and wives;

nec esse libidinem Appii Claudii extinctam cum
nor was the lust of Appius Claudius extinguished with

sua filia ; sed, quo sit impunitior,
his daughter ; but in proportion as it remained unpunished,

eo effrenatiorem fore : calamitate aliena
so much the more unbridled would it be. That in the calamity of another

documentum datum illis cavendæ similis injuriæ.
warning was given them to guard against a similar injury.

Quod ad se attineat, uxorem ereptam sibi
As to what concerned himself, his wife had been torn from him

fato, filiam, quia non ultra victura fuerit
by fate ; his daughter, because she no longer could live

pudica, occubuisse miseram sed honestam mortem :
in chastity, died an unfortunate but honorable death ;

esse jam in sua domo non locum Appii
there was now in his house no opportunity for Appius'

libidini : ab alia violentia ejus se vindicaturum
lust ; that from any other violence of his he would defend

suum corpus eodem animo, quo vindicaverit
his own person with the same spirit with which he vindicated

filiae :— ceteri consulerent sibi ac
that of his daughter. Let others take care of themselves and

liberis. Virginio vociferanti hæc
their children." To Virginius uttering these words in a loud voice,

multitudo succlamabat, nec se defuturos
the multitude replied with shouts, "that they would not be backward

illius dolori nec suæ libertati. Et
with respect either to his wrongs or their own liberty." And

togati immixti turbæ militum
the gown-men intermixed with the crowd of soldiers,

cum querendo illa eadem
both by narrating with sorrow those same circumstances,

docendoque, quanto indigniora potuerint videri
and by observing how much more shocking they must have appeared

visa quam audita, simul
when seen than when merely heard, and also

nuntiando rem jam esse profligatam Romæ—
by acquainting *them* that matters were now desperate at Rome;

qui insecutique dicerent Appium
while *some* who came later averred that Appius,

prope interemptum, abisse in exilium,—
having with difficulty escaped with life, had gone into exile:— *all this*

perpulerunt, ut conclamaretur ad
had such an effect *on the soldiery*, that they cried out, “To

arma, vellentque signa, et proficiscerentur
arms!” snatched up their standards, and marched towards

Romam. Decemviri perturbati simul his quæ
Rome. The decemvirs, exceedingly alarmed as well by what

videbant, iisque quæ audierant acta
they *now* saw, as by those things which they heard had passed

Romæ discurrunt alius in aliam partem castrorum
at Rome, ran about to different parts of the camp

ad sedandos motus. Et agentibus leniter
to quell the commotion. *Whilst they were* proceeding with mildness,

non responsum redditur: si quis
no answer was returned *to them*: if any of them

inhiberet imperium, respondetur
attempted to exert authority over them, he was answered,

se esse et viros et armatos. Eunt enim
that “they were men and had arms.” They proceed *to*

ad urbem, et insidunt Aventinum, adhortantes
to the city, and post themselves on the Aventine; exhorting

plebem, ut quisque occurrerat, ad repetendam
the commons, according as each person met *them* to reassume

libertatem creandosque tribunos plebis. Nulla alia
their liberty, and elect tribunes of the people. No other

violenta vox audita est. Sp. Oppius habet
violent expression was heard. Spurius Oppius holds

senatum. Placet nihil asperere agi
meeting of the senate; it is resolved, that no harsh measures should be used,

quippe locum seditionis datum esse ab ipsis.
inasmuch as occasion for the insurrection had been given by themselves.

Tres consulares, Sp. Tarpeius, C. Julius,
Three consulars, Spurius Tarpeius, Caius Julius,

P. Sulpicius, **mittuntur legati,** **qui quærerent**
Publius Sulpicius, are sent as ambassadors, to inquire,
verbis senatus **cujus jussu** **deseruissent castra,**
in the name of the senate, by whose orders they had quitted the camp,
aut quid sibi vellent **qui obsedissent** **armati**
or what was their intention in posting themselves in arms
Aventinum, **aversoque bello** **ab hostibus**
on the Aventine; and in turning away their arms from the enemy
cepissent **suam patriam.** **Non defuit,** **quid**
and in taking their own country? They were at no loss what
responderetur **deerat,** **qui daret**
to answer; but they were at a loss for one who should give
responsum— **dum nullo certo duce** **singulis**
the answer, there being as yet no certain leader, and individuals
nec satis audentibus **offerre se** **invidiæ.**
not being forward enough to expose themselves to the invidious office
Id modo **conclamatum est** **a multitudine,** **ut**
This only was called out in unison by the multitude, that
mitterent L. Valerium **et** **M. Horatium** **ad se,**
they should send Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius to them
iis **se daturus responsum.**
and to them they would give their answer.

LI.—Legatis dimissis

The ambassadors being dismissed,

Virginus admonet

Virginus reminds

milites, **paulo ante** **trepidatum esse,**
the soldiers "that a little time before they had been embarrassed
in re **non maxima,** **quia multitudo fuerint**
in a matter of no very great difficulty, because the multitude was
sine capite **responsumque—** **quamquam non**
without a head; and that the answer given, though not
inutiliter— **esse tamen** **magis fortuito consensu**
inexpedient, was [yet] the result rather of an accidental concurrence
quam communi consilio: **placere** **deceñ**
than of a concerted plan: it seemed advisable to him that to
creari, **qui præessent** **summæ rei,**
persons be elected, who should preside in the direction of their affairs,

militarique honore appellari tribunos militum.
and, in the style of military dignity, be called tribunes of the soldiers."

Cum is honos deferretur ad eum ipsum primum
When that honor was offered to himself in the first instance,
inquit "reservate rebus melioribus vestris meisque
he replied, "Reserve to a juncture more happy both to you and me

ista judicia de me: filia inulta
those your kind opinions of me. My daughter being unavenged,
nec patitur ullum honorem esse jucundum mihi,
neither allows any honor to be satisfactory to me,

nec utile est in perturbata republica
nor is it expedient, in the present disordered state of the commonwealth

eos præesse vobis, qui proximi sint
that those should be at your head, who are most obnoxious

invidiæ: si quis usus mei est capiatur
to party-malice. If there will be any use of me, such use will be derived

nihilo minor ex privato." Ita
not in a less degree from me in a private capacity." Accordingly

creant militares tribunos decem numero. Neque
they elect military tribunes ten in number. Nor

exercitus in Sabinis quievit: ibi quoque,
was the army among the Sabines inactive. There also,

auctore Icilio Numitorioque, secessio ab
at the instance of Icilius and Numitorius, a secession from

decemviris facta est, motu animorum renovata
the decemvirs was made; the agitation of men's minds on recalling

memoria cædis Siccii non minore, quam
to memory the murder of Siccius being no less violent than

quem nova fama de adeo fœde petita
that, which the recent account of the [so] barbarous attempt made

virgine ad libidinem accenderat. Ubi Icilius
on Virginia to gratify lust had enkindled. When Icilius

audivit tribunos militum creatos in Aventino,
heard that tribunes of the soldiers had been elected on the Aventine,

ne comitia urbana sequerentur prærogativam
lest the election-assembly in the city might follow the lead

militarium comitiorum creandis iisdem tribunis
of the military assembly by electing the same persons tribunes

plebis, peritus popularium rerum,
 of the commons, being well versed in popular intrigues
 imminensque ei potestati, et ipse curat,
 and having an eye to that office, he also takes care that
 priusquam iretur ad urbem, eundem numerum
 before they proceeded to the city, the same number
 creandum ab suis pari potestate. Intravere
 should be elected by his own party with an equal power. They entered
 urbem sub signis Collina porta,
 the city in military array through the Colline gate,
 perguntque agmine media urbe
 and continued their march in a body through the middle of the city
 in Aventinum. Ibi, conjuncti alteri exercitui,
 to the Aventine. There, joined to the other army,
 dederunt negotium viginti tribunis militum, ut
 they gave directions to the twenty tribunes of the soldiers to
 crearent duos ex suo numero, qui præessent
 select two out of their number, who were to hold
 summæ rerum. Creant M. Oppium, Sex. Manilium.
 the command-in-chief. They chose Marcus Oppius and Sextus Manilius.
 Patres solliciti de summa rerum, cum esset
 The patricians, alarmed for the general safety, though there was
 senatus quotidie, terunt sæpius tempus jurgiis
 a meeting every day, spend more time in wrangling
 quam consiliis: cædes Siccii, et libido Appiana,
 than in deliberation. The murder of Siccus, the lust of Appius,
 et dedecora militiæ obiciebantur
 and the disgraces incurred in war are urged as charges
 decemviris: placebat Valerium Horatiumque
 against the decemvirs. It was resolved that Valerius and Horatius
 ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant se ituros
 should proceed to the Aventine; but they refused to go
 aliter, quam si decemviri deponerent
 on any other conditions, than that the decemvirs should lay down
 insignia ejus magistratus, quo abissent jam
 the badges of that office, which had expired [already]
 anno ante. Decemviri, querentes se
 the year before. The decemvirs, complaining that they

in ordinem cogi, aiebant se non deposituros
 were now being degraded, declared that they would not resign
 imperium, ante quam legibus perlatis, causa
 their authority, until those laws were passed on account
 quarum creati essent.
 of which they had been appointed.

LII.—Plebs facta certior per M. Duilium,
 The commons, on being informed through Marcus Duilius,
 qui fuerat tribunus plebis, assiduus
 who had been plebeian tribune, that by reason of their continual
 contentionibus nihil transigi, transit ex Aventino
 disputes no business was transacted, remove from the Aventine
 in Sacrum montem, Duilio affirmante, curam
 to the Sacred Mount; Duilius affirming that serious concern
 non descensuram in animos patrum,
 for business would not enter the minds of the patricians,
 priusquam videant urbem deseri: Sacrum montem
 until they saw the city deserted: that the Sacred Mount
 admoniturum plebis constantiæ sciturosque,
 would remind them of the people's firmness; and that they would then know
 quam res nequeant redigi in concordiam sine
 that matters could not be restored to harmony without
 restituta potestate. Profecti
 the re-establishment of the tribunitian power. Marching
 Nomentana Via— cui tum nomen fuit Ficulensi—
 along the Nomentan way, which was then called the Ficulnean,
 locavere castra in Sacro monte, imitati modestiam
 they encamped on the Sacred Mount, imitating the moderation
 suorum patrum nihil violando. Plebs secuta
 of their fathers by committing no violence. The commons followed
 exercitum, nullo, qui per ætatem posset, retractante ire.
 the army, no one, whose age would permit him, declining to go.
 conjuges liberique prosequuntur, miserabiliter
 Their wives and children attended their steps, piteously
 rogitanter, cuinam relinquerent se in ea urbe,
 asking, to whom would they leave them in a city

in qua nec pudicitia nec libertas sancta esset.
in which neither chastity nor liberty were respected ?

Cum insueta solitudo fecisset omnia Romæ
When the unusual desertion rendered every place in Rome

vasta, esset in foro nemo præter
void ; when there was in the forum not a creature except

paucos seniorum, patribus vocatis in senatum,
a few old men ; when, the patricians being called into the senate,

utique forum apparuisset desertum, pluresque jam
the very forum appeared forsaken ; more now

quam Horatius ac Valerius vociferarentur :—
besides Horatius and Valerius began to exclaim,

“ patres conscripti, quid exspectabitis ? Si decemviri
“ Conscrip't fathers ! what will ye now wait for ? If the decemvirs

non faciunt finem pertinaciæ, passuri estis omnia
do not put an end to their obstinacy, will ye suffer every thing

ruere ac deflagrare ? autem, decemviri, quod
to go to wreck and ruin ? and you, decemvirs, what

imperium est istud, quod tenetis amplexi ?
power is that, which you hold so tightly in your embrace ?

Dicturi estis jura parietibus ac tectis ?
Do you mean to administer justice to walls and mere houses ?

non pudet, prope majorem numerum vestrorum
Are you not ashamed that an almost greater number of your

lictorum conspici in foro quam
lictors is to be seen in the forum than

aliorumque togatorum ? Quid facturi estis, si
of the other citizens ? What are you to do, in case

hostes veniant ad urbem ? Quid, si plebs,
the enemy should advance to the city ? What, if the commons,

ubi parum moveatur secessione, mox veniat
finding that we are not moved by their secession, should presently come

armata ? Vultisne finire imperium occasu
in arms ? Do you mean to conclude your power by the fall

urbis ? Atqui aut plebs non est habenda
of the city ? But the case is this, either we must not have the commons,

aut habendi sunt plebis tribuni : nos citius caruerimus
or they must have their tribunes. We would sooner part

patriciis magistratibus quam illi plebeiis : eam
with our patrician magistrates, than they with their plebeian. That

potestatem novam inexpertamque eripuerunt
power, when unknown and untried, they extorted

nostris patribus, ne semel capti dulcedine
from our fathers ; much less, after having tasted the sweets of it

nunc ferant desiderium, præsertim cum nos
will they now endure its loss : more especially since we

nec temperemus imperiis, quo minus illi egeant
make not a moderate use of our authority, so that they may not stand in need

auxilii :” —cum hæc jactarentur ex omni
of protection.” When these arguments were thrown out from every

parte, decemviri victi consensu
quarter, the decemvirs, overpowered by the united opinions of all,

affirmant— quando ita videatur— se
declare that, since such seems to be the feeling, they

futuros in potestate patrum. Id modo orant,
would submit to the orders of the senate. This only they requested,

ut caveatur ipsis ab invidia :
that protection would be afforded to them from popular rage ;

simul ac monent nec suo
and warned them, at the same time, that they should not by shedding their

sanguine assuefaciant plebem ad supplicia.
blood habituate the commons to inflict punishment

patrum.
on the patricians.

LIII.—Tum Valerius Horatiusque missi

Then Valerius and Horatius, having been sent

ad revocandam plebem quibus conditionibus
to bring back the commons on such conditions as

videretur componendasque res jubentur
might seem fit, and to adjust all differences, are directed

præcavere quoque decemviris ab ira et
to make provision also for the decemvirs from the resentment and

impetu multitudinis. Profecti accipiuntur
violence of the populace. They set forward and are received

in castra ingenti gaudio plebis, quippe liberatores
into the camp with excessive joy by the people, as being their liberators

haud dubie et initio motus
beyond all doubt, both at the commencement of the disturbance

et exitu rei. Ob hæc gratias
and at the termination of the matter. For these things thanks

actæ his advenientibus. Icilius facit verba
were rendered them on their arrival. Icilius speaks

pro multitudine : cum ageretur de
in the name of the people ; and when they began to treat about

conditionibus, legatis quærentibus quæ essent postulata
conditions, on the deputies inquiring what were the demands

plebis, idem, jam composito consilio
of the commons, the same individual, having already concerted the plan

ante adventum legatorum, postulavit ea,
before the arrival of the ambassadors, proposed such terms

ut appareret plus spei reponi in æquitate
as plainly evinced that more hope was placed in the justice

rerum quam in armis. Enim repetebant
of their cause than in arms. For they only demanded back

tribuniciam potestatem provocationemque, quæ
the tribunitian office and the privilege of appeal, which,

ante creatos decemviros fuerant auxilia plebis,
before the appointment of decemvirs, had been the props of the people ;

et ne cui fraudi esset concisse milites aut
and that no one should suffer for having instigated the soldiers or

plebem ad repetendam libertatem per secessionem.
the commons to seek back their liberty by a secession.

De supplicio modo decemvirorum fuit postulatum
Concerning the punishment only of the decemvirs was their demand

atrox : quippe censebant æquum
immoderate ; for they thought it but just

eos dedi que minabantur
that they should be delivered up to them and they threatened

concrematorios igni vivos. Ad ea legati :
that they would burn them alive. In reply the deputies say,

“postulastis, quæ fuerunt consilii,
Such of your demands as have been the result of deliberation

adeo æqua, ut ultro deferenda fuerint vobis :
are so equitable, that they ought to be voluntarily offered to you ;

enim petitis ea præsidia libertati, non
for you seek them as safeguards to your liberty, not

licentiæ ad impugnandos alios : vestræ iræ
for unbounded license to assail others. Your resentment

magis ignoscendum est quam indulgendum, quippe
we must rather pardon than indulge, seeing that

odio crudelitatis qui ruitis in crudelitatem, et pæne
from your hatred of cruelty you rush into cruelty, and almost

prius, quam sitis liberi ipsi jam vultis
before you are free yourselves you wish [already]

dominari in adversarios. Civitasne numquam
to act the tyrant over your adversaries. Shall our state never

quiescit a suppliciis, aut patrum in Romanam
enjoy rest from punishments, either of the patricians on the Roman

plebem aut plebis in patres ? Vobis opus est
commons, or of the commons on the patricians ? You stand in need

scuto magis quam gladio : est satis superque
of a shield rather than of a sword. He is sufficiently and abundantly

humilis, qui vivit in civitate æquo jure,
humble, who lives in a state on an equal footing

nec inferendo nec patiendo injuriam :
with his countrymen, neither offering nor enduring injury.

etiam, si quando præbituri estis vos metuendos,
Besides, should you ever choose to render yourselves objects of terror,

cum, recuperatis vestris magistratibus legibusque,
when, having recovered your magistrates and laws,

judicia de nostro capite fortunisque erunt penes vos,
decisions on our lives and fortunes shall be in your hands,

tunc statuetis, ut quæque causa erit : nunc
then you shall determine according as each case shall merit ; at present

satis est libertatem repeti.”
it is sufficient that your liberty be restored.”

LIV.—Cunctis permittentibus facerent, ut
 All permitting them to act as
 vellent, legati affirmant se mox redituros
 they think proper, the deputies assure them that they would speedily return
 perfectis rebus. Cum profecti exposuissent
 with a final settlement of the business. When they went and laid before
 patribus mandata plebis, aiii decemviri,
 the patricians the message of the commons, the other decemvirs,
 quando quidem præter ipsorum spem nulla mentio
 finding that [even] beyond their hopes no mention
 fieret sui supplicii, haud quidquam abnuere :
 was made of their punishment, raised no objection.

Appius truci ingenio et præcipua
 Appius, however, being of a truculent disposition and a particular
 invidia, metiens odium aliorum in se
 object of detestation, measuring the rancor of others towards him
 suo in eos, inquit “haud ignaro fortuna
 by his own towards them, says, “I am not blind to the fate which
 imminet : video certamen adversus nos differri,
 hangs over me : I see that the contest against us is deferred,
 donec arma tradantur adversariis : sanguis
 until our arms are delivered up to our adversaries. Blood
 dandus est invidiæ : ne ego quidem nihil moror,
 must be offered to popular rage. Not even do I demur
 quo minus abeam decemviratu.” Consultum senatus
 to resign my decemvirate.” A decree of the senate
 factum, ut decemviri primo quoque tempore
 was then made, “that the decemvirs should, without delay,
 abdicarent se magistratu. Q. Furius maximus
 resign their office ; that Quintus Furius, chief
 pontifex crearet tribunos plebis,
 pontiff, should hold an election of plebeian tribunes ;
 et secessio militum plebisque ne esset
 and that the secession of the soldiers and commons should not accrue
 fraudi cui. His consultis senatus perfectis
 to the detriment of anyone.” These decrees [of the senate] being finished,
 senatu dimisso, decemviri prodeunt in concionem
 the senate being dismissed, the decemvirs come forth into the assembly.

abdicantque se magistratu, ingenti lætitia hominum
and resign their office to the extreme joy of all.

Nuntiantur hæc plebi. Quidquid hominum
News of this is carried to the commons. Whatever people

supererat in urbe prosequitur legatos.
there were remaining in the city escorted the deputies.

Hinc multitudini occurrit alia læta turba ex castris :
This crowd is met by another joyous body from the camp ;

congratulantur restitutam libertatem
they congratulate each other on the re-establishment of liberty

concordiamque civitati. Legati pro concione :
and concord in the state. The deputies in presence of the assembly

“ sit quod bonum, faustum, felixque vobis,
say, “ Be it advantageous, fortunate and happy for you

reique publicæ, redite in patriam ad vestros penates
and the republic, return into your country to your household gods,

conjuges liberosque. Sed, qua modestia fuistis
your wives and children ; but the same moderation which you have

hic, ubi in usu tot rerum
observed here, where, amid the consumption of so many matters

necessario tantæ multitudini, nullius ager
necessary for so large a number of persons, no man's field

est violatus, eam modestiam ferte in urbem.
has been injured,— that moderation carry with you into the city.

Ite in Aventinum, unde profecti estis :
Go to the Aventine, whence you removed.

ibi felici loco, ubi inchoastis prima initia vestræ
In that auspicious place, where you took the first step towards [your]

libertatis, creabitis tribunos plebis : maximus
liberty, you shall elect tribunes of the commons. The chief

pontifex erit præsto, qui habeat comitia.” Ingens
pontiff will be at hand to hold the elections.” Great

fuit assensus alacritasque approbantium
was their assent and joy as shown in their approbation of

cuncta. Inde convellunt signa, profectique
every measure. They then hastily raise the standards, and having set out

Romam, certant gaudio cum obviis. Perveniunt
for Rome, vie in exultation with all they met. They march

armati **silentio** **per urbem** **in Aventinum.** **Ibi**
 under arms, in silence, through the city to the Aventine. There

maximo pontifice **extemplo habente** **comitia,**
 the chief pontiff instantly holding an assembly,

creaverunt tribunos plebis, **primum omnium**
 they elected tribunes of the commons: first of all

L. Virginium **inde L. Icilium et P. Numitorium**
 Lucius Virginius; then Lucius Icilius and Publius Numitorius

avunculum Virginie, **auctores secessionis,** **tum**
 the uncle of Virginia, the advisers of the secession; then

C. Sicinium— **progeniem ejus,** **quem**
 Caius Sicinius, a descendant of him who

proditum memoriæ est **primum tribunum plebis creatum**
 is recorded as the first tribune of the commons elected

in Sacro monte— **et M. Duilium,** **qui gesserat**
 on the Sacred Mount; and Marcus Duilius, who had passed through

insignem tribunatum **ante creatos decemviros,**
 a distinguished tribuneship before the creation of the decemvirs,

nec defuerat **plebi** **in certaminibus**
 and was never wanting to the commons in their contests

decemviralibus : **deinde** **electi** **magis spe**
 with the decemvirs. At the same time were elected, more from hope

quam meritis **M. Titinius,**
 entertained of them than from any services performed, Marcus Titinius,

M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, C. Oppius.
 Marcus Pomponius, Caius Apronius, Publius Villius, and Caius Oppius.

Lucius Icilius, **extemplo inito tribunatu,**
 Lucius Icilius, immediately upon entering on his tribuneship,

rogavit plebem, **et plebs scivit,** **secessio**
 proposed to the commons, and the commons ordered, "that the secession

ab decemviris **ne esset** **fraudi cui.**
 from the decemvirs should not result in injury to any individual."

Confestim **M. Duilius pertulit** **rogationem de**
 Immediately after, Duilius carried a proposition for

creandis consulibus **cum provocatione.** **Ea omnia**
 "electing consuls with privilege of appeal." All this

acta concilio plebis in Flaminiis pratis,
 was transacted in an assembly of the commons in the Flaminian meadows,
 quem nunc appellant Flaminium circum.
 which they now call the Flaminian circus.

LV.—Deinde per interregem L. Valerius,
 Then through an interrex Lucius Valerius and
 M. Horatius creati consules, qui extemplo occeperunt
 Marcus Horatius were elected consuls, who immediately entered on
 magistratum : quorum consulatus fuit
 their office, [v. c. 306 ; n. c. 446 ;] whose consulate was
 popularis sine ulla injuria patrum,
 popular without any actual ill-treatment of the patricians, though
 nec sine offensione : enim quidquid caveretur
 not without their displeasure ; for whatever provision was made
 libertati plebis, id credebant
 for securing the liberty of the commons, that they imagined
 decedere suis opibus. Primum omnium, cum esset
 was a diminution of their own power. First of all, when it was,
 velut in controverso jure, patresne tenerentur
 as it were, a point in controversy, whether patricians were bound
 plebiscitis, tulere legem comitiis
 by decrees of the commons, they passed a law in an assembly
 centuriatis, ut, quod plebes jussisset tributim,
 of the centuries, "that whatever the commons ordered collectively,
 teneret populum : qua lege acerrimum telum
 should bind the whole people ;" by which law a most keen-edged weapon
 datum est rogationibus tribunicis. Deinde
 was given to propositions introduced by tribunes. Then
 aliam legem consularem de provocatione—
 another law made by a consul concerning the right of appeal,
 unicum præsidium libertatis— eversam
 (a singular security to liberty, and which had been subverted
 decemvirali potestate, non modo restituunt,
 by decemviral power,) they not only revive,
 sed etiam muniunt in posterum, sanciendo novam
 but guard it also for the time to come, by enacting a new

legem, ne quis crearet ullum magistratum
 law, "that no one should appoint any magistrate
 sine provocatione : quis creasset,
 without a privilege of appeal ; if any person should so elect,
 jus fasque esset eum occidi, ea cædes
 it would be lawful and right that he be put to death ; and that such killing
 neve haberetur capitalis noxæ. Et cum
 should not be accounted a capital offense." And when
 satis firmassent plebem provocatione
 they had sufficiently secured the commons by the right of appeal
 hinc auxilio tribunicio hinc, renovarunt
 on the one side, and the aid of the tribunes on the other, they renew
 tribunis quoque ipsis, ut viderentur
 to the tribunes themselves the privilege, that they should be deemed
 sacrosancti— memoria cujus rei
 sacred and inviolable, (the memory of which matter
 jam prope aboleverat— relatis quibusdam cærimoniis
 had now been almost lost,) reclaiming certain ceremonies
 ex magno intervallo : et fecerunt eos inviolatos cum
 from their long disuse ; and they rendered them inviolable as well
 religione tum etiam lege, sanciendo ut,
 by this religious institution as also by a law enacting, that
 qui nocuisset tribunis plebis, ædilibus,
 " whoever should offer injury to tribunes of the commons, ædiles,
 judicibus, decemviris, ejus caput sacrum esset
 judges, decemvirs, his person should be devoted
 Jovi, familia venum iret ad ædem Cereris,
 to Jupiter, and his property confiscated at the temple of Ceres,
 Liberi, Liberæque. Interpretes juris negant quemquam
 Liber and Libera." Commentators deny that any person
 esse hac lege sacrosanctum, sed eum, qui
 is by this law sacrosanct ; but that he, who
 quid nocuerit cuiquam eorum, id sacrum sanciri :
 may do an injury to any of them, is deemed to be devoted ;
 itaque ædilem prehendi ducique
 therefore that an ædile may be arrested and carried to prison
 a majoribus magistratibus, quod etsi
 by superior magistrates, which, though

non fiat jure— enim noceri ei,
 it be not expressly warranted by law, for an injury is done to a person
 cui non liceat hac lege— tamen
 to whom it is not lawful to do an injury according to this law, yet
 argumentum esse ædilem non haberi pro sacrosancto :
 it is a proof that an ædile is not considered as sacred ;

tribunos sacrosantos esse vetere jurejurando
 that the tribunes were sacred and inviolable by an ancient oath

plebis, cum primum creavit eam potestatem.
 of the commons taken, when first they created that office.

Fuere qui interpretarentur, hac eadem
 There have been persons who supposed, that by this same

Horatia lege cautum esse consulibus quoque,—
 Horatian law provision was made for the consuls also,

enim consulem appellari judicem,— et prætoribus,
 (for that a consul was called a judge,) and for the prætors,

quia crearentur eisdem auspiciis, quibus consules :
 because they were elected under the same auspices as the consuls.

Quæ interpretatio refellitur, quod iis temporibus
 Which interpretation is refuted, because in those times

nondum mos fuerat consulem appellari judicem
 it was not yet the custom for the consul to be styled judge,

sed prætorem. Hæc fuere leges. consulares.
 but prætor. These were the laws proposed by the consuls.

Institutum etiam ab iisdem consulibus, ut consulta
 It was also regulated by the same consuls, that the decrees

senatus, quæ antea supprimebantur vitiabanturque
 of the senate, which before that used to be suppressed and altered

arbitrio consulum, deferrentur ad ædiles
 at the pleasure of the consuls, should now be deposited with the ædiles

plebis in ædem Cereris. M. Duilius
 of the commons in the temple of Ceres. Marcus Duilius

tribunus plebis deinde rogavit plebem, plebesque
 plebeian tribune, afterwards proposed to the commons, and the commons

scivit, qui reliquisset plebem sine tribunis,
 enacted, that " whoever left the commons without tribunes,

quique creasset magistratum sine
 and whoever caused the election of a magistrate without

provocatione, puniretur tergo ac capite.
the right of appeal, should be punished with stripes and beheaded."

Hæc omnia, ut invitis patriciis, ita
All these matters, though against the feelings of the patricians, [yet]
transacta non adversantibus, quia nondum sæviebatur
passed off without their opposition, because no severity was yet
in quemquam unum.
aimed at any particular person.

LVI.—Deinde et tribunicia potestate, et libertate
Then both the tribunitian office and the liberty
plebis fundata, tribuni, rati
of the commons being firmly established, the tribunes, judging it
jam tum maturum tutumque aggredi singulos
now seasonable and safe to attack individuals,
deligunt Virginium primum accusatorem et Appium
single out Virginius as the first prosecutor, and Appius
reum. Cum Virginius dixisset diem Appio,
as defendant. When Virginius appointed a day for Appius,
et Appius descendisset in forum, stipatus juvenibus
and Appius came down to the forum, attended by some young
patriciis, memoria fœdissimæ potestatis
patricians, the memory of his most profligate exercise of authority
extemplo redintegrata est omnibus, cum vidissent
was instantly revived in the minds of all, as soon as they beheld
ipsum ejusque satellites. Tum Virginius inquit
himself and his satellites. Then Virginius says,
" oratio inventa est rebus dubiis :
" Long speeches have been invented for cases of a doubtful nature.
itaque ego neque teram tempus accusando eum
Accordingly I shall neither waste time in dwelling on the guilt of this
apud vos, a cujus crudelitate ipsi vindicastis
man before you, from whose cruelty you have rescued
vosmet armis, nec patiar istum adjicere
yourselves by force of arms, nor shall I suffer him to add
impudentiam ad cetera scelera in defendendo se.
impudence to his other enormous crimes in defending himself

Igitur, Appi Claudii, facio gratiam tibi
Wherefore, Appius Claudius, I remit to you

omnium impie nefarieque, quæ per biennium
all the impious and flagitious deeds, which during two years past

es ausus alia super alia : unius criminis
you have dared to commit in constant succession. In respect of one crime

tantum nisi dices judicem, te non
only, unless you will appoint a judge, and prove that you have not,

contra leges vindicias dedisse ab libertate in
contrary to the laws, sentenced a free person to

servitutem, jubebo te duci in vincula."
slavery, I order that you be taken into custody."

Nec in auxilio tribunicio, nec in iudicio populi,
Neither in the aid of the tribunes nor in a sentence of the people,

Appius habebat ullam spem : attamen et appellavit
could Appius place any hope ; yet he both appealed to

tribunos, et nullo morante arreptus a viatore
the tribunes, and, no one interposing, on being seized by the bailiff

inquit "provoco." Audita una vox
he cries out, "I appeal." The hearing of this one expression,

vindex libertatis missa ex eo ore, quo
that safeguard of liberty,— uttered from that mouth by which

vindiciæ nuper dictæ erant ab libertate,
sentence had so lately been pronounced against a free citizen,

fecit silentium : et, dum fremunt
occasioned general silence : and, whilst they observe

quisque pro se tandem esse deos, et
one to another that "at length there are gods, and

non negligere humana, et poenas venire
that they do not disregard human affairs ; and that punishments await

superbiæ crudelitati que etsi seras tamen non leves,
pride and cruelty, which, though late, are still by no means light ;

provocare, qui sustulisset provocationem, et
that he now appealed, who had abolished all right of appeal ; and

implorare præsidium populi, qui obtrisset
that he implored the protection of the people, who had trampled down

omnia populi jura, rapique in vincula
all the people's rights ; and that he was dragged off to prison,

egentem jure libertatis, qui addixisset liberum
 destitute of the rights of liberty, who had doomed a free

corpus in servitutem,— inter murmur concionis
 person to slavery,— amid these murmurs of the assembly

vox Appii exaudiebatur implorantis fidem
 the voice of Appius was heard imploring the protection

Romani populi. Commemorabat merita majorum
 of the Roman people. He enumerated "the services of his forefathers

in rempublicam domi militiæque,
 to the state, both in peace and war;

suum infelix studium erga Romanam plebem, quo
 his own unfortunate zeal towards the Roman commons, when,

causa æquandarum legum abisset consulatu
 for the sake of equalizing the laws, he resigned the consulship

cum maxima offensione patrum, suas
 to the extreme displeasure of the patricians; mentioning his own

leges, quibus manentibus lator eorum
 laws; and that, while they yet remained in force, the framer of them

ducatur in vincula. Ceterum propria bona
 was to be dragged to confinement. But the peculiar advantages

malaque sua, se tum experturum, cum
 and disadvantages of his case, he would then make trial of, when

facultas data sit dicendæ causæ: in
 an opportunity would be afforded him of pleading his cause. At

præsentia communi jure civitatis se Romanum
 present, by the common right of citizenship, he, a Roman

civem postulare, ut liceat dicere die
 citizen, demanded that he be allowed to speak on the day

dicta, ut experiri judicium Romani populi.
 appointed, and to appeal to the judgment of the Roman people.

Se non pertimuisse invidiam ita, ut nihil habeat spei
 That he did not dread popular rage so much as not to place any hope

in æquitate et misericordia suorum civium. Quod si
 in the equity and compassion of his countrymen. But if

ducatur in vincula causa indicta, se iterum appellare
 he were led to prison without being heard, he again called on

tribunos plebei et monere, ne imitentur
 the tribunes of the commons, and warned them not to imitate

quos oderint. Quod si tribuni fateantur
 those whom they hated. But should the tribunes acknowledge
 se obligatos eodem fœdere causa tollendæ
 themselves bound in the same confederacy for abolishing
 appellationis, in quam criminati sint decemviros
 the right of appeal, which they charged the decemvirs with
 conspirasse, at se provocare ad populum, implorare
 having formed, then he appealed to the people, and implored
 leges de provocatione latas eo ipso anno
 the benefit of the laws concerning appeals passed that very year,
 et consulares et tribunicias. Enim quem
 both by the consuls and tribunes. For who
 provocaturum, si hoc non liceat indemnato
 was to appeal, if this were not allowed a person as yet uncondemned,
 causa indicta? Cui plebeio et humili
 whose case was still unheard? What plebeian and humble man
 fore præsidium in legibus, si Ap. Claudio
 would find protection in the laws, if Appius Claudius
 non sit? Se futurum documento, utrum novis
 could not? That his case would afford a proof, whether, by the new
 legibus dominatio an libertas firmata sit, et
 regulations tyranny or liberty was established; and
 appellatio provocatioque adversus injuriam
 whether the right of appeal and of challenge against injustice
 magistratum tantum ostentata inanibus litteris,
 of magistrates was only held out in empty words,
 an vere data sit.
 or effectually granted."

LVII.—Virginus contra ea aiebat
 Virginus, on the other hand, affirmed

Ap. Claudium esse unum et expertem legum
 "that Appius Claudius was the only person that had no claim to the laws
 et civilis et humani fœderis. Homines respicerent
 nor to civil nor human society. That men should look to
 tribunal castellum omnium scelerum, ubi ille
 the tribunal,—that fortress of all villainies; where that

perpetuus decemvir, infestus bonis, tergo,
perpetual decemvir, venting his fury on the properties, backs

sanguini civium, minitans omnibus virgas
and blood of the citizens, threatening all with his rods

securæque, contemptor deorum hominumque,
and axes, a despiser of gods and men,

stipatus carnificibus non lictoribus verso animo
attended with executioners, not lictors, changing his mind

jam ab rapinis et cædibus ad libidinem
at length from rapines and murders to the gratification of lust,

in oculis Romani populi abreptam ingenuam
had, before the eyes of the Roman people, torn a free-born

virginem ab complexu patris, velut captam
maiden from the embraces of her father, as if she had been taken

bello; dederit dono clienti ministro
in war, and given her as a present to a dependant,— the pander

sui cubiculi, ubi crudeli decreto nefandisque
to his secret pleasures; where, by a cruel decree, and by a most villainous

vindicciis armaverit dextram patris in filiam,
decision, he had armed the hand of a father against his child;

ubi magis motus interpellato stupro
where, more strongly affected by the interruption of his foul ravishment

quam cæde, jusserit avunculum
than by her untimely death, he had ordered the uncle

sponsumque virginis tollentes semianime corpus
and spouse of the maid on their raising her lifeless body,

duci in carcerem. Carcerem ædificatum esse et illi,
to be thrown into prison. That the prison was built for him also,

quod solitus sit vocare domicilium Romanæ plebis.
which he used to style the mansion of the Roman commons

Proinde, ut ille provocet iterum ac sæpius,
Wherefore, though he may appeal again and oftener,

se sic iterum ac sæpius ferre illi judicem,
he would as frequently refer him to a judge, to decide

ni dederit vindicias ab libertate in servitutem.
whether he did not sentence a free person to slavery;

Si non eat ad judicem, jubere duci
if he would not go before a judge, that he ordered him to be carried

in vincula pro damnato. Conjectus est in
 into confinement as one condemned." He was thrown into
 carcerem, ut haud quoquam improbante,
 prison, and though without the disapprobation of any individual,
 sic magno motu animorum cum
 yet not without considerable emotions of the public mind, when
 supplicio tanti viri suamet
 in the light of the punishment of so distinguished a man their own
 libertas jam videretur plebi nimia.
 liberty began to appear to the commons as excessive.
 Tribunus prodixit ei diem. Inter hæc legati
 The tribune deferred the day of his trial. Meanwhile ambassadors
 ab Hernicis et Latinis venerunt Romam gratulatum
 from the Hernicians and Latins came to Rome with congratulations
 de concordia patrum ac plebis,
 on the harmony subsisting between the patricians and commons
 donumque ob eam Jovi optimo maximo
 and as an offering on that account to Jupiter, supremely good and great
 tulere in Capitolium auream coronam parvi ponderis,
 carried to the Capitol a golden crown of small weight,
 prout res haud opulentæ erant, religionesque
 as riches at that time did not abound, and the duties of religion
 colebantur magis pie quam magnifice. Iisdem
 were performed rather with piety than magnificence. From the same
 auctoribus cognitum est, Æquos Volcosque
 source it was ascertained that the Æquans and Volscians
 apparare bellum summa vi. Consules
 were preparing for war with the utmost vigor. The consuls
 itaque jussi partiri provincias : Sabini
 were therefore ordered to divide the provinces between them. The Sabines
 evenere Horatio, Æqui Volscique
 fell to the lot of Horatius, the Æquans and Volscians
 Valerio. Cum edixissent dilectum ad ea bella,
 to that of Valerius. On their proclaiming a levy for these wars,
 favore plebis non modo juniores
 through the good wishes of the commons, not only the younger men
 sed etiam emeritis stipendiis magna pars
 but even of those who had served out their time a great portion

voluntariorum præsto fuere ad danda nomina, eoque
 as volunteers attended to give in their names; and hence
 exercitus fuit firmior non modo copia, sed etiam
 the army was stronger not only by the number, but also
 genere militum, veteranis admixtis. Priusquam
 by the kind of soldiers,— veterans being mixed with them. Before
 egrederentur urbem, proposuerunt in publico
 they marched out of the city, they fixed up in public view
 decemvirates leges incisas in æs,— quibus est nomen
 the decemviral laws engraved on brass, which have received the name
 duodecim tabulis. Sunt, qui scribant ædiles
 of the "Twelve Tables." There are some who state that the ædiles
 functos eo ministerio jussu tribunorum.
 discharged that office by order of the tribunes.

LVIII.—C. Claudius, qui perosus scelera
 Caius Claudius, who, detesting the crimes

decemvirorum et ante omnes infestus superbie
 of the decemvirs, and, above all, disgusted at the arrogant conduct

fratris filii contulerat se in Regillum
 of his nephew, had retired to Regillum

patriam antiquam, is cum redisset
 the country of his ancestors, [he] having returned,

jam magno natu ad deprecanda pericula
 though now advanced in years, to deprecate the dangers

ejus cujus vitia fugerat,
 impending over that man whose vices he had shunned, appearing

in foro sordidatus cum gentilibus
 in the forum, clad in a mourning habit, with his relations

clientibusque prensabat singulos
 and dependants, solicited the interest of the citizens individually,

orabatque, ne vellent eam maculam inustam
 and besought them "not to allow such a stigma to be fastened

Claudie genti, ut viderentur digni carcere
 on the Claudian family, as to consider them deserving of imprisonment

et vinculis: virum imaginis futurum honoratissimæ
 and chains; that a man whose image would be most highly honored

ad posteros, latorem legum conditoremque
with posterity, the framer of their laws and the founder

Romani juris— jacere vinctum inter nocturnos
of Roman jurisprudence, lay in fetters amongst nightly

fures ac latrones ! Averterent animos
thieves and robbers ! *He begged* that they would turn away their minds

ab ira ad cognitionem cogitationemque ; et
from resentment to examination and reflection ; and

potius condonarent unum deprecantibus
rather pardon one at the intercession of

tot Claudiis, quam propter odium unius
such a number of Claudii, than through hatred of one

aspernarentur preces multorum. Se quoque
reject the prayers of a multitude ; that he himself also

dare id generi ac nomini, nec redisse in gratiam
paid this *tribute* to the family and the name ; nor had he been reconciled

cum eo, cujus adversæ fortunæ velit succursum.
to him, whose unfortunate situation he wished to relieve ;

Virtute libertatem recuperatam esse, clementia
that by fortitude liberty had been recovered ; and by clemency

concordiam ordinum posse stabiliri. Erant,
the harmony of the *several* orders might be established." *Some* there were

quos moveret magis sua pietate, quam
whom he influenced more by his affection *for his family*, than

causa ejus, pro quo agebat : sed Virginius orabat
for the sake of him for whom he interceded. But Virginius begged

potius misererentur sui filæque,
that "they would rather pity him and his daughter ; and

audirent preces nec Claudiæ gentis
that they would listen to the entreaties not of the Claudian family,

sortitæ regnum in plebem, sed
which had assumed a sort of sovereignty over the commons, but

necessariorum Virginis— trium tribunorum,
to those of the near relations of Virginia, the three tribunes ;

qui creati ad auxilium plebis,
who, having been elected for the protection of the commons,

ipsi implorarent fidem atque auxilium plebis.
were now themselves imploring the favor and protection of those commons."

Hæ lacrimæ videbantur justiores : itaque
These tears appeared more just. Accordingly

spe incisa Appius mortem sibi conscivit,
all hope being cut off, Appius committed suicide,

priusquam dies adesset prodicta. Subinde
before the day arrived appointed for his trial. Immediately after,

Sp. Oppius, proximus invidiæ, quod fuerat
Spurius Oppius, the next object of public indignation, as having been

in urbe, cum injustæ vindiciæ dicerentur
in the city when the unjust sentence was pronounced

a collega, arreptus a P. Numitorio. Tamen
by his colleague, was arraigned by Publius Numitorius. However,

injuria facta Oppio fecit plus invidiæ
an act of injustice committed by Oppius brought more odium on him,

quam non prohibita : testis
than the not preventing one in the case of Appius. A witness

productus, qui enumeratis septem et viginti
was brought forward, who, after reckoning up twenty-seven

stipendiis extra ordinem donatus octies,
campaigns, after having been particularly honored eight different times,

que gerens ea dona in conspectu populi—
and wearing these honors in the sight of the Roman people,

scissa veste ostendit tergum laceratum virgis,
tearing open his garment showed his back mangled with stripes,

nihilum deprecans, quin, si reus posset dicere
begging no other conditions, but that, "if the accused could name

quam noxam suam, privatus
any one guilty act of his, he might, though a private citizen,

iterum sæviret in se. Oppius quoque ductus in
repeat his severity on him." Oppius was also thrown into

vincula, et ibi fecit finem vitæ ante diem judicii.
prison, where he put a period to his life before the day of trial.

Tribuni publicavere bona Appii Oppiique. Eorum
The tribunes confiscated the property of Appius and Oppius. Their

collegæ verterunt solum causa exsilii, bona
colleagues left their homes to go into exile; their property

publicata sunt. Et M. Claudius assertor
was confiscated. Then Marcus Claudius, the claimant

Virginiae damnatus die dicta dimissus
 of Virginia, being condemned on the day of his trial, was discharged
 abiit exsulatum Tibur, Virginio ipso remittente
 and went away into exile to Tibur, Virginius himself remitting
 ultimam poenam : manesque Virginiae—
 the extreme penalty of the law ; and now the shade of Virginia,
 felicioris mortuæ quam vivæ— vagati
 ore fortunate after death than when living, having roamed
 per tot domos ad petendas poenas, tandem
 through so many families in quest of vengeance, at length
 quieverunt, nullo sonte relicto.
 rested in peace, none of the guilty being left unpunished.

LIX.—Ingens metus incesserat patres,
 Great alarm seized the patricians,
 vultusque tribunorum jam inde erant qui
 and the countenances of the tribunes were now the same as those
 decemvirorum fuerant, cum M. Duilius, tribunus
 of the decemvirs had been, when Marcus Duilius, tribune
 plebis, inhibito salubriter modo nimis potestatis,
 of the commons, having put a salutary check to their immoderate power,
 inquit “ et est satis libertatis nostræ,
 says, “ There has been both enough of liberty on our own part,
 et poenarum ex inimicis : itaque hoc anno
 and of vengeance on our enemies ; wherefore for this year
 nec passurus diem dici cuiquam nec
 I will neither suffer a day of trial to be appointed for any one nor
 quemquam duci in vincula : nam neque placet
 any person to be put into confinement : for it is neither pleasing to me
 vetera peccata jam oblitterata repeti
 that old crimes now buried in oblivion should be again brought forward,
 cum nova expiata sint suppliciis
 seeing that recent ones have been expiated by the punishment
 decemvirorum, et perpetua cura amborum consulum
 of the decemvirs ; and the unremitting care of both the consuls
 in tuenda vestra libertate, spondet nihil
 in defending your liberties, is ample security that nothing

admissum iri, quod desideret tribuniciam vim."
will be committed, which will call for tribunitian interference."

Ea moderatio tribuni primum dempsit
This moderation of the tribune first dissipated

metum patribus, eademque auxit invidiam
the fears of the patricians, and at the same time increased their ill-will

consulum; quod fuissent adeo toti plebis,
towards the consuls; for they had been so entirely devoted to the commons,

ut plebeio magistratui fuisset prior cura salutis
that even a plebeian magistrate manifested an earlier interest in the safety

libertatisque patrum quam patricio; et
and liberty of the patricians, than one of patrician rank; and

inimicos satietas cepisset poenarum
their enemies would have been surfeited with inflicting punishments

suarum, ante, quam consules appareret obviam ituros
on them, before the consuls, to all appearance, would have resisted

licentiæ: multique erant, qui dicerent
their licentious career. And there were many, who said

mollius consultum, quod patres
that a want of firmness was shown, inasmuch as the fathers

auctores fuissent legum latarum ab iis, neque
had given their approbation to the laws proposed [by them,] nor

erat dubium, quin turbato statu reipublicæ
was there a doubt but that in this troubled state of the public affairs

succubuissent temporari.
they had yielded to the times.

CONTENTS OF BOOK IV.

I., etc. *A law, permitting the intermarriage of plebeians with patricians, carried, after a violent struggle and strong opposition on the part of the patricians.* VI., etc. *Military tribunes, with consular power, created. Censors created. The lands, which were taken from the people of Ardea by an unjust determination of the Roman people, restored. Spurius Mælius, suspected of aiming at regal power, slain by Caius Servilius Ahala. Cornelius Cossus, having killed Tolumnus, king of the Veientes, offers the second "opima spolia." Duration of the censorship, originally five years, limited to one year and a half. Fidenæ reduced, and a colony settled there. The colonists murdered by the Fidenatians, who are reconquered by Mamercus Æmilius, dictator. A conspiracy of slaves suppressed. Postumius, a military tribune, slain by the army for his cruelties. Pay first given to the soldiers out of the public treasury. Military operations against the Volscians, Fidenatians and Faliscians.* [v. c. 310-351 ; n. c. 442-401.]

LIBER QUARTUS.

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAP'S. I—VI.

I.—M. Genucius et C. Curtius secuti hos consules.

Marcus Genucius and Caius Curtius followed these *as* consuls.

Annus fuit infestus domi forisque. **Nam**
The year was disturbed both at home and abroad. For

principio anni C. Canuleius, tribunus plebis,
in the beginning of the year Caius Canuleius, a tribune of the people,

et promulgavit rogationem de connubio
[both] proposed a law concerning the intermarriage

patrum et plebis, qua patres rebantur
of the patricians and plebeians, by which the patricians considered

suum sanguinem contaminari, juraque gentium
that their blood would be contaminated, and the privileges of birth

confundi : et mentio, primo sensim illata
would be confounded ; and a hint at first lightly suggested

a tribunis, liceret fieri
by the tribunes, that liberty ought to be granted of choosing

alterum consulem ex plebe, deinde
one of the consuls from among the commons, afterwards

processit eo, ut novem tribuni promulgarent
proceeded so far, that the *other* nine tribunes proposed

rogationem, ut populo potestas esset faciendi
a bill, "that the people should have power of electing

consules seu de plebe, seu de patribus
consuls either from among the commons or the patricians,

vellet. Vero credebant, si id fieret,
as they should think fit. But they were of opinion that if this took place,
 summum imperium non modo vulgari cum infimis,
 the supreme authority would not only be shared with the very lowest
 sed prorsus auferri a primoribus ad plebem.
rank, but be wholly transferred from the nobility to the commons.

Læti ergo patres audiere, populum
 With great joy therefore, the patricians heard that the people
 Ardeatium ob injuriam abjudicati agri
 of Ardea, in consequence of the injustice of the taking away their land,
 descisse, et Veientes depopulatos extrema
 had revolted, and that the Veientians had laid waste the frontiers

Romani agri, et Volscos Æquosque fremere
 of the Roman territory, and that the Volscians and Æquans murmured
 ob communitam Verruginem :— adeo præferabant
 on account of the fortifying of Verrugo ; so much did they prefer

vel infelix bellum ignominiosæ paci. His
 even an unsuccessful war to an ignominious peace. These tidings
 itaque acceptis etiam in majus, ut inter
 therefore being received and with exaggerations, in order that during
 strepitum tot bellorum tribunicia actiones
 the bustle of so many wars the tribunitian proceedings
 conticiscerent, jubent dilectus haberi
 might be suspended, they order the levies to be held,

apparari bellum armaque summa vi,
 preparations to be made for war and arms with the utmost diligence,
 quo intentius si possit, quam apparatus sit
 even with more despatch, if possible, than had been used

consule T. Quinctio. Tum C. Canuleius vociferatus
 in the consulate of Titus Quintius. Then Caius Canuleius declared aloud
 pauca in senatu, consules nequidquam avertere
 in brief terms in the senate, that “the consuls wished in vain to divert

plebem a cura novarum legum territando,
 the commons from attention to the new laws by thus raising apprehensions
 eos nunquam habituros dilectum se vivo, antequam
 that they should never hold a levy while he was alive, before
 plebes scivisset ea quæ promulgata essent
 the people had first ratified those laws which were proposed

ab se collegisque : et confestim advocavit
 by himself and colleagues ; and he instantly summoned them
 ad concionem.
 to an assembly.

II.—Et consules incitabat senatum in tribunalum,
 Both the consuls incited the senate against the tribune,
 et tribunus populum in consules eodem tempore.
 and the tribune the people against the consuls at one and the same time.

Consules negabant tribunicios furores posse
 The consuls asserted " that tribunitian frenzies could not

jam ultra ferri, jam ventum esse ad finem,
 be any longer endured ; that they were now come to a crisis ;
 plus belli concitari domi quam foris.
 that more hostilities were being stirred up at home than abroad.

Id accidere non adeo culpa plebis quam
 That this happened not more through the fault of the commons than

patrum, neque magis tribunorum quam
 of the patricians ; nor more through that of the tribunes than

consulium. In civitate cujus rei præmium sit,
 of the consuls. In any state whatever practices meet with rewards,

eam semper crescere maximis auctibus : sic
 these always thrived with the greatest proficiency : that thus it was

fieri bonos pace, sic bello. Romæ
 that men became meritorious in peace, thus in war. That at Rome

maximum præmium esse seditionum, id
 the highest reward was for sedition ; this

semper fuisse honori et singulis universisque.
 had ever been the source of honor both to individuals and to collective bodies.

Reminiscerentur, quam ipsi acceperant
 They should remember in what condition they had received

majestatem senatus a patribus, quam
 the majesty of the senate from their fathers, in what condition

tradituri essent liberis : ut—quemadmodum
 they were about to transmit it to their children ; that, like

plebs—posset gloriari
 the commons, they should have it in their power to boast

esse auctiorem amplioemque. Ergo
 that it was improved in degree and splendor. That [therefore]

finem non fieri, nec futuram, donec auctores
 there was no end, nor would there be, so long as the promoters
 seditionum honorati essent tam, quam seditiones
 of sedition were rewarded with honor in proportion as sedition

felices. Quas quantasque res C. Canuleium
 was successful. What and how important schemes C. Canuleius

aggressum ! Afferre colluvionem gentium,
 had set on foot ! that he was introducing a prostitution of family rank,

perturbationem auspiciorum publicorum
 a disturbance of the auspices both public

privatorumque, ne quid sit sinceri, ne quid
 and private, that nothing might be left pure, nothing

incontaminati, ut, omni discrimine sublato,
 unpolluted ; that, all distinction being abolished,

nec quisquam noverit se nec suos. Enim
 no one might know either himself or his station. For

quam aliam vim habere promiscua connubia,
 what other tendency had such promiscuous intermarriages,

nisi ut concubitus plebis patrumque
 except that intercourse between commons and patricians

vulgentur prope ritu ferarum ? Ut,
 might be made common much after the manner of brutes ? So that

qui natus sit, ignoret cujus sanguinis sit,
 of the offspring each may be ignorant of what blood he may be

quorum sacrorum sit, sit dimidius patrum,
 of what form of religion he was ; that he may belong half to the patricians

dimidius plebis, ne ipse concors quidem secum.
 half to the commons, not being homogeneous even with himself.

Id parum videri, quod omnia divina humanaque
 That it appeared not enough, that all things divine and human

turbentur : turbatores vulgi
 should be confounded ; that those disturbers of the common people

jam accingi ad consulatum. Et primo
 were now preparing to invade the consulship ; and first

tentasse modo sermonibus id
 that they sounded people's sentiments in mere conversation on the project

ut alter consul fieret ex plebe : nunc
 of having one consul appointed from among the commons ; that now

rogari populus creet consules seu
 a proposition was offered, 'that the people might elect consuls either
 ex patribus, seu ex plebe
 from among the patricians, or from among the plebeians,
 velit. Et creaturos haud dubie
 as they might think fit; and that they would appoint no doubt
 quemque seditiosissimum : Canuleios igitur Iciliosque
 every most turbulent person : The Canuleii, therefore, and Icili
 fore consules. Jupiter optimus maximus ne sineret
 would be consuls. But might Jupiter, supremely good and great, forbid
 imperium majestatis regiæ eo recidere :
 that the imperial majesty of the sovereign power should descend to that;
 et se potius morituros millies,
 and for their part they would rather die a thousand deaths
 quam ut patiantur tantum dedecoris admitti.
 than suffer such disgrace to be incurred.
 Habere certum, si majores quoque divinassent
 They were confident that, could their ancestors [even] have foreseen
 concedendo omnia plebem futuram
 that in the face of unlimited concessions the commons would become
 non mitiorem in se, sed asperiozem
 not more placable to them, but more intractable
 postulando alia ex aliis iniquiora, cum
 by making successive demands still more unreasonable, after
 impetrasset prima, primo subituros fuisse
 they had obtained the first, they would from the start have struggled with
 quamlibet dimicationem potius, quam paterentur
 any difficulties whatever, rather than have allowed
 eas leges imponi sibi. Quia tum concessum sit
 such terms to be imposed on them. Because it was then conceded to them
 de tribunis, concessum esse iterum :
 with respect to tribunes, the concession was made a second time.
 fieri non finem : tribunos plebis et patres
 This would be the case forever ; tribunes of the commons and a senate
 posse non esse in eadem civitate : aut hunc ordinem,
 could not subsist in the same state ; either the one order,
 aut illum magistratum tollendum esse, que
 or the other office, must be abolished, and

obviam eundum audaciæ temeritatique potius sero,
that a stop should be put to presumption and temerity better late

quam nunquam. Ut illine serentes discordiæ
than never. Was it right that they by sowing discord

impune concitent finitima bella
should with impunity provoke the neighboring states to hostilities

primo deinde prohibeant civitatem armari
[in the first place], and then prevent the state from arming

defendique adversus ea, quæ concitaverint,
and defending itself against those evils which they may have occasioned?

et, cum tantum non arcessierint hostes, non
and after they have almost sent for the enemy, not

patiantur exercitus conscribi adversus hostes,
suffer the armies to be levied against that enemy?

sed Canuleius audeat proloqui in senatu,
But Canuleius may have the audacity to declare openly in the senate

nisi patres tamquam victoris
that, unless the patricians, acknowledging in a manner his superiority,

sinant suas leges accipi, se prohibiturum dilectum
allowed his laws to be enacted, he would prevent the levy from

haberi! Quid aliud esse, quam minari, se
being held. What else was this, than to threaten that he

proditurum patriam, passurum oppugnari
would betray his country, that he would suffer it to be attacked

atque capi? Quid animorum eam vocem allaturam,
and captured? What courage would that declaration afford,

non Romanæ plebi, sed Volscis et Æquis et Veientibus!
not to the Roman commons but to the Volseians, Æquans and Veintians!

Nonne se speraturos, duce Canuleio,
Would they not hope that, under the guidance of Canuleius,

posse scandere Capitolium atque arcem, si
they should be able to scale the Capitol and citadel, if,

cum adempta jure ac maiestate tribuni
with the deprivation of privilege and majesty, the tribunes

eriperint patribus animos etiam? Consules
should rob the patricians of their courage also? That they as consuls

paratos esse duces adversus scelus
 were prepared to act as their leaders against the wicked schemes
 civium prius, quam adversus arma hostium.
 of their countrymen before *they would* act against the arms of the enemy."

III.—Maxime cum hæc agerentur in senatu,
 Just when these matters were going on in the senate,
 Canuleius ita disseruit pro suis legibus et adversus
 Canuleius thus declaimed in favor of his laws and against
 consules : "Sæpe equidem et ante videor
 the consuls : "Frequently even before now I think
 animadvertisse, quantopere patres contemnerent vos,
 I have observed how much the patricians despised you,
 Quirites, quam indignos ducerent, qui viveretis
 Romans, how unworthy they esteemed you to dwell
 una urbe intra eadem mœnia secum : tamen
 in the one city and within the same walls with them ; but
 nunc maxime, quod coorti sunt
 on the present occasion most clearly, in their having risen up
 adeo atroces in has rogationes nostras ; quibus
 so determinedly in opposition to those propositions of ours ; in which
 quid aliud quam admonemus nos esse eorum cives
 what else *do we do*, but remind *them* that we are their fellow-citizens,
 et, si non habere easdem opes, tamen incolere
 and that, though we possess not the same power, we yet inhabit
 eandem patriam ? Altera petimus connubium,
 the same country ? In the one we demand intermarriage,
 quod dari solet finitimis externisque— nos
 a thing which is usually granted to neighbors and foreigners : we
 quidem dedimus etiam victis hostibus
 [you know] have granted even to vanquished enemies
 civitatem, quæ plus est quam connubium :—
 the right of citizenship, which is more than the right of intermarriage.
 altera ferimus nihil novi, sed repetimus atque
 In the other, we propose nothing new ; but *only* reclaim and
 usurpamus id, quod est populi, ut Romanus
 enforce that which is the people's ; that the Roman

populus mandet honores quibus velit.
people may confer honors on whomsoever they may please

Quid tandem est, cur
And what, in the name of goodness, is it for which

misceant cœlum ac terras, cur
they embroil heaven and earth? why

pæne impetus factus sit in me modo in senatu,
was almost an attack made on me just now in the senate?

negent se temperaturos manibus
why do they say that they will not restrain themselves from violence,

que denuntient violaturos potestatem sacrosanctam?
and threaten that they will insult an office sacred and inviolable?

Hæc urbs non poterit stare, si liberum suffragium
Shall this city no longer be able to stand, if the right of free suffrage

datur Romano populo, ut mandet consulatum,
is granted to the Roman people, to entrust the consulship

quibus velit, et actum est de imperio,
to whomsoever they may think fit? and is it the downfall of the empire,

quoque plebeio— si dignus erit summo honore—
if even a plebeian, however worthy he may be of the highest honor,

non præciditur spes apiscendi summi honoris? Et
is not precluded from the hope of attaining that honor? and

hoc perinde valet, ‘plebeiusne fiat consul’
is this of the same import,— ‘whether a commoner can be made consul,’

tamquam aliquis dicat servum aut libertinum
as if a person were to propose a slave or the son of a slave

futurum consulem? Ecquid sentitis, in quanto
to be consul? Do you not perceive in what

contemptu vivatis? Si liceat, adimant
contempt you live? Were it in their power, they would take

vobis partem hujus lucis: quod spiratis,
from you a participation in this very light. That you breathe,

quod mittitis vocem, quod habetis formas
that you have the faculty of speech, that you possess the forms

hominum indignantur: quin— si dis placet—
of human beings, excites their indignation: nay even, if you please,

aiunt esse nefas, plebeium fieri consulem.
they say it is an impiety that a plebeian should be made consul.

Obsecro vos, si non admittimur ad fastos, non
For heaven's sake, though we are not admitted to the annals, nor

ad commentarios pontificum,— nec ea quidem scimus,
to the commentaries of the pontiffs, are we ignorant of the things,

quæ etiam omnes peregrini sciunt,
which even every foreigner knows?

consules successisse in locum regum, habere
that consuls were substituted in the place of kings? and consequently have

nec quidquam aut juris aut majestatis,
no kind of privilege or dignity

quod non fuerit ante in regibus? En creditis
which was not formerly inherent in kings? Do you suppose

unquam auditum esse fando, Numam Pompilium
we ever heard it mentioned that Numa Pompilius,

non modo non patricium, sed ne quidem civem
not only no patrician, but not even a citizen

Romanum, accitum ex agro Sabino,
of Rome, was invited hither from the country of the Sabines,

regnasse Romæ jussu populi
and made sovereign at Rome by the order of the people and

auctoribus patribus? Deinde L. Tarquinium,
with the approbation of the senate? that afterwards Lucius Tarquinius,

non modo Romanæ, sed nequidem Italicæ gentis—
not only not of Roman, but not even of Italian extraction,

filium Demarati Corinthii— incolam ab Tarquiniis,
the son of Demaratus of Corinth, an emigrant from Tarquiniis,

factum regem liberis Anci vivis? Post hunc
was made king though the sons of Ancus were alive? that after him

Servium Tullium, natum captiva Corniculana,
Servius Tullius the son of a captive woman of Corniculum,

patre nullo, matre serva, tenuisse regnum
his father not known, his mother a slave, obtained the crown

ingenio, virtute? Quid enim dicam de
through his abilities and merit? Need I speak of

T. Tatius Sabino, quem Romulus ipse, parens
Titus Tatius the Sabine, whom Romulus himself, the founder

urbis, accepit in societatem regni?
of our city, admitted into partnership of the throne?

Ergo, dum nullum genus fastiditur, in quo
 Accordingly, whilst no class of persons was disdained, in which
 virtus eniteret, Romanum imperium crevit.
 conspicuous merit appeared, the Roman dominion increased.
 Vos nunc pœniteat plebei consulis, cum nostri
 You now show disgust at a plebeian consul, when our
 majores non fastidierint advenas reges, et
 ancestors disdained not foreigners as kings, and when,
 quidem exactis regibus urbs ne fuerit clausa
 even after the expulsion of kings, the city was not shut
 peregrinæ virtuti ? Post exactos reges,
 against foreign merit ? After the expulsion of the kings,
 certe accepimus Claudiam gentem ex Sabinis
 we certainly admitted the Claudian family from among the Sabines
 non modo in civitatem, sed etiam in numerum
 not only into citizenship, but even into the number
 patriciorum. Ex peregrinone fiat patricius,
 of the patricians. Can a man from a foreigner be made a patrician,
 deinde consul— civis Romanus si sit ex plebe
 then a consul ? and shall a citizen of Rome, if he be a commoner,
 præcisa erit spes consulatus ? Utrum tandem credimus
 be cut off from all hope of the consulship ? Do we then deem
 posse non fieri, ut vir ex plebe sit
 it impossible that a man of the commons can be a person
 fortis ac strenuus bonus pace belloque,
 of fortitude and activity qualified to excel in peace and war,
 similis Numæ, L. Tarquinio, Ser. Tullio : an,
 like to Numa, Lucius Tarquinius, and Servius Tullius ? or,
 si quidem sit ne patiemur eum accedere
 should there [even] be such, shall we not suffer him to meddle
 ad gubernacula rei publicæ, que sumus habituri
 with the helm of government ? and shall we have
 consules similes decemviris— teterrimis mortalium,
 consuls like the decemvirs,— the most profligate of mankind,
 qui erant tamen omnes ex patribus— potius, quam
 who were, however, all from among the patricians, rather than
 optimis regum novis hominibus ? ”
 the best of kings, though new men ?

IV.—“ At enimvero nemo de plebe fuit consul
 “ But, sure enough, no plebeian has been consul
 post exactos reges. Quid postea? Debetne nulla
 since the expulsion of the kings. What then? Ought no
 nova res institui, et, quod nondum est factum—
 innovation to be introduced? and what has not yet been practised,
 enim in novo populo sunt multa nondum facta—
 (and in a new state there are many things not yet practised)
 oportet ea ne fieri, si sunt
 ought these measures be therefore rejected, even though they be
 quidem utilia? Regnante Romulo, erant nulli
 evidently advantageous? During the reign of Romulus there were no
 pontifices, augures: creati sunt ab Numa Pompilio.
 pontiffs, nor augurs: they were appointed by Numa Pompilius.
 Erat non census in civitate, et descriptio
 There was no census in the state, nor the distribution
 centuriarum classiumque: est facta ab Ser. Tullio.
 of centuries and classes; it was instituted by Servius Tullius.
 Numquam fuerunt consules: creati sunt
 There never had been consuls; they were created
 exactis regibus. Dictatoris nec imperium nec
 after the expulsion of the kings. Of a dictator neither the office nor
 nomen fuerat: coepit esse apud patres.
 the name had existed; it commenced its existence among the senators.
 Erant nulli tribuni plebi, ædiles, quæstores:
 There were no tribunes of the people, ædiles nor quæstors:
 institutum est, ut fierent. Intra hos
 it was resolved, that those offices should be instituted. Within the last
 decem annos et creavimus decemviros scribendis
 ten years we both created decemvirs for compiling
 legibus, et sustulimus e republica. Quis dubitat,
 laws, and expelled them, from the state. Who can doubt
 quin, in urbe condita in æternum, crescente
 but that in a city, founded for eternal duration, and growing up
 in immensum, nova imperia, sacerdotia, jura
 to an immense magnitude, new civil offices, priesthoods, rights
 gentium hominumque instituantur? Hoc ipsum,
 of families and of individuals, may be established? This very rule,

esset ne connubium patribus cum plebe,
that there should be no intermarriage of patricians with plebeians,

non decemviri tulerunt his paucis annis cum
did not the decemvirs introduce within these few years, with

summa injuria plebis, exemplo
the utmost injustice towards the commons, on a principle

 pessimo publico ? An potest esse ulla contumelia
highly detrimental to the public ? Can there be any insult

major aut insignitior, quam partem civitatis,
greater or more flagrant, than that one portion of the state,

velut contaminatam, haberi indignam
as if contaminated, should be held unworthy

 connubio. Quid aliud est, quam intra
of intermarrying *with the other* ? What else is it than, within

eadem moenia pati exsilium, quam relegationem ?
the same walls, to suffer exile, actual rustication ?

 Caveant, ne immisceamur affinitatibus
They are apprehensive lest we be united to *them* by affinity

ne propinquitatibus, ne sanguis societur !
or consanguinity ; lest our blood be mingled *with theirs* !

Quid— si hoc polluit istam nobilitatem vestram,
What ? if this cast a stain on that nobility of yours,

quam plerique oriundi ex Albanis et Sabinis
which most of you, the progeny of Albans and Sabines,

habetis non genere nec sanguine, sed per
possess not in *right of birth* or blood, but by

cooptationem in patres lecti aut ab
co-optation into the patricians, having been elected either by

regibus, aut post exactos reges jussu populi—
the kings, or after the expulsion of kings, by order of the people,

non poteratis servare sinceram privatis consiliis,
could you not keep it pure by private regulations,

 nec ducendo ex plebe, neque sinendo
by neither marrying into the commons, nor suffering

vestras filias sororesque enubere e patribus ?
your daughters and sisters to marry out of the patricians ?

Nemo plebeius afferet vim patriciæ virgini .
No plebeian will offer violence to a patrician maiden ;

ista libido est patriciorum: nemo coegisset
 such lust as that belongs to the patricians; none of them would compel
 quemquam invitum facere nuptialem pactionem.
 any man against his will to enter into a marriage-contract.

Verum enimvero id prohiberi lege, et
 But really that such a thing should be prevented by law [and]

connubium patrum ac plebis tolli,
 that the intermarriage of the patricians and plebeians should be interdicted,

id demum contumeliosum est plebi. Cur enim
 this, I tell you, is insulting to the commons. And why

non confertis, ne sit connubium
 do you not take measures that there shall be no intermarriage

divitibus ac pauperibus? Quod ubique
 between rich and poor? A matter which has in all places

semper fuit privatorum consiliorum, ut
 and always been the business of private regulations, that

cuique feminæ nuberet, in quam domum convenisset;
 each woman should marry into whatever family she has been betrothed to,

vir duceret in matrimonium, ex qua domo
 and each man take a wife from whatever family

pactus esset; id vos conjicitis sub vincula
 he had contracted with; this you shackle with the restraints

superbissimæ legis, qua dirimatis civilem societatem,
 of a most tyrannical law, whereby you tear asunder the bonds of civil society,

que faciatis ex una civitate duas. Cur non sancitis,
 and split one state into two. Why do you not enact a law

plebeius ne sit vicinus patricio,
 that a plebeian shall not dwell in the neighborhood of a patrician?

nec eat eodem itinere, ne ineat
 that he shall not travel on the same road? that he shall not appear at

idem convivium, ne consistat in eodem foro?
 the same entertainment? that he shall not stand in the same forum?

Enim quid aliud est in re, si patricius
 For what else is there in the matter, if a patrician

duxerit plebeiam, si plebeius patriciam?
 wed a plebeian woman, or a plebeian a patrician woman?

Quid juris tandem immutatur? Nempe liberi
 What right, pray, is thereby changed? Surely the children

sequuntur patrem. Nec est quidquam,
 follow the condition of the father. Nor is there anything
 quod nos petamus ex connubio vestro, præterquam
 which we seek from intermarriage with you, except
 ut simus numero hominum, ut civium :
 that we may be held in the number of human beings and fellow-citizens;
 nec est quidquam, quod vos contendatis, nisi
 nor is there any reason why you contest the point except that
 juvat certare in contumeliam ignominiamque
 it delights you to strive for insult and ignominy
 nostram ”
 to us.

V.—“ Denique tandem utrum est summum
 “ In fine, let me ask you, whether is the supreme
 imperium Romani populi, an vestrum? Utrum
 power vested in the Roman people, or in you? Whether
 exactis regibus dominatio parata est
 by the expulsion of kings has absolute dominion been procured
 vobis, an æqua libertas omnibus? Oportet
 to yourselves, or equal freedom to all? Is it fitting
 Romano populo licere jubere legem, si velit,
 that the Roman people should be allowed to enact a law, if it please?
 an, ut quæque rogatio promulgata erit, vos
 or, whenever any bill has been proposed, shall you,
 pro poena decernetis dilectum? Et,
 by way of punishment, pass a decree for a levy of troops? And
 simul ego tribunus cœpero vocare tribus
 as soon as I, as tribune, shall begin to call the tribes
 in suffragium, tu statim consul adiges
 to give their suffrages, will you, forthwith, as consul, compel
 juniores sacramento, et educes in castra,
 the younger citizens to take the military oath, and lead them out to camp?
 et minaberis plebi, minaberis tribuno?
 and will you menace the commons? will you menace their tribune?
 Quid— si non his jam experti essetis, quantum
 What, if you had not already twice experienced how little

istæ minæ valerent adversus consensum plebis?
 such menaces avail against the united sense of the people?

Scilicet, quia volebatis consultum vobis
 Of course it was because you wished to consult for our interest

abstinuistis certamine :— an est non dimicatum
 that you abstained from force; or was there no outbreak

ideo, quod pars, quæ firmior, fuit eadem
 for this reason, that the party which was the stronger was also

modestior? Nec erit certamen nunc, Quirites.
 the more moderate? Nor will there be any contest now, Romans:

Illi semper tentabunt vestros animos, vires
 Those men will on every occasion try your patriot spirit; your strength

non experientur. Itaque, consules, ad ista bella—
 they will not make trial of. Wherefore, consuls, to these wars,

seu vera sunt seu falsa— plebes est parata vobis,
 whether real or fictitious, the commons are ready to attend you,

si, redditis connubiis, tandem facitis hanc
 if, by restoring the right of intermarriage, you at length make this

unam civitatem, si possunt coalescere, si jungi
 one state; if they can coalesce, be united

miscerique vobis privatis necessitudinibus, si spes,
 and mixed with you by private ties; if the hope,

si aditus ad honores datur viris strenuis et fortibus,
 if the access to honors be granted to men of ability and energy;

si licet esse in consortio, si in societate
 if it is lawful to be in a partnership and share

reipublicæ, si—quod est æquæ libertatis—
 of the government; if, what is the result of equal freedom, they be allowed,

annuis magistratibus parere atque imperitare
 in the rotation of annual magistracies, to obey and to command

invicem. Si aliquis impedit hæc, ferte sermonibus
 in turn. If any shall obstruct these measures, harangue about

bella, et multiplicare fama— nemo daturus est
 wars, and multiply them by reports; not a man will give in

nomen, nemo capturus arma, nemo dimicaturus
 his name; not a man will take arms; not a man will fight

pro superbis dominis, cum quibus est nec societas
 for haughty masters, with whom there is no participation
 honorum in re publica, nec connubii in privata."
 of honors in public nor of intermarriage in private."

VI.—Cum et consules processissent in concionem,
 When both the consuls came forward into the assembly,
 et res vertisset a perpetuis orationibus in
 and the matter had changed from a long series of speeches to
 altercationem, tribuno interroganti, cur non oportet
 altercation, and the tribune asking "why it was improper
 plebeium fieri consulem, respondit, ut
 that a plebeian should be made consul," one of them answered, though
 fortasse vere, sic parum utiliter in præsens certamen,
 perhaps with truth, yet by no means expediently for the present dispute,
 quod nemo plebeius haberet auspicia, ideoque
 "because no plebeian could have the auspices, and for that reason
 decemviros diremissee connubium, ne
 the decemvirs had prohibited intermarriage, lest,
 incerta prole auspicia turbarentur. Plebes
 from uncertainty of descent, the auspices might be vitiated." The commons
 exarsit indignatione ad id maxime, quod,
 were fired with indignation at this above all, because,
 tamquam invisi immortalibus diis, negarentur
 as if hateful to the immortal gods, they were denied
 posse auspicari: nec fuit finis contentionum,
 to be qualified to take auspices; nor was there an end of the contentions,
 cum plebes et nacta esset acerrimum
 (seeing that the commons both had a most energetic
 auctorem tribunum, et ipsa certaret cum eo
 supporter in the tribune, and they themselves vied with him
 pertinacia, ante, quam patres tandem victi
 (in perseverance), until the patricians, being at length overpowered,
 concessere, ut de connubio ferretur,
 agreed that the law regarding intermarriage should be passed,
 rati ita maxime tribunos
 judging that by these means most probably the tribunes

aut deposituros esse totam, aut dilatueros post bellum,
would either lay aside entirely, or defer till after the war,

contentionem de plebeiis consulibus, interimque
the struggle for plebeian consuls; and that in the mean time

plebem contentam connubio
the commons, content with the intermarriage law being passed

fore paratam dilectui. Cum Canuleius esset
would be ready to enlist. When Canuleius was now

ingens victoria de patribus et favore
in high repute by his victory over the patricians and by the favor

plebis, alii tribuni accensi ad certamen
of the commons, the other tribunes, strongly encouraged to contend

pro rogatione pugnant summa sua vi, et,
for their bill, set to work with all their might, and,

fama belli crescente in dies,
while the accounts regarding the war augmented daily,

impediunt dilectum. Consules, cum,
they obstructed the enlisting of troops. The consuls, when

intercedentibus tribunis, nihil posset agi
from the opposition of the tribunes nothing could be transacted

per senatum, habebant consilia principum domi :
through the senate, held meetings of the leading men at their own houses.

apparebat, concedendum esse de victoria aut
It was becoming evident that they must concede the victory either

hostibus aut civibus. Valerius atque Horatius
to the enemies or to their countrymen. Valerius and Horatius

soli ex consularibus non intererant consiliis.
alone of the consulars were not present at their deliberations.

Sententia C. Claudii armabat consules
The opinion of Caius Claudius was for arming the consuls

in tribunos, sententiæ Quinctiorum— Cincinnatique
against the tribunes. The sentiments of the Quintii, both Cincinnatus

et Capitolini— abhorrebant a cæde violandisque,
and Capitolinus, were averse to bloodshed and to violating persons

quos, foedere icto cum plebe,
whom, by the treaty concluded with the commons,

accepissent sacrosanctos. Per hæc consilia
they had acknowledged as sacred and inviolable. Through these meetings

res deducta est eo, ut sinerent militum tribunos
 the matter was brought to this, that they should allow military tribunes
 consulari potestate creari ex patribus ac plebe
 with consular authority, to be elected from the patricians and plebeians
 promiscue, de creandis consulibus
 without distinction; that with respect to the election of consuls,
 nihil mutaretur: eoque tribuni fuit contenti,
 no change should be made; and with this the tribunes were satisfied,
 plebs contenta. Comitia indicuntur creandis
 and the commons also. An assembly is now proclaimed for electing
 tribus tribunis consulari potestate. Quibus indictis,
 three tribunes with consular power. This being proclaimed,
 extemplo, quicumque dixerat aut fecerat aliquid
 forthwith every one who had said or done anything
 seditiose, quam maxime tribunicii
 in favor of sedition, more particularly men who had been tribunes,
 coepere et prensare homines, et concursare toto foro
 began [both] to solicit votes and to bustle about the forum
 candidati, ut desperatio primo apiscendi
 as candidates; so that despair, in the first instance, of obtaining
 honoris, irritata plebe, deinde
 the honor, from the exasperated state of the commons, and then
 indignatio, si gerendus esset honos cum
 indignation at having to hold the office in conjunction with
 his, deterreret patricos: postremo tamen
 such persons, deterred the patricians. At length, however,
 coacti a primoribus petiere,
 being forcibly urged by the leading nobles, they stood as candidates,
 ne viderentur cessasse possessione reipublicæ.
 lest they might appear to have relinquished all share in the government.
 Eventus eorum comitiorum docuit, animos
 The result of this election showed, that men's sentiments
 in contentione libertatis dignitatisque esse alios,
 in the struggle for liberty and dignity are different
 alios secundum certamina deposita,
 from those which they feel after the contest has been ended,
 iudicio incorrupto: enim populus creavit
 and the judgment is unbiassed: for the people elected

omnes patricios	tribunos,	contentus eo,	quod ratio
all patricians	as tribunes,	content with this,	that account
habita esset	plebeiorum.	Ubi	nunc inveneris
had been made	of the plebeians.	Where	could you now find
in uno	hanc modestiam	æquitatemque	
even in an individual	such moderation,	disinterestedness,	
et altitudinem	animi	quæ fuit tum	
and elevation	of mind,	as was then displayed	
universi populi !			
by the whole body of the people ?			

CONTENTS OF BOOK V.

On occasion of the siege of Veii winter-huts erected for the troops ; on account of which, being a new plan, the tribunes of the people endeavor to excite discontent, complaining that no repose is given to the soldiers even in winter. The cavalry, for the first time, serve on horses of their own. Veii, after a siege of ten years, taken by *Furius Camillus*, dictator. In the character of military tribune, he lays siege to *Falisci* ; sends back the children of the enemy, who were betrayed into his hands ; being charged with criminal conduct, goes into exile. XXXIII., etc. The *Senonian Gauls* lay siege to *Clusium* ; Roman ambassadors, sent to mediate peace between the *Clusians* and *Gauls*, take part with the former ; provoked at which, the *Gauls* march directly against *Rome* ; XXXVIII., etc. and, after routing the *Romans* at the *Allia*, take possession of the whole city with the exception of the *Capitol*, where the *Roman youth* had rallied for the defence. XLI. The aged nobles, arrayed in the insignia of their former rank, are slain whilst sitting in the porches of their palaces. XLVII. The *Gauls*, having scaled the *Capitol* in the night, are discovered by the cackling of geese, and repulsed, principally by the exertions of *Marcus Manlius*. XLVIII. The *Romans*, compelled by famine, agree to ransom themselves ; XLIX. Whilst the gold is being weighed to them, *Camillus*, who had been appointed dictator, arrives with an army, beats off the *Gauls* and destroys their army. He successfully opposes the design of removing to *Veii*. [U. C. 352-365 ; B. 3 400-387.]

LIBER QUINTUS.

BOOK FIFTH.

CHAP'S. XXXV—XLIX.

XXXV.— * * * * * Tum Senones, recentissimam
 Then the Senonians, the latest
 advenarum, habuere fines ab flumine
 of these emigrants, took possession of the country reaching from the river
 Utente usque ad Æsim. Comperio hanc gentem
 Utens to the Æsis. I find it was this nation
 venisse Clusium indeque Romam.
 that came to Clusium, and from thence to Rome ;
 solamne, an adjutam ab omnibus populis
 but whether alone, or assisted by all the nations
 Cisalpinorum Gallorum, id parum certum est.
 of Cisalpine Gauls, [that] is not duly ascertained
 Clusini exterriti novo bello, cum cernerent
 The Clusians, terrified at their strange enemy, on observing
 multitudinem, formas hominum invisitatas,
 their great numbers, the forms of the men such as they had never seen,
 et genus armorum, que cum audirent legiones
 and the kind of arms they carried, and on hearing that the legions
 Etruscorum sæpe fusas ab iis, cis ultraque
 of the Etrurians had been often defeated by them on both sides of
 Padum, misere legatos Romam, qui peterent auxilium
 the Po, sent ambassadors to Rome to solicit aid
 ab senatu, quamquam eis erat nullum jus
 from the senate, although they had no claim

credere esse viros fortes, quorum auxilium
 they supposed that they were men of bravery, whose assistance
 imploratum sit a Clusinis in trepida re :
 was implored by the Clusians in their perilous conjuncture.
 et, quoniam maluerint tueri socios adversus se
 And, since they chose to defend their allies against them
 legatione quam armis, ne se quidem aspernari
 by negotiation rather than by arms, that they, on their part, would not reject
 pacem, quam illi afferant, si Clusini
 the pacific terms which they proposed, if the Clusians
 concedant Gallis egentibus agro, partem finium,
 would give up to the Gauls, in want of land, a portion of their territories
 quem possideant latius quam colant :
 which they possessed to a greater extent than they could cultivate ;
 aliter pacem non posse impetrari : se et velle
 otherwise peace could not be obtained : that they [both] wished
 accipere responsum coram Romanis, et, si
 to receive an answer in presence of the Romans ; and, if
 ager negetur, dimicaturos
 the land were refused them, that they would decide the matter by arms
 coram iisdem Romanis, ut possent nuntiare domum,
 in presence of the same Romans, that they might inform their countrymen
 quantum Galli præstarent ceteros mortales virtute.
 how far the Gauls excelled the rest of mankind in bravery."

Romanis quærentibus, quodnam id jus esset petere
 The Romans asking what right they had to demand
 agrum possessoribus aut minari arma,
 land from the possessors, or threaten war in case of refusal,
 et quid rei Gallis esset in Etruria,
 and what business the Gauls had in Etruria ;
 cum illi ferociter dicerent se ferre jus
 and on their fiercely replying, " that they carried their right
 in armis, et omnia esse fortium virorum,
 in their swords, and that all things were the property of the brave : "

animis accensis utrimque discurritur
 with minds inflamed on both sides they hastily separate
 ad arma, et prælium conseritur. Ibi,—
 to prepare their arms, and the battle is commenced Here,

fatis jam urgentibus urbem Romanam— legati
fate now pressing the city of Rome, the ambassadors,

contra jus gentium capiunt arma. Nec
contrary to the law of nations, take up arms; nor

potuit id esse clam, cum tres nobilissimi fortissimique
could this be done in secret, as three of the noblest and bravest

Romanæjuventutis pugnarent ante signa Etruscorum :
of the Roman youth fought in the van of the Etrurians ;

tantum eminebat virtus peregrina. Quin etiam
so conspicuous was the valor of these foreigners. Moreover

Q. Fabius, evectus equo extra aciem, occidit ducem
Quintus Fabius, riding forward beyond the line, slew a general

Gallorum ferociter incursantem in ipsa signa
of the Gauls who was furiously charging against the very standards

Etruscorum, transfixum per latus hasta :
of the Etrurians, having run him through the side with his spear :

Gallique agnovere legentem ejus spolia,
and the Gauls recognised him when stripping him of his spoils ;

signumque datum est per totam aciem esse
and a signal was given throughout the entire line that he was

Romanum legatum. Omissa inde ira
a Roman ambassador. Dropping, therefore, their resentment

in Clusinos, canunt receptui minantes
against the Clusians, they sound a retreat, threatening

Romanis. Erant, qui censerent
the Romans. Some there were who gave it as their opinion

eundum extemplo Romam : seniores vicere,
that they should march instantly to Rome. But the elders prevailed,

ut legati prius mitterentur questum injurias
that ambassadors should first be sent to complain of the injuries

postulatumque, ut Fabii dederentur
done them, and to demand that the Fabii should be given up to them

pro violato jure gentium.
in satisfaction for having violated the law of nations.

Cum legati Gallorum exposuissent ea
When the ambassadors of the Gauls had explained those matters

sicut erant mandata, factum Fabiorum
according to their commission, the conduct of the Fabii

nec placebat senatus, et barbari videbantur
 was neither approved by the senate, and the barbarians seemed to them

postulare jus : sed in viris tantæ nobilitatis,
 to demand *what was* just : but in the case of men of such exalted rank,

ambitio obstabat ne decerneret id quod
 party-favor prevented them from decreeing that which their judgment

placebat. Itaque, ne culpa cladis
 approved. Wherefore, lest the blame of any misfortune, which

forte acceptæ bello Gallico esset penes ipsos,
 might perhaps be sustained in a war with the Gauls, should lie with them,

reiciunt cognitionem de postulatis Gallorum
 they refer the determination on the demands of the Gauls

ad populum : ubi gratia atque opes tanto plus valere,
 to the people, where influence and wealth were so predominant,

ut,
 that the very persons quorum de pœna agebatur,
 whose punishment was under consideration,

crearentur tribuni militum consulari potestate
 were appointed military tribunes with consular power

in insequentem annum. Quo facto Galli infensi
 for the ensuing year. At which proceeding the Gauls being enraged,

haud secus quam erat dignum, propalam minantes
 as was very natural, openly menacing

bellum, redeunt ad suos. Cum tribus Fabiis
 war, return to their own party. Together with the three Fabii

tribuni militum creati Q. Sulpicius Longus,
 the military tribunes elected were Quintus Sulpicius Longus,

Q. Servilius quarto S. Cornelius Maluginensis.
 Quintus Servilius a fourth time, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.

XXXVII.—Cum tanta moles mali instaret—
 Though danger of such magnitude was impending,

adeo fortuna obcæcat animos, ubi vult
 so completely does fortune blind the minds of men when she wishes

non suam ingruentem vim refringi— civitas, quæ
 not her threatening stroke to be foiled,) a state, which

adversus Fidenatem ac Veientem hostem aliosque
 against the Fidenatian and Veientian enemies, and other

finitimos populos experiens auxilia ultima,
 neighboring states had recourse to aid from the most extreme quarters

dixisset dictatorem multis tempestatibus,
 and had appointed a dictator on many trying occasions,—

ea tunc, hoste invisitato atque inaudito
 that same state now, when an enemy never before seen or even heard of,

ab Oceano ultimisque oris terrarum ciente bellum,
 from the ocean and remotest regions of the earth, was advancing in arms

nihil quæsit extra ordinarii imperii aut auxilii.
 against them, looked not for any extraordinary command or assistance

Tribuni, quorum temeritate bellum contractum erat
 Tribunes, by whose temerity the war had been brought on them,

præerant summæ rerum, que etiam extenuantes
 were appointed to the chief direction of affairs, and even extenuating

famam belli habebant dilectum
 the rumors afloat about the war, they held the levy

nihilo accuratorem, quam solitus erat haberi
 with no greater diligence than used to be exercised

ad media bella. Interim Galli, postquam acceperere
 for ordinary wars. Meanwhile the Gauls, on hearing

honorem ultro habitum violatoribus humani juris
 that honor was even conferred on the violators of human law,

suamque legationem elusam esse, flagrantem ira—
 and that their embassy was slighted, inflamed with anger,

cujus gens est impotens— confestim convulsis
 (over which that nation has no control), immediately snatching up

signis, ingrediuntur iter citato agmine.
 their ensigns, enter on their march with the utmost expedition.

Cum urbes exterritæ ad tumultum
 When the cities, alarmed at the tumult

quorum raptim prætereuntium concurrerent
 occasioned by them as they passed precipitately along, ran together

ad arma, que agrestium fieret fuga, significabant
 to arms, and the peasants took to flight, they signified to them

magno clamore se ire Romam, obtinentes
 by a loud shout that they were proceeding to Rome, taking up

immensum loci, quacumque ibant, equis virisque
 an immense space of ground wherever they passed, with their horses and men.

agmine fuso longe ac late. Sed, fama
 their troops spreading widely on every side. But fame
 nuntiisque Clusinorum, inde aliorum populorum
 and the messengers of the Clusians, and then of the other states
 deinceps, antecedente, celeritas hostium
 one after another, preceding *them*, the rapid advance of the enemy
 tulit plurimum terroris Romam, quippe,
 brought the greatest consternation to Rome; for
 velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto,
 with their, in a manner, tumultuary troops hastily led on
 ægre quibus occursum est ad undecimum lapidem,
 they barely met them (i. e. the enemy) at the eleventh mile-stone,
 qua flumen Alia, defluens Crustumini montibus
 where the river Allia, running down from the Crustuminian mountains
 præalto alveo, miscetur amni Tiberino
 in a very deep channel, joins the river Tiber
 haud multo infra viam. Jam omnia contra
 not far below the road. Already every place in front
 circaque plena erant hostium, et gens
 and on each side was crowded with the enemy, and *this* nation
 nata in vanos tumultus truci cantu
 which has a natural turn for causeless confusion, by their harsh music
 variisque clamoribus compleverant cuncta
 and discordant clamors, filled all places
 horrendo sono.
 with a horrible din.

XXXVIII.—Ibi

There

tribuni militum

the military tribunes

non ante capto loco castris,
 without having previously selected a place for their camp,
 non præmunito vallo quo receptus esset,
 without previously raising a rampart to which they might have a retreat,
 non memores saltem deorum— si non
 regardless even of duty to the gods, to say nothing
 hominum— nec auspicato, nec litato,
 of that to man. without taking auspices, without offering a sacrifice.

instruunt aciem diductam in cornua, ne
draw up their line *which was* extended on towards the flanks, lest

possent circumveniri multitudine hostium. Tamen
they should be surrounded by the great numbers of the enemy. Still

frontes nec poterant æquari,
their front could not be made equal to *that of the enemy,*

cum extenuando haberent mediam aciem
and at the same time by thinning their line they rendered their centre

infirmam et vix cohærentem. Erat ab dextera
weak and scarcely connected. There was on the right

paulum editi loci, quem placuit repleri
a small eminence, which it was determined to fill

subsidiariis, eaque res, ut initium
with bodies of reserve; and that circumstance, as it was the first cause

pavoris ac fugæ, sic fuit una salus
of their dismay and flight, so it proved the only *means of safety*

fugientibus. Nam Brennus, regulus Gallorum,
in their flight. For Brennus, commander of the Gauls,

maxime timens artem in paucitate
chiefly apprehensive of *some design being intended* in the small number

hostium, ratus superiorem locum captum ad
of the enemy, thinking that the high ground had been seized for

id, ut, ubi Galli concucurrissent recta fronte
this *purpose*, "that, when the Gauls should be engaged in front

cum acie legionum, subsidia darent impetum in
with the line of the legions, the reserve was to make an attack on

aversos transversosque, convertit signa ad subsidiarios,
their rear and flank," directed his troops against the reserve;

haud dubius, si depulisset eos loco,
not doubting *that* if he had dislodged them from their post.

victoriam fore facilem in æquo campi
the victory would be easy in the plain

tantum superanti multitudini. Adeo non modo
for a *force* so much superior in numbers. Thus not only

fortuna, sed ratio etiam stabat cum barbaris.
fortune but judgment also stood on the side of the barbarians.

In altera acie erat nihil simile Romanis,
In the opposite army there appeared nothing like Romans,

non apud duces, non apud milites : pavor
 either among the commanders, or among the soldiers. Terror

fugaque occupaverat animos et tanta oblivio
 and dismay had taken possession of their minds, and such a forgetfulness

omnium, ut multo major pars fugerent in Veios
 of every thing, that a far greater number fled to Veii,

urbem hostium, cum Tiberis arceret, quam
 a city of the enemy, though the Tiber stood in their way, than

recto itinere Romam ad conjuges ac liberos.
 by the direct road to Rome, to their wives and children.

Locus parumper tutatus est subsidiarios :
 Their situation for some time defended the reserve ;

in reliqua acie, simul clamor auditus est,
 but throughout the remainder of the line, as soon as the shout was heard

proximis ab latere, ultimis
 by those who stood nearest on their flank, and by those at a distance

ab tergo, pæne prius quam viderent hostem
 on their rear, almost before they could look at the enemy

ignotum, non modo non tentato certamine sed
 as yet untried, not only without attempting to fight, but

ne quidem reddito clamore, integri intactique
 without even returning the shout, fresh as they were and unhurt,

fugerunt. Nec fuit ulla cædes
 they took to flight. Nor was there any slaughter

pugnantium : terga cæsa ipsorum
 of them in the act of fighting ; but their rear was cut to pieces, themselves

impedientium fugam certamine suomet
 obstructing their flight by their struggling one with another

in turba. Magna strages facta est circa ripam
 in crowded confusion. Great slaughter was made on the bank

Tiberis, quo totum sinistrum cornu abjectis
 of the Tiber, whither the whole left wing, after throwing away

armis defugit, multosque
 their arms, had directed their flight ; and many

imperitos nandi aut invalidos, graves
 who knew not how to swim, or were exhausted, being burdened

loricis aliisque tegminibus, hausere
 with their coats of mail and other defensive armor, were swallowed up in

gurgites. Maxima pars tamen perfugit incolumis
the current. The greatest part, however, escaped safe

Veios; unde non modo quidquam præsidii, sed
to Veii; whence not only no reinforcement, but

ne quidem nuntius cladis, missus est Romam.
not even an account of their defeat, was forwarded to Rome.

Ab dextro cornu, quod steterat procul a
those on the right wing, which had been posted at a distance from

flumine et magis sub monte, omnes petiere
the river, and rather near the foot of the mountain, all made for

Romam, et ne quidem clausis portis urbis,
Rome, and without even shutting the gates of the city,

confugerunt in arcem.
fled into the citadel.

XXXIX.—Velut miraculum tam repentinæ
The almost miraculous attainment of so sudden

victoriæ tenuit quoque Gallos obstupefactos.
a victory held even the Gauls in a state of stupefaction.

Et primum ipsi steterunt defixi pavore, velut
And at first they stood motionless with panic, as if

ignari, quid accidisset: deinde vereri insidias;
not knowing what had happened; then they dreaded some stratagem.

postremo legere spolia cæсорum, que
At last, they collected the spoils of the slain, and

coacervare armorum cumulos, ut est eis mos. Tum
piled the arms in heaps, as is their custom. Then

demum, postquam nihil hostile usquam cernebatur,
at length, when no sign of an enemy was anywhere seen,

ingressi viam, perveniunt ad urbem Romam
having proceeded on their journey, they arrived near the city of Rome

haud multo ante solis occasum. Ubi cum equites
not long before sun-set: where, when some horsemen

prægressi retulissent portas non clausas,
who had advanced before brought back word that the gates were not shut,

non stationem excubare pro portis, non armatos
that no guard was posted before the gates, no armed troops

esse in muros, aliud miraculum simile priori
[were] on the walls, another cause of amazement similar to the former

eos sustinuit, que veriti noctem et ignotæ situm
made them halt; and dreading the night and ignorant of the situation

urbis, consedere inter Romam atque Anienem,
of the city, they took post between Rome and the Anio,

missis exploratoribus circa moenia aliasque portas
sending scouts about the walls and several gates

quænam consilia hostibus essent in perdita
to discover what plans the enemy would pursue in their desperate

re. Romani, cum major pars
circumstances. With respect to the Romans, as a greater portion

petisset Veios ex acie quam Romam, nemo
had gone to Veii from the field of battle, than to Rome, and no one

crederet quemquam superesse præter eos, qui
supposed that any survived except those who

refugerant Romam, omnes complorati, pariter vivi
had fled back to Rome, being all lamented as lost, both those living

mortuique prope totam urbem impleverunt lamentis.
and those dead, they caused almost the entire city to be filled with wailings.

Pavor publicus stupefecit privatos luctus
But the alarm for the public interest stifled all private sorrow,

deinde, postquam nuntiatum est hostes adesse.
as soon as it was announced that the enemy were at hand.

Mox, barbaris vagantibus circa moenia turmatim,
Presently, the barbarians patrolling about the walls in troops,

audiebant ululatus que dissonos cantus.
they heard their yells and the dissonant clangor of their arms.

Omne inde tempus usque ad alteram lucem tenuit
All the interval up to the next morning kept

animos ita suspensos, ut impetus videretur
their minds in such anxious suspense, that an assault seemed

jam identidem futurus in urbem : primo
every moment about to be made on the city, on their first

adventu, quo accesserant ad urbem— enim,
approach, when they arrived at the city, it was expected; since,

nisi hoc foret consilii, mansuros fuisse
if this were not their intention. they would have remained

ad Aliam :— *deinde* *sub occasum solis,* *quia*
at the Allia ; *then* *towards sunset,* *because*
hand multum diei supererat, *ratione* *se*
there was not much of the day remaining, *they imagined* *that they*
invasuros *ante noctem ;* *tum* *consilium*
would attack them *before night ;* *then* *that the design*
dilatatum esse *in noctem,* *quo inferrent* *plus pavoris :*
was put off *until night,* *in order to strike* *the greater terror.*
postremo *appropinquans lux* *exanimare :*
At length *the approach of light* *sunk them in dismay ;*
malumque *ipsum* *fuit continens*
and the evil *itself* *followed closely*
perpetuo timori, *cum signa* *illata sunt*
upon their continued apprehension of it, *when the troops* *marched through*
portis *infesta.* *Ea nocte* *tamen,*
the gates *in hostile array.* *During that night,* *however,*
neque insequenti die, *civitas* *nequaquam fuit similis*
and the following day, *the state by no means bore any resemblance*
illi, *quæ fugerat* *tam pavidè* *ad Aliam : nam,*
to that *which had fled* *in so dastardly a manner* *at the Allia ; for,*
cum *esset nulla spes* *urbem* *posse defendi, tam*
as *there was not a hope* *that the city* *could be defended, so*
parva *manu* *relicta,* *placuit,*
small *a number of troops* *now remaining,* *it was determined*
juventutem militarem *roburque senatus,* *cum*
that the youth fit to bear arms, *and the abler part of the senate* *with*
conjugibus ac liberis, *concedere* *in arcem*
their wives and children, *should retire* *into the citadel*
Capitoliumque ; *que collato* *armis* *et frumento,*
and Capitol ; *and having collected stores of arms* *and corn,*
ex loco inde munito *defendere deos* *hominesque*
should, from that fortified post, *defend the deities,* *the inhabitants,*
et Romanum nomen ; *flaminem* *Vestalesque*
and the Roman name : *that the flamen (Quirinalis)* *and the Vestal*
sacerdotes *auferre* *procul a cæde* *ab incendiis*
priestesses *should carry away* *far from slaughter* *and conflagration*
sacra publica ; *eorum* *cultum*
the holy things of the state : *and that their* *worship*

nec deseri ante, quam non superessent,
 should not be intermitted until there remained none
 qui colerent. Si arx Capitoliumque sedes deorum,
 to perform it. "If the citadel and Capitol, the mansion of the gods,
 si senatus caput publici consilii, si juvenus militaris,
 if the senate, the source of public counsel, if the youth of military age,
 superfuerit imminenti ruinæ urbis, jacturam esse
 should survive the impending ruin of the city, the loss would be
 facilem seniorum turbæ relictæ in urbe
 light of the aged, the crowd left behind in the city, *and who were*
 perituræ utique. Et quo
 sure to perish under any circumstances. And in order that
 de plebe multitudo ferret id
 the plebeian portion of the multitude might bear the thing
 æquiore animo, senes triumphales
 with the greater resignation, the aged nobles, who had enjoyed triumphs
 consularesque palam dicere se obituros
 and consulships, openly declared that they would die
 simul cum illis, ne oneratos inopiam armatorum
 along with them, and would not burden the scanty stores of the armed men
 his corporibus, quibus non possent ferre arma
 with those bodies, with which they were now unable to bear arms
 non tueri patriam. Hæc solatia jactata
 or to defend their country. Such was the consolation addressed to
 inter seniores destinatos morti.
 each other by the aged now destined to death.

XL.—Adhortationes inde versæ ad agmen juvenum,

Their exhortations were then turned to the band of young men,

quos prosequebantur in Capitolium atque in arcem,
 whom they escorted to the Capitol and citadel,
 commendantes eorum virtuti juventæque,
 commending to their valor and youth
 quæcumque esset reliqua, fortunam urbis per
 whatever might be the remaining fortune of a city which for
 trecentos sexaginta annos victricis omnibus bellis.
 three hundred and sixty years had been victorious in all its wars.

Qui ferebant secum omnem spem atque opem.
When those, who carried with them all their hope and resources,
 digredientibus ab his, qui statuerant non superesse
parted with the others, who had determined not to survive
 exitio captæ urbis, cum res ipsa
the destruction of their captured city, both the circumstance itself
 speciesque erat miserabilis, tum
and the appearance it exhibited was really distressing, and also
 fletus muliebris et incerta concursatio,
the weeping of the women and their undecided running together,
 sequentium nunc hos nunc illos rogitantiumque
following now these, now those, and asking
 viros natosque, cui fato darent se,
their husbands and sons to what fate they would consign them,—
 relinquebant nihil, quod superesset humanis malis.
all together left nothing that could be added to human misery.
 Magna pars tamen earum persecutæ sunt suos
A great part, however, of the women followed their relations
 in arcem, nec ullo prohibente nec vocante,
into the citadel, no one either hindering or inviting them ;
 quia id, quod utile obsessis
because the measure, which was advantageous to the besieged,—
 ad minuendam multitudinem imbellem, erat parum
that of lessening the number of useless persons, was but little
 humanum. Alia turba maxime
in accordance with humanity. The rest of the crowd, consisting chiefly
 plebis, quam tam exiguus collis poterat nec capere
of plebeians, whom so small a hill could not contain,
 nec alere in tanta inopia frumenti,
nor could they be supported amid so great a scarcity of corn,
 effusa ex urbe velut jam uno agmine petiit
pouring out of the city as if in one continued train, repaired to
 Janiculum: inde pars dilapsi per agros,
the Janiculum. From thence some were dispersed through the country,
 pars petunt finitimas urbes, sine ullo duce
some made for the neighboring cities, without any leader
 aut consensu, exsequentes quisque suam spem,
or concert, following each his own hopes,

sua consilia, communibus deploratis.
 his own plans, those of the public being deplored *as desperate*
 Interim flamen Quirinalis que Vestales virgines
 In the meantime the Flamen Quirinalis and the vestal virgins,
 omissa cura suarum rerum, consultantes,
 laying aside *all* concern for their own affairs, consulting together
 quæ sacrorum ferenda essent secum, quæ
 which of the sacred deposits should be carried with them, and which
 relinquenda— quia deerant vires ad ferenda
 should be left behind, (for they had not strength to carry
 omnia— quisve locus asservaturus esset ea
 them all), or what place would *best* preserve them
 fideli custodia, ducunt optimum condita in doliolis
 in safe custody, consider it best to enclose them in casks
 defodere sacello proximo ædibus flaminis
 and bury them in the chapel next to the dwelling-house of the Flamen
 Quirinalis— ubi nunc religio est despui :
 Quirinalis, where at present it is profane even to spit.
 cetera ferunt partito onere inter se
 The rest they carry, distributing the burdens among themselves,
 via, quæ ducit sublicio ponte ad Janiculum.
 along the road which leads over the Sublician bridge to the Janiculum.
 Cum L. Albinus Romana homo de plebe,
 When Lucius Albinus, a Roman plebeian,
 habens conjugem ac liberos plaustro,
 who was conveying his wife and children in a wagon,
 conspexisset eas in eo clivo inter ceteram turbam,
 beheld them on that ascent among the rest of the crowd,
 quæ inutilis bello excedebat urbe— etiam tum
 which being unfit for war was retiring from the city, (even then
 discrimine rerum divinarum humanarumque
 the distinction of things divine and human
 salvo— ratus irreligiosum publicos sacerdotes
 being preserved,) thinking it an impiety, that the public priests
 sacraque Romani populi pedibus ire ferrique,
 and sacred utensils of the Roman people should go on foot and be carried,
 se ac suos conspici in vehiculo, jussit
 while he and his family were seen mounted in a carriage, he ordered

uxorem ac pueros descendere, imposuit virgines
 his wife and children to alight, put the virgins
 sacraque in plaustrum et pervexit Cære,
 and sacred things into the wagon, and conveyed them to Cære,
 quo iter sacerdotibus erat.
 whither the journey of the priests was directed.

XLI.—Interim Romæ, omnibus jam compositis
 Meanwhile at Rome, all arrangements being now made,
 ut satis in tali re ad tuendam arcem,
 as far as was possible in such a conjuncture, for the defence of the citadel,
 turba seniorum regressa domos, exspectabat
 the crowd of aged persons having returned to their houses, waited
 adventum hostium animo obstinato ad mortem.
 the coming of the enemy, with minds firmly prepared for death.
 Qui eorum gesserant curules magistratus, ut
 Such of them as had held curule offices, in order that
 morentur in insignibus pristinæ fortunæ
 they may die in the insignia of their former station,
 honorumque aut virtutis, vestiti
 of their honors, or of their merit, robing themselves in
 ea, quæ est augustissima vestis ducentibus
 [what constitutes] the most magnificent vesture worn by those drawing
 tensas triumphantibusve,
 the chariots of the gods in procession or by persons riding in triumph,
 sedere eburnis sellis medio sedium.
 seated themselves in their ivory chairs, in the middle of their halls.
 Sunt, qui tradant eos devovisse se pro patria
 Some there are who say that they devoted themselves for their country
 Quiritibusque Romanis, M. Fabio maximo pontifice
 and the citizens of Rome,— Marcus Fabius, the chief pontiff,
 præfante carmen. Galli, et quia
 dictating the form of words. The Gauls, both because
 interposita nocte remiserant animos
 by the intervention of the night they had abated all angry feelings
 a contentione pugnae, et quod nec certaverant
 arising from the irritation of battle, and as they had neither met

ancipiti prælio in acie usquam, nec tum capiebant
dangerous opposition in the field on any occasion, nor were now taking

urbem impetu aut vi, ingressi postero die
the city by storm or force, entering the next day,

sine ira sine ardore animorum urbem
without any anger or heat of passion, into the city,

Collina porta patente, perveniunt in forum,
through the Colline gate which stood open, advance into the forum,

circumferentes oculos ad templa deorum,
casting around their eyes on the temples of the gods,

arcemque solam tenentem speciem belli.
and on the citadel which alone presented any appearance of war.

Inde, relicto modico præsidio, ne quis impetus fieret
From thence, leaving a small guard, lest any attack should be made

in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio, dilapsi
on them whilst scattered, from the citadel or Capitol, they ran about

ad prædam vacuis occursum hominum viis,
in quest of plunder; and not meeting a human being in the streets,

pars ruunt agmine in quæque tectorum proxima,
part of them rush in a body to the houses that stood nearest;

pars petunt ultima, velut ea demum
part seek the most distant, considering these [for a certainty]

intacta et referta præda. Inde absteriti
to be untouched and abounding with spoil. Afterwards, being terrified

ipsa solitudine, ne qua fraus hostilis exciperet
by the very solitude, lest any stratagem of the enemy should surprise

vagos, rursus redibant conglobati
them whilst being dispersed, they returned in bodies

in forum ac loca propinqua foro, ubi—
into the forum and the parts adjoining to the forum, where

sedificiis plebis obseratis, atrii principum
the houses of the plebeians being shut, and the palaces of the nobles

patentibus,—prope major cunctatio tenebat eos
standing open, almost greater backwardness possessed them

invadendi aperta quam clausa: adeo
in attacking the open than the shut houses; so completely

intuebantur haud secus quam venerabundi viros
did they behold with a sort of veneration men

sedentes in vestibulis ædium, præter ornatum
 sitting in the porches of those palaces, who besides their ornaments
 habitumque augustiorem humano, simillimos diis
 and apparel more august than human, were very like to gods
 majestatem etiam, quam vultus gravitasque
 in the majesty [also] which their looks and the gravity
 oris præ se ferebat. Cum starent versi
 of their countenance displayed. Whilst they stood gazing
 ad eos, velut simulacra, dicitur M. Papirus,
 on these as on statues, it is said that Marcus Papirus,
 unus ex his movisse iram Gallo, incusso
 one of them, provoked the anger of a Gaul by striking him
 in caput eburneo scipione, permulcenti
 on the head with his ivory sceptre, while he was stroking
 suam barbam— ut erat tum omnibus promissa :
 his beard, as it was then universally worn long ;
 atque initium cædis ortum ab eo, ceteros
 and that the commencement of the bloodshed started with him, that the rest
 trucidatos in suis sedibus. Post cædem principum,
 were slain in their seats. After the slaughter of the nobles,
 nulli mortalium deinde parci, tecta diripi,
 no person whatever was [then] spared ; the houses were plundered,
 exhaustis injici ignes.
 and when emptied were set on fire.

XLII.—Ceterum—seu libido delendi urbem

But whether a desire of reducing the city to ruins
 erat non omnibus, seu ita placuerat
 was not alive in all, or it had been so determined
 principibus Gallorum, et quædam incendia
 by the chiefs of the Gauls, both that some fires
 ostentari causa terroris,
 should be presented to their view for the purpose of terrifying them, to see if
 obsessi possent compelli ad deditionem caritate
 the besieged could be forced into a surrender through affection
 suarum sedium, et omnia tecta non concremari,
 for their dwellings, and that all the houses should not be burned down,

ut, quodcumque superesset urbis, haberent id
so that whatever portion should remain of the city, they might hold [that]

pignus ad flectendos animos hostium,— ignis
as a pledge to work upon the minds of the enemy; the fire

nequaquam vagatus est aut passim aut late
by no means spread either indiscriminately or extensively

prima die atque perinde in capta urbe. Romani
on the first day, as is usual in a captured city. The Romans,

cernentes ex arce urbem plenam hostium
beholding from the citadel the city filled with the enemy,

cursusque vagos per omnes vias, cum aliqua
and their running to and fro through all the streets, while some

nova clades oreretur alia atque alia parte,
new calamity arose to their view in every different quarter,

poterant non solum consipere mentibus sed
could not only not preserve their presence of mind but

ne quidem satis constare auribus atque oculis.
not even keep proper control of their ears and eyes.

Quocumque clamor hostium, ploratus mulierum
To whatever side the shouts of the enemy, the cries of women

puerorumque, sonitus flammæ et fragor
and children, the crackling of the flames, and the crash

rurentium tectorum avertisset, paventes
of falling houses, called their attention, thither, deeply shocked

ad omnia flectebant animos oraque et oculos,
at every incident, they turned their thoughts, faces and eyes,

velut positi a fortuna ad spectaculum
as if placed by fortune to be spectators

occidentis patriæ, relictæ vindices nec ullius
of their falling country, and as if left as protectors of no other

suarum rerum præterquam corporum; tanto magis
of their effects, except their own persons: so much more

miserandi ante alios, qui unquam obsessi sunt,
to be commiserated than any others who were ever beleaguered,

quod interclusi a patria obsidebantur,
because, shut out from their native city, they were besieged,

cernentes omnia sua in potestate hostium. Nec
beholding all their possessions in the power of the enemy. Nor

nox excepit tam fœde actum diem
 was the night, which succeeded so shockingly spent a day
 tranquillior: lux deinde insecuta est inquietam
 more tranquil; daylight then followed a restless
 noctem, nec erat ullum tempus, quod cessaret
 night; nor was there any time, which failed
 a spectaculo alicujus semper novæ cladis. Onerari
 of producing the sight of some [ever] new disaster. Loaded
 atque obruti tot malis, tamen flexerunt
 and overwhelmed by so many evils, they notwithstanding remitted
 nihil animos, quin, etsi vidissent
 naught of their firmness, yea rather resolved, though they should see
 omnia flammis ac æquata ruinis, defenderent
 everything in flames and levelled with the dust, to defend
 virtute collem, quem tenebant, parvum inopemque
 by their bravery the hill which they occupied, small and ill-provided
 quamvis, relictum libertati. Et jam, cum
 as it was, being left as a refuge for liberty. And now, as
 eadem acciderent quotidie, velut assueti malis,
 the same events recurred every day, as if habituated to misfortunes,
 abalienaverant animos ab sensu suarum rerum,
 they abstracted their thoughts from all feeling of their circumstances,
 intuentes arma tantum ferrumque in dextris,
 regarding their arms only, and the swords in their right hands,
 velut solas reliquias suæ spei.
 as the sole remnants of their hopes.

XLIII.—Galli quoque,
 The Gauls also,

per aliquot dies gesto
 having for several days waged

modo nequidquam bello in tecta urbis, cum
 only an ineffectual war against the buildings of the city, when
 viderent inter incendia ac ruinas captæ urbis
 they saw that among the fires and ruins of the captured city
 nihil superesse præter armatos hostes,
 nothing now remained except armed enemies, who were
 nec territos quidquam tot cladibus nec flexuros
 neither terrified in the least by so many disasters, nor likely to turn

animos ad deditionem, ni vis adhiberetur, statuunt
their thoughts to a capitulation, unless force were applied, determine

experiri ultima et facere impetum in arcem.
to have recourse to extremities, and to make an assault on the citadel.

Signo dato, prima luce, omnis multitudo instruitur
On a signal given, at the first light, their whole multitude is marshalled

in foro: inde sublato clamore ac facta testudine
in the forum; thence, after raising the shout and forming a testudo,

subeunt. Adversus quos Romani nihil
they advance to the attack. Against whom the Romans, acting neither

temere nec trepide, firmatis stationibus ad omnes
rashly nor precipitately, having strengthened the guards at every

aditus, opposito robore virorum ea,
approach, and opposing the main strength of their men in that quarter

qua videbant signa ferri, sinunt hostem scandere,
where they saw the battalions advancing, suffer the enemy to ascend,

rati quo magis sucesserint in arduum,
judging that the higher they should ascend the hill,

eo facilius posse pelli per proclive.
the more easily might they be driven back down the steep.

Fere medio clivo restitere, atque facto impetu
About the middle of the ascent they met: and making a charge

inde ex superiore loco, qui sua sponte prope
thence from the higher ground, which of itself in a manner

inferebat in hostem, fudere Gallos strage
bore them against the enemy, they routed the Gauls with such slaughter

ac ruina, ut nunquam postea nec pars nec
and destruction, that they never afterward, either in parties or

universi tentaverint tale genus pugnae.
with their whole force made another trial of that kind of fight.

Omissa itaque spe subeundi
Laying aside, therefore, the hope of effecting their approach

per vim atque arma, parant obsidionem,
by force of arms, they prepare for a blockade,

cujus immemores ad id tempus,
of which having had no idea up to that time,

incendiis urbis et absumpserant, quod
they had, during the conflagration of the city, [both] destroyed whatever

frumentum fuerat in urbe, et per ipsos dies
 corn had been in it, and during those very days
 omne raptum erat ex agris Veios :
 all the provisions had been carried off from the land to Veii.
 igitur, diviso exercitu, placuit partim
 Accordingly, dividing their army, it was determined that one part
 prædari per finitimos populos, partim
 should plunder through the neighboring states, while the other
 obsideri arcem, ut populatores agrorum
 carried on the siege of the citadel; so that the ravagers of the country
 præberent obsidentibus frumentum.
 might supply the besiegers with corn.

XLIV.—Fortuna ipsa ad experiendam Romanam
 Fortune herself, in order to make a trial of Roman

virtutem duxit Gallos proficiscentes ab urbe
 valor, led the Gauls, who marched away from the city,
 Ardeam, ubi Camillus exsulabat: qui mæstior
 on to Ardea, where Camillus was in exile: who, more distressed
 ibi fortuna publica quam sua, cum
 [even there] by the fortune of the public than his own, whilst
 senesceret accusandis diis hominibusque,
 he now pined away accusing gods and men,
 indignando mirandoque, ubi essent illi viri,
 burning with indignation, and wondering where were now those men,
 qui secum cepissent Veios Faleriosque, qui
 who with him had taken Veii and Falerii, who
 gessissent alia bella semper fortius quam
 had conducted other wars always with more courage than
 felicius, audit repente exercitum Gallorum
 chance, hears on a sudden that the army of the Gauls
 adventare, atque Ardeates pavidos
 was approaching, and that the people of Ardea, in consternation,
 consultare de eo: nec secus quam taotus
 were met in council on the subject. And as if moved
 divino spiritu, cum intulisset se in
 by divine inspiration, after he advanced into

mediam concionem, ante suetus
 the midst of *their* assembly, having hitherto been accustomed
 abstinere talibus conciliis, inquit, "Ardeates,
 to absent himself from such meetings, he says, "People of Ardea,
 amici veteres, novi mei cives etiam—quando
 my friends of old, of late my fellow-citizens also, (since
 et vestrum beneficium ita tulit et mea fortuna
 [both] your kindness so ordered and my good fortune
 egit hoc,— nemo vestrum putet
 so achieved it,) let not any of you imagine
 me huc processisse oblitum meæ conditionis: sed
 that I have come forward here forgetful of my condition; but
 res ac commune periculum cogit,
 the *present* case and the common danger render it necessary
 quisque conferre in medium, quod præsidii
 that everyone should contribute to the public good whatever service
 possit in trepida re. Et quando
 he can in our *present* alarming situation. And when
 referam gratiam vobis pro vestris tantis meritis in me,
 shall I repay you for your so *very* important services to me,
 si nunc cessavero? Aut ubi erit mei usus vobis,
 if I now be remiss? Or where will I be of benefit to you,
 si non fuerit in bello? Hac arte steti
 if [it is] not in war? By this accomplishment I maintained my rank
 in patria, et invictus bello pulsus sum in
 in my native country: and, unconquered in war, I was banished during
 pace ab ingratis civibus. Vobis autem, Ardeates,
 peace by my ungrateful countrymen. To you now, men of Ardea,
 oblata est fortuna et referendæ gratiæ
 is presented a favorable opportunity [both] of making a recompense
 pro tantis beneficiis pristinis Romani
 for all the valuable favors formerly conferred on you by the Roman
 populi, quanta ipsi meministis—
 people; (how great *these* have been you yourselves remember.
 nec ea enim exprobranda sunt apud memores,—
 nor need they for this reason be cast up to you as being mindful of them,)
 et pariendi huic urbi ingens belli decus
 and of acquiring for this *your* city great military renown

ex communi hoste. *Gens,* qui adventant
over the common enemy. The nation, which is now approaching

effuso agmine, est cui natura dederit animos
in disorderly march, is one to whom nature has given minds

corporaque magis magna quam firma: eo
and bodies of greater size than strength: for which reason

ferunt in omne certamine plus terroris quam virium.
they bring to every contest more of terror than of real vigor.

Clades Romana sit argumento: cepere
The disaster of Rome may serve as a proof of this; they captured

urbem patentem, resistitur his
the city when lying open to them; yet a stand is made against them

exigua manu ex arce Capitolioque. Jam
by a small handful of men from the citadel and Capitol. Already

victi tædio obsidionis abscedunt que
tired out by the slow process of a siege, they retire and

palantur vagi per agros: repleti cibo vinoque
roam about through the country. Gorged with food and wine

raptim hausto, ubi nox appetit,
hastily swallowed, when night comes on,

sternuntur passim ritu ferarum prope
they stretch themselves promiscuously, like brutes, near

rivos aquarum, sine munimento, sine stationibus
streams of water, without intrenchment, without guards

ac custodiis, magis incauti etiam nunc solito
or advanced posts; more incautious even now than usual,

ab secundis rebus. Si est vobis in animo tueri
in consequence of success. If then it is your purpose to defend

vestra moenia, nec pati omnia hæc
your own walls, and not to suffer all these places

fieri Galliam, capite arma frequentes prima
to become a province of Gaul, take up arms in a full body at the first

vigilia, sequimini me ad cædem, non ad pugnam:
watch: follow me to slaughter, not to battle.

nisi tradidero vinctos somno trucidandos,
if I do not deliver them up to you fettered by sleep, to be butchered

velut pecudes, like cattle,	non recuso I decline not	eundem the same	exitum issue
mearum rerum of my affairs	Ardeæ, at Ardea	quem habui as I had	Romæ." at Rome."

XLV.—*Æquis iniquisque persuasum erat esse,*
Both friends and enemies were satisfied that there was

neminem usquam not anywhere,	ea tempestate in that age,	virum a man	tantum so eminently
bello : <i>qualified</i> for the field.	concione The assembly	dimissa, being dismissed,	
curant corpora, they refresh themselves,	intenti, carefully watching	quam mox what moment	signum the signal
daretur : should be given;	quo which	dato, being given,	silentio during the stillness
primæ noctis of the beginning of the night,	præsto-fuere they attended	Camillo Camillus	ad portas. at the gates
Egressi, Having gone forth	haud procul urbe, to no great distance from the city,	nacti they found	
castra Gallorum the camp of the Gauls,	sicut as	prædictum erat, had been foretold,	intuta unguarded
neglectaque and neglected	ab omni parte, on every side,	invadunt and attack it	cum ingenti with a lusty
clamore : shout.	est There was	nusquam prælium, no fight anywhere,	cædes but slaughter
omnibus locis: everywhere;	corpora their bodies,	nuda et soluta naked and relaxed	somno with sleep,
trucidantur. are cut to pieces.	Extremos Those most remote,	tamen however,	excitos e being roused from
suis cubilibus— their beds,	ignaros, not knowing,	quæ vis esset what the tumult was	aut unde— or whence
pavor <i>it came, the general</i> consternation		tulit in fugam directed to flight,	et quosdam and some of them,
improvidos without perceiving it,	in ipsum hostem : into the very midst of the enemy.	magna pars A great number	
delati flying	in agrum Antiatem, into the territory of Antium,	incursum facta an attack being made	

in palatos ab oppidanis, circumveniuntur.
on them in their straggling march by the towns-people, were surrounded

Similis strages facta est Tuscorum in agro
and cut off. A like carnage was made of the Tuscans in the territory

Veienti, qui adeo nihil miseriti sunt urbis,
of Veii; for they felt so little compassion for a city, which had

vicinæ jam prope quadringentesimum annum,
been its neighbor now near four hundred years,

oppressæ ab invisitato inauditoque hoste, ut
and was overpowered by a strange and unheard-of enemy, that

eo tempore facerent incursiones in Romanum agrum,
at that very time they made incursions on the Roman territory;

plenique prædæ habuerint in animo etiam oppugnare
and laden with booty, had it in contemplation even to lay siege to

Veios præsidium et ultimam spem Romani nominis.
Veii,— the bulwark and last hope of the Roman race.

Romani milites viderant eos, vagantes per agros
The Roman soldiers there had seen them, straggling over the country,

et congregatos agmine, agentes prædam præ se,
and also collected in a body, driving the prey before them,

et cernebant castra posita haud procul Veis.
and now perceived their camp pitched at no great distance from Veii.

Inde primum miseratio sui, deinde indignitas
Upon this, first self-commiseration, then indignation,

atque ex ea ira cepit animos: suasne
and after that resentment, took possession of their minds: "Were their

clades esse ludibrio etiam Etruscis, a quibus
calamities to be a subject of mockery even to the Etrurians, from whom

avertissent Gallicum bellum in se? Vix
they had turned off the Gallic war on themselves?" Scarce

temperavere animis, quin facerent impetum
could they curb their passions so far as not to make the attack upon them

extemplo, compressique a Cædicio, quem ipsi
that instant; but being restrained by Quintus Cædicus, whom they

sibimet præfecerant, sustinuerunt rem in noctem.
had appointed their commander, they deferred the matter until night.

Auctor par Camillo tantum defuit, cetera
A leader, equal to Camillus, was all that was wanted; in other respects

gesta	eodem ordine	eodemque
matters were conducted	in the same order	and with the same
fortunæ eventū.	Quin etiam	ducibus captivis,
fortunate result.	Moreover,	under the guidance of some prisoners
qui superfuerant	nocturnæ cædi,	profecti ad Salinas
who had survived	the nightly slaughter,	they advanced to Salinas
ad aliam manum	Tuscorum,	nocte insequente
against another body	of Tuscans,	and on the night following
ex improvise	edidere majorem cædem,	redeuntque
by a sudden surprise	made still greater havoc,	and then returned
Veios ovantes	duplici victoria.	
to Veil exulting	in their double victory.	

XLVI.—Interim Romæ obsidio plerumque
 Meanwhile, at Rome, the siege, in general,

segnis et esse	silentium	utrimque,	Gallis
was slow and there was	quiet	on both sides,	the Gauls
intentis	tantum ad id,	ne quis hostium	
being intent	only on this,	that none of the enemy	
posset evadere	inter stationes,	cum repente	
should escape	from between their posts ;	when on a sudden	
Romanus	juvenis	convertit	in se
a Roman	youth	drew	on himself
admiratione cives	hostesque.	Erat	
the admiration both of his countrymen	and the enemy.	There was	
sacrificium	statum	Fabiæ genti	in
a sacrifice solemnized	at stated times	by the Fabian family	on
Quirinali colle :	ad faciendum id	C. Fabius Dorso	
the Quirinal hill.	To perform this	Caius Fabius Dorso	
cum descendisset	de Capitolio,	Gabino cinctus,	
having come down	from the Capitol,	in the Gabian cincture,	
gerens manibus	sacra,	egressus per medias	
carrying in his hands	the sacred utensils,	passed out through the midst	
hostium stationes,	nihil motus	ad vocem	
of the enemy's posts,	without being at all moved	by the calls	
terroremve	cujusquam,	pervenit in Quirinalem	
or threats	of any of them, and proceeded	to the Quirinal	

collem, que sollemniter peractis ibi omnibus
 hill; and after solemnly performing there all the sacred rites

revertens eadem similiter constanti vultu
 coming back by the same way, with the same firm countenance

graduque— satis sperans deos esse propitios,
 and gait, confident that the gods were propitious,

quorum cultum ne quidem deseruisset prohibitus
 whose worship he had not even neglected when prohibited

metu mortis— rediit in Capitolium ad suos,
 by the fear of death, he returned to the Capitol to his friends,

Gallis seu attonitis miraculo audaciæ, seu motis
 the Gauls being either astounded at his amazing confidence, or moved

etiam religione, cujus gens est
 even by considerations of religion, of which the nation is

haudquaquam negligens. Interim non tantum
 by no means regardless. In the mean time, not only

animi sed vires etiam Veiis crescebant in dies
 the courage but the strength [also] of those at Veii increased daily,

nec solum Romanis convenientibus eo ex agris,
 not only those Romans repairing thither from the country

qui fuerant palati aut adverso proelio aut
 who had strayed away [either] after the unsuccessful battle, or

clade urbis captæ, sed voluntariis etiam
 the disaster of the city being taken, but volunteers also

confluentibus ex Latio, ut essent in parte prædæ.
 flowing in from Latium, to come in for share of the spoil.

Jam videbatur maturum, patriam repeti,
 It now seemed high time that their country should be recovered

eripique ex manibus hostium, sed caput deerat
 and rescued from the hands of the enemy. But a head was wanting

valido corpori. Ipse locus admonebat Camilli, et
 to this strong body. The very spot reminded them of Camillus, an

magna pars erat militum qui res gesserant prospere
 considerable part consisted of soldiers who had fought successfully

ejus ductu auspicioque : et Cædicus
 under his guidance and auspices : and Cædicus

negare se commissurum, cur quisquam aut deorum
 declared that he would not give occasion that any one, whether god

aut hominum finiret imperium potius, quam
or man, should terminate his command rather than that

memor sui ordinis ipse posceret
mindful of his own rank, he would himself call for the appointment of

imperatorem. Omnium consensu placuit Camillum
a general. With universal consent it was resolved that Camillus

acciri ab Ardea, sed antea senatu, qui esset
should be invited from Ardea, but that first the senate [which was]

Romæ, consulto: adeo pudor regebat
at Rome should be consulted: so far did a sense of propriety regulate

omnia, que servabant discrimina
every proceeding, and so carefully did they observe the distinctions

rerum prope perditis rebus. Transeundum erat
of things in their almost desperate circumstances. They had to pass

ingenti periculo per hostium custodias: ad eam rem
at great risk through the enemy's guards. For this purpose

impiger juvenis, Pontius Cominius, pollicitus operam,
a spirited youth Pontius Cominius offered his services,

incubans cortici defertur secundo Tiberi ad
and supporting himself on cork was carried down the Tiber to

urbem: inde, qua a ripa fuit
the city. From thence, where the distance from the bank was

proximum, evadit in Capitolium per saxum
shortest, he made his way into the Capitol over a part of the rock

præruptum eoque neglectum hostium custodiæ,
that was craggy and therefore neglected by the enemy's guard:

et ductus ad magistratus edit mandata
and being conducted to the magistrates he delivers the message

exercitus. Inde accepto senatus consulto, uti
of the army. Then having received a decree of the senate, both that

Camillus revocatus de exilio comitiis curiatis
Camillus should be recalled from exile in an assembly of the curias

extemplo diceretur dictator jussu populi,
and instantly nominated dictator by order of the people,

militesque haberent imperatorem quem vellent,
and that the soldiers should have the general whom they wished,

degressus eadem contendit nuntius Veios.
going out by the same way, he proceeded with his dispatches to Veii

legatique missi Ardeam ad Camillum perduxere
 and deputies, being sent to Ardea to Camillus, conducted
 eum Veios, seu lex lata est curiata,
 him to Veii: or else the law was passed by the curia,
 dictusque dictator absens— quod magis libet
 and he was appointed dictator in his absence; for I am more inclined
 credere non profectum ab Ardea prius, quam
 to believe that he did not set out from Ardea until
 comperit legem latam, quod posset
 he found that the law was passed; because he could
 nec mutari finibus injussu populi, nec
 neither change his residence without an order of the people, nor
 habere auspicia in exercitu, nisi dictus
 hold the *privilege of the auspices* in the army, until he was nominated
 dictator.
 dictator.

XLVII.—Dum hæc agebantur Veiiis, interim

Whilst these things were going on at Veii, in the meanwhile

arx Capitoliumque Romæ fuit in ingenti periculo.
 the citadel and Capitol of Rome were in great danger.
 Namque Galli, seu notato vestigio humano,
 For the Gauls, either having perceived the track of a human foot
 qua nuntius a Veiiis pervenerat, seu
 where the messenger from Veii had passed, or
 sua sponte animadverso æquo ascensu saxorum
 having of themselves remarked the easy ascent by the rock
 ad Carmentis, sublustri nocte, cum
 at the temple of Carmentis; on a moonlight night, after
 primo præmisissent inermem, qui tentaret
 they had at first sent forward an unarmed person to make trial of
 viam, tradentes arma inde, ubi quid iniqui esset,
 the way; delivering their arms to those ahead, when any difficulty occurred
 invicem innixi sublevantesque alterni et
 alternately supported and supporting each other, and
 trahentes alii alios, prout locus postularet, evasere
 drawing each other up, according as the ground required; they climbed

in summum tanto silentio, ut non solum fallerent
 to the summit in such silence, that they not only escaped the notice of
 custodes, sed ne quidem excitarent canes— animal
 the sentinels but did not even alarm the dogs, an animal
 sollicitum ad strepitus nocturnos. Anseres
 extremely wakeful with respect to noises by night. *The notice of the geese,*
 non fefellerent, quibus, sacris Junoni,
 however, they did not escape, which, being sacred to Juno,
 abstinebatur tamen in summa inopia cibi :
 the people had spared though they were in the greatest scarcity of food ;
 quæ res fuit saluti : namque
 which circumstance was the means of their preservation ; for
 clangore eorum crepituque alarum
 by the cackling of these creatures, and the clapping of their wings
 M. Manlius excitus, vir egregius bello,
 Marcus Manlius was roused from sleep,— a man distinguished in war
 qui fuerat consul triennio ante, arreptis armis,
 who had been consul the third year before ; and snatching up his armor
 simul ciens ceteros ad arma vadit :
 at the same time calling the rest to arms ! he hastened
 et, dum ceteri trepidant
 to the spot ; and, whilst the others are thrown into confusion,
 ictum umbone deturbat Gallum, qui
 he, by a stroke with the boss of his shield tumbles down a Gaul, who
 jam constiterat in summo. Cum casus cujus
 had already got footing on the summit ; and when the fall of this man,
 prolapsi sterneret proximos, trucidant
 as he tumbled, threw down those who were next, he slew
 alios trepidantes omissois armis,
 several others who in their consternation had thrown away their arms,
 amplexosque manibus saxa, quibus adhærebant.
 and caught hold of the rocks to which they clung.
 Jamque alii et congregati proturbare hostes
 And now the others also having assembled beat down the enemy
 telis missilibus saxisque, totaque acies
 by javelins and stones, and the entire band,
 prolapsa deferri in præceps
 having lost their footing, were hurled down the precipice

ruina. Tumultu deinde sedato
in promiscuous ruin. The alarm then subsiding

reliquum noctis datum est quieti— quantum
the remainder of the night was given to repose, as far as

poterat in turbatis mentibus, cum periculum
could be done in such disturbed state of their minds, when the danger,

quoque præteritum sollicitaret. Luce
even though past, still kept them in a state of anxiety. Day

orta, militibus vocatis classico
having appeared, the soldiers were summoned by sound of trumpet

ad tribunos ad concilium, cum pretium deberetur
to attend the tribunes in assembly, when recompense was to be made

et recte facto et perperam, Manlius primum laudatus
both to merit and to demerit; Manlius was first of all commended

ob virtutem donatusque non solum
for his bravery, and presented with gifts, not only

ab tribunis militum, sed consensu etiam militari,
by the military tribunes, but with consent [also] of the soldiers,

cui universi contulerunt ad ejus ædes, quæ erant
for they all carried to his house, which was

in arce, selibras farris et quartarios vini,—
in the citadel, a contribution of half a pound of corn and half a pint of wine,—

rem parvam dictu, ceterum inopia
a present trifling in the relation, but the prevailing scarcity

fecerat eam ingens argumentum caritatis, cum quisque
rendered it a strong proof of esteem, since each man,

fraudans se suo victu, conferret ad honorem
depriving himself of his own food, contributed in honor

unius viri detractum corpori atque
of one person a portion subtracted from his body and

necessariis usibus. Tum vigiles ejus loci,
from his necessary supplies. Then the guards of that place,

qua hostis ascendens fefellerat, citati :
where the enemy had climbed up unobserved, were summoned

et cum Q. Sulpicius pronuntiasset
and when Quintus Sulpicius declared openly

se animadversurum in omnes more
that he would punish all according to the usage of

militari, deterritus, consentiente clamore
military discipline, yet being deterred by the consentient shout

militum conjicientium culpam in unum vigilem,
of the soldiers who threw the blame on one sentinel,

abstinuit a ceteris, haud dubium reum ejus noxæ
he spared the rest. The one who was manifestly guilty of the crime

dejecit de saxo approbantibus cunctis.
he threw down from the rock with the approbation of all.

Inde custodiæ utrimque esse intentiores,
From this time forth the guards on both sides became more vigilant;

et apud Gallos, quia vulgatum erat
[both] on the part of the Gauls, because a rumor spread

nuntios commeare inter Veios Romamque, et
that messengers passed between Veii and Rome; and

apud Romanos, ab memoria periculi
on that of the Romans, from their recollection of the danger

nocturni.
they had been in during the night.

XLVIII.—Sed, ante omnia mala belli
But beyond all the evils of the war

obsidionisque, fames urgebat utrimque exercitum,
and the siege, famine distressed both armies;

pestilentia etiam Gallos, cum habentes castra
pestilence, moreover, oppressed the Gauls, both as being encamped

loco jacente inter tumulos, tum torrido
in low ground lying between hills, as well as heated

ab incendiis et pleno vaporis, ferenteque
by the burning of the buildings, and full of exhalations, and sending up

non modo pulverem cinerem, cum quid motum esset
not only ashes but embers, whenever there was the least gust

venti: que cum gens, assueta humori ac frigori,
of wind; and as the nation, accustomed to moisture and cold,

intolerantissima quorum, vexata
is most intolerant of these annoyances, and suffering severely

æstu et angore, morerentur, morbis vulgatis
from the heat and suffocation, they were dying, the diseases spreading

velut in pecua, jam pigritia sepeliendi singulos,
as among cattle; and now growing weary of burying separately,

acervatos hominum cumulos promiscue urebant:
they gathered the bodies in heaps promiscuously, and burnt them;

que fecere locum inde insignem nomine
and rendered the place [ever after] remarkable by the name

Gallicorum bustorum. Induciæ deinde factæ cum
of the Gallie piles. A truce was now made with

Romanis, et colloquia habita permissu imperatorum:
the Romans, and conferences held with permission of the commanders;

in quibus, cum Galli identidem objicerent famem
in which when the Gauls frequently alluded to the famine,

eaque vocarent necessitate ad deditionem, dicitur,
and thence inferred the necessity of their surrendering, it is said, that

causa avertendæ ejus opinionis, panis jactatus esse
for the purpose of removing this opinion, bread was thrown

multis locis de Capitolio in stationes hostium.
in many places from the Capitol, into the advanced posts of the enemy.

Sed fames poterat jam neque dissimulari neque
But the famine could [now] neither be dissembled nor

ferri ultra: itaque,— dum dictator per se habet
endured any longer. Accordingly, whilst the dictator is in person holding

dilectum Ardeæ jubet magistrum equitum
a levy of troops at Ardea, and orders his master of the horse,

L. Valerium abducere exercitum a Veiiis,
Lucius Valerius, to bring up the forces from Veli,

parat instruitque, quibus adoriatur
and makes such preparations and arrangements as that he may attack

hostes haud impar,— interim exercitus Capitolinus,
the enemy on equal terms, in the meantime the army of the Capitol,

fessus stationibus vigiliisque, tamen superatis
wearied out with keeping guard and with watches, having [yet] surmounted

omnibus humanis malis, cum famem unam natura
all human sufferings, whilst as to famine alone nature

non sineret vinci, prospectans diem de die
would not allow it to be overcome, looking out day after day

ecquod auxilium appareret ab dictatore, postremo
for any assistance which might come from the dictator, at last

non solum cibo, spe quoque jam deficiente, et
not only provisions but hope also [now] failing, and

armis, cum procederent stationes, prope obruentibus
their arms, whilst they went forward on guard, almost weighing down

infirmum corpus, jussit vel dedi,
their feeble bodies, insisted that there either should be a surrender,

vel se redimi quacumque pactione possent;
or that they should be bought off on whatever terms were possible,

Gallis jactantibus non obscure, se posse adduci
the Gauls intimating rather plainly that they could be induced

haud magna mercede, ut relinquant obsidionem.
for no very great compensation to relinquish the siege.

Tum senatus habitus, negotiumque datum
Then the senate was held, and instructions were given

tribunis militum, ut paciscerentur. Res
to the military tribunes, to capitulate. The business

inde transacta est colloquio inter Q. Sulpicium
was afterwards managed in a conference between Quintus Sulpicius,

tribunum militum et Brennum regulum Gallorum
a military tribune, and Brennus, the chieftain of the Gauls,

et mille pondo auri factum pretium
and one thousand pounds' weight of gold was fixed as the ransom

populi mox imperaturi gentibus. Rei
of a people who were soon after to be the rulers of the world. To a transaction

foedissimæ per se, indignitas adjecta est,
so very humiliating in itself, insult was added.

iniqua pondera allata ab Gallis, et,
False weights were brought by the Gauls, and

tribuno recusante, gladius additus
on the tribune objecting to them, his sword was thrown in in addition

ponderi ab insolente Gallo, voxque audita
to the weight by the insolent Gaul, and an expression was heard

intoleranda Romanis "væ victis esse!"
intolerable to the Romans, "Woe to the vanquished!"

XLIX.—Sed diique et homines

But both gods and men stood forth to
 prohibuere Romanos vivere redemptos.
 prevent the Romans from living on the condition of being ransomed;
 Nam quadam forte, prius quam infanda merces
 for by some chance, before the abominable payment
 perficeretur, omni auro nondum appenso
 was completed, all the gold being not yet weighed
 per altercationem, dictator intervenit, jubetque
 in consequence of the altercation, the dictator comes up, and orders
 aurum auferri de medio et Gallos submoveri.
 the gold to be carried away from thence, and the Gauls to clear away.
 Cum renitentes illi dicerent sese
 When they, holding out against him, affirmed that they
 pactos negat eam pactionem esse ratam,
 had concluded a bargain, he denied that such agreement was valid,
 quæ facta esset ab magistratu inferioris juris
 which had been made with a magistrate of inferior authority
 injussu suo, postquam ipse creatus esset dictator,
 without his orders, after he had been created dictator;
 denuntiatque Gallis ut expediant se ad prælium.
 and he gives notice to the Gauls to prepare for battle.
 Suos jubet conjicere sarcinas in acervum,
 His own men he orders to throw their baggage in a heap,
 et aptare arma, que recuperare patriam ferro,
 and to get ready their arms, and to recover their country with steel,
 non auro, habentes in conspectu fana deum,
 not with gold, having before their eyes the temples of the gods,
 et conjuges, et liberos, et solum patriæ deforme
 [and] their wives and children, [and] the soil of their country disfigured
 malis belli et omnia, quæ
 by the calamities of war, and all those objects which
 fas sit defendi repetique et ulcisci.
 was their solemn duty to defend, to recover and to revenge.
 Deinde instruit aciem, ut natura loci patiebatur,
 He then drew up his army, as the nature of the place admitted,
 in solo semirutæ urbis, et inæquali natura,
 on the site of the half-demolished city, [and] which was uneven by nature

et providit omnia secunda suis, quæ
 and he secured all those advantages for his own men, which
 poterant præparari eligive arte belli. Galli,
 could be prepared or selected by knowledge in war. The Gauls,
 trepidi nova re, capiunt arma, iraque
 alarmed at the unexpected event, take up arms, and with rage,
 magis, quam consilio, incurrunt in Romanos.
 rather than good judgment, rushed upon the Romans.
 Fortuna jam verterat, jam opes deorum humanaque
 Fortune had now changed; now divine favor and human
 consilia adjuvabant Romanam rem. Primo concursu
 wisdom aided the Roman cause. At the first onset,
 igitur Galli fusi sunt haud majore momento quam
 therefore, the Gauls were routed with no greater difficulty than
 vicerant ad Aliam. Deinde vincuntur
 they had found in gaining the victory at Allia. They were afterwards beaten
 ductu auspicioque ejusdem Camilli
 under the conduct and auspices of the same Camillus,
 altero justiore prælio ad octavum lapidem Gabina via,
 in a more regular engagement, at the eighth stone on the Gabine road,
 quo contulerant se ex fuga. Ibi
 whither they had betaken themselves after their defeat. There
 cædes obtinuit omnia: castra capiuntur et relictus
 the slaughter was universal: their camp was taken, and there was left
 ne quidem nuntius cladis. Dictator,
 not even a single person to carry news of the disaster. The dictator,
 recuperata patria ex hostibus, redit in urbem
 having thus recovered his country from the enemy, returns into the city
 triumphans, interque inconditos militares jocos,
 in triumph; and among the rough military jests
 quos jaciunt appellabatur laudibus
 which they throw out on such occasions, he is styled, with praises
 haud vanis Romulus ac parens patrie, alterque
 not unmerited, Romulus and parent of his country, and a second
 conditor urbis.
 founder of the city.

CONTENTS OF BOOK XXI

Rise of the second Punic war. Hannibal's character. In violation of a treaty he passes the Iberus; besieges, and after eight months, takes Saguntum. The Romans send an embassy to Carthage; declare war. Hannibal crosses the Pyrenees; makes his way through Gaul; with great fatigue passes the Alps; defeats the Romans at the river Ticinus, in a fight between the cavalry, in which P. Cornelius Scipio, being wounded, is saved by his son, afterward Africanus. The Romans again defeated at the Trebia. Cneius Cornelius Scipio defeats the Carthaginian army in Spain, and makes Hanno, their general, prisoner. [U. C. 534-535; B. C. 218-217.]

LIBER VICESIMUS PRIMUS.

BOOK TWENTY-FIRST.

I.—In parte mei operis mihi licet præfari,
 At this division of my work I may be allowed to premise,
 quod plerique scriptores rerum professi sunt
 what most writers of history have professed
 in principio totius summæ, me scripturum
 at the beginning of their whole undertaking: that I am going to write of
 bellum maxime memorabile omnium, quæ
 a war the most memorable of all that
 unquam gesta sint, quod Carthaginienses
 were ever waged;— that which the Carthaginians,
 duce Hannibale gessere cum Romano populo.
 under the conduct of Hannibal, maintained with the Roman people.
 Nam neque ullæ civitates gentesque
 For never did any states and nations
 validiores inter se opibus contulerunt arma, neque
 more efficient in their resources engage in a contest of arms: nor
 his ipsis unquam fuit tantum
 did these same nations at any other period possess so great a degree
 virium aut roboris: et conserebant haud artes belli
 of power and energy. They brought into action too no arts of war
 ignotas inter sese, sed expertas
 unknown to each other, but those which had been tried
 primo Punico bello: et adeo varia fuit fortuna belli
 in the first Punic war; and so various was the fortune of the conflict

ancepsque Mars, ut, qui vicerunt,
and so doubtful the victory, that those who conquered in the end

fuerint propius periculum : etiam
were at times brought nearest to destruction. Besides,

certarunt prope majoribus odiis quam
they went into the contest with almost a greater degree of rancor than

viribus, Romanis indignantibus, quod victi
of strength, the Romans being indignant that the vanquished

ultro inferrent arma victoribus, Poenis,
aggressively took up arms against their victors; the Carthaginians,

quod crederent imperitatum esse victis
because they imagined that it had been lorded over them in their subjection

superbe avareque. Fama est etiam, Hannibalem
with haughtiness and avarice. There is a story, too, that Hannibal,

ferme novem annorum, pueriliter blandientem
when about nine years old, while boyishly coaxing

patri Hamilcari, ut duceretur in Hispaniam,
his father Hamilcar that he might be taken with him to Spain,

cum perfecto Africo bello
(at the time when, upon the completion of the African war,

sacrificaret trajecturus exercitum eo,
he was offering sacrifices on the eve of transporting his army thither,)

admotum altaribus, tactis sacris
was conducted to the altars; and having laid his hand on the offerings,

adactum jurejurando, se fore, cum primum posset,
was bound by a solemn oath "to prove himself, as soon as he could,

hostem Romano populo. Amissæ Sicilia
an enemy to the Roman people." The loss of Sicily

Sardiniaque angebant virum ingentis spiritus:
and Sardinia chagrined him as being a man of high spirit;

nam et Siciliam concessam nimis celeri
for he deemed [both] that Sicily had been given up through a too hasty

desperatione rerum, et Sardiniam
despair of their affairs; and that Sardinia

interceptam fraude Romanorum
had been snatched out of their hands by a fraudulent move of the Romans

inter motum Africæ, insuper etiam
 during the commotions in Africa, while in addition even
 stipendio imposito.
 the payment of a tribute had been imposed on them.

II.—Anxius his curis ita gessit se,
 Being disturbed with these anxieties, he so conducted himself,
 per quinque annos Africo bello, quod fuit
 during the five years in the African war, which followed
 sub recentem pacem Romanam, deinde ita
 soon after the late pacification with Rome, and then [likewise]
 novem annis augendo Punico imperio in Hispania,
 through nine years spent in augmenting the Carthaginian empire in Spain,
 ut appareret, eum agitare in animo majus bellum,
 that it was obvious he was revolving in his mind a greater war
 quam quod gereret, et, si vixisset diutius,
 than any which he was then engaged in; and that, if he had lived longer,
 Pœnos, qui intulerunt
 the Carthaginians, who as it is made their invasion
 ductu Hannibale, illaturos fuisse arma Italiæ
 under the conduct of Hannibal, would have carried their arms into Italy
 duce Hamilcare. Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna
 under the generalship of Hamilcar. The death of Hamilcar very seasonable
 et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum.
 for Rome and the unripe age of Hannibal delayed hostilities.
 Hasdrubal medius inter patrem ac filium
 Hasdrubal, intervening between father and son,
 obtinuit imperium ferme octo annos, primo conciliatus
 held the command for about eight years. He was first endeared
 Hamilcari, uti ferunt, flore setatis,
 to Hamilcar, as they say, on account of his youthful beauty,
 inde ascitus gener ob
 and was afterwards adopted by him as his son-in-law on account of
 aliam indolem profecto animi, et,
 his other qualifications,— those undoubtedly of the mind; and
 quia erat gener, positus in imperio
 because he was his son-in-law, he was invested with the command-in-chief

haud sane voluntate principum opibus
 against the wishes of the nobles, by the influence

Barcinæ factionis, quæ apud milites plebemque
 of the Barcinæ faction, which among the military and the commons

erant plus quam modicæ. Gerens plura
 was exceedingly powerful. Prosecuting his designs more frequently

consilio quam vi, is auxit Carthaginiensem rem
 by means of policy than by force, he aggrandized the Carthaginian power

magis hospitiiis regulorum conciliandisque
 more by friendly connections with the petty princes, and by gaining the favor

novis gentibus per amicitiam principum quam armis
 of unknown nations through the friendship of their leaders, than by arms

aut bello. Ceterum pax fuit nihilo tutior ei :
 or wars. Yet peace was none the safer for him personally.

quidam barbarus ob iram domini interfecti
 One of the barbarians, in resentment of his master having been put to death

ab eo palam obtruncat eum ; comprehensusque
 by him, openly assassinated him ; and having been seized

ab circumstantibus, haud alio vultu, quam si
 by the bystanders, he exhibited the same countenance as if

evasisset, quoque cum laceraretur tormentis,
 he had escaped ; nay even when racked with tortures,

fuit eo habitu oris, ut præbuerit speciem
 he wore such an expression of face, that he presented the appearance

etiam ridentis lætitia superante dolores.
 [even] of one smiling, his exultation getting the better of his pains.

Cum hoc Hasdrubal, quia fuerat miræ artis
 With this Hasdrubal, because he possessed such wonderful skill

in sollicitandis gentibus jungendisque suo imperio,
 in gaining over the nations and attaching them to his government,

Romanus populus renovaverat foedus, ut
 the Roman people had renewed the treaty, on the terms, that

amnis Iberus esset finis utriusque imperii,
 the river Iberus should be the boundary of both empires ;

Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia
 and that to the Saguntines who lay between the territories

duorum populorum libertas servaretur.
 of the two states, their liberty should be preserved.

III.—Fuit haud dubia res, quin
 There was no doubt that is voting

in locum Hasdrubalis favor plebis sequeretur
 for a successor to Hasdrubal, the approbation of the commons would follow

prærogativam militarem, qua juvenis Hannibal
 the lead of the military, by which the young Hannibal

extemplo delatus erat in prætorium appellatusque
 had been immediately carried to headquarters, and saluted

imperator ingenti clamore atque assensu omnium.
 as general amid the loud shouts and acquiescence of all.

Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal arcessierat
 This youth, when scarce yet arrived at manhood, Hasdrubal had invited

litteris ad se: resque etiam acta fuerat
 by letter to come to him; and the matter had even been discussed

in senatu Barcinis nitentibus, ut Hannibal
 in the senate, the Barcine faction using their efforts, that Hannibal

assuesceret militiæ atque succederet
 might be trained to military service and succeed

in opes paternas: Hanno, princeps alterius factionis,
 to the power of his father. Hanno, the leader of the other faction,

inquit, "Hasdrubal et videtur postulare æquum,
 said, "Hasdrubal seems indeed to demand what is reasonable,

et ego tamen non censeo quod petit, tribuendum."
 but I, nevertheless, do not think that his request ought to be granted."

Cum convertisset in se omnes admiratione
 When he had attracted to himself the attention of all through surprise

tam ancipitis sententiæ, inquit, "Hasdrubal
 at such an ambiguous opinion, he proceeded: "Hasdrubal

censet eum florem ætatis, quem ipse præbuit
 thinks that the flower of youth, which he gave

fruendum Hannibalis patri, justo jure repeti
 to the enjoyment of Hannibal's father, may justly be claimed in return.

 a filio: tamen minime decet
 by himself from the son. It would, however, by no means become

nos, assuefacere nostram juventutem
 us to accustom our youth,

pro militari rudimento libidini prætorum.
 instead of a military education, to the lustful ambition of generals.

An hoc timemus, ne filius Hamilcar
 Are we afraid lest the son of Hamilcar
 nimis sero videat immodica imperia et speciem
should be too late in seeing the immoderate power and parade
 paterni regni, et parum mature serviamus
of his father's sovereignty? or that we shall not soon enough become slaves
 filio ejus, cujus genero regis nostri exercitus
to the son of him, to whose son-in-law, as to a king's, our armies
 relictis sint hereditarii? Ego censeo
were bequeathed as an hereditary right? I am of opinion,
 istum juvenem tenendum domi, docendum
that this youth should be kept at home, and taught,
 sub legibus sub magistratibus vivere
under the restraint of the laws and the authority of magistrates, to live
 æquo jure cum ceteris, ne quandoque
on an equal footing with the rest of the citizens, lest at some time or other
 hic parvus ignis exsuscitet ingens incendium."
this small fire should kindle a vast conflagration."

IV.—Pauci, ac ferme quisque optimus
 A few, and nearly everyone of the highest merit,
 assentiebantur Hannoni: sed, ut plerumque fit,
concurred with Hanno; but, as it generally happens,
 major pars vicit meliorem. Hannibal
the more numerous party prevailed over the better. Hannibal,
 missus in Hispaniam statim primo adventu
having been sent into Spain, from his very first arrival
 convertit omnem exercitum in se. Veteres milites
drew the eyes of the whole army upon him. The veteran soldiers
 credere Hamilcarem juvenem redditum sibi;
imagined that Hamilcar, in his youth, was restored to them;
 intueri eundem vigorem in vultu vimque in oculis
they remarked the same vigor in his looks and animation in his eye,
 lineamenta habitumque oris: dein brevi
the same features and expression of countenance; and then in a short time
 effecit, ut pater esset in se minimum
he so managed, that the memory of his father was to them of the smallest

momentum	ad conciliandum favorem.	Nunquam fuit		
consideration	in conciliating their esteem.	Never was there		
idem ingenium	habilius	ad diversissimas res,		
a [like] genius	more fitted	for the <i>two</i> most opposite duties		
parendum	atque	imperandum.	Itaque	
of obeying	and	commanding ;	so that	
haud facile discerneres,	utrum	esset	carior	
you could not easily decide	whether	he were	more beloved	
imperator	an exercitui :	neque	Hasdrubal malle	
by the general	or the army :	and neither	did Hasdrubal prefer	
præficere quemquam alium,	ubi	quid agendum		
intrusting the command to any other,	when	anything was to be done		
fortiter	ac	strenue,	neque	milites
with courage	and	activity ;	nor	did the soldiers
plus confidere aut audere		alio duce.		
feel more confidence and boldness		under any other leader.		
Plurimum	erat	audaciæ	ad capessenda	pericula,
Passing great	was	his intrepidity	in facing	danger,
plurimum	consilii	inter ipsa pericula :		
exceeding great	his presence of mind	when in the very midst of them.		
nullo labore	poterat aut corpus fatigari	aut animus		
By no hardship	could his body be exhausted	or his spirit		
vinci.	Caloris	ac	frigoris	patientia
broken.	For heat	or	for cold	his power of endurance
par :	modus cibi potionisque	finitus		
was equally great.	The quantity of his food and drink	was limited		
desiderio	naturali,	non voluntate.	Tempora	
by the wants	of nature,	and not by pleasure.	The seasons	
somni	vigiliarumque	discriminata	nec die	
of his sleeping	and waking	were distinguished	neither by day	
nec nocte :	id,	quod superesset gerendis rebus		
nor night.	The time	that remained after the transaction of business		
datum	quieti :	ea	arcessita	neque molli
was given	to repose ;	but that repose	was invited	neither by a soft
strato	neque silentio.	Multi sæpe conspexerunt		
bed	nor by quiet retirement.	Many have [repeatedly] seen		
opertum	militari sagulo	jacentem humi	inter	
him wrapped	in a military cloak,	lying on the ground	amid	

custodias stationesque militum. Vestitus
 the watches and outposts of the soldiers. His dress
 nihil excellens inter æquales: arma atque
 was not at all superior to that of his equals: his armor and
 equi conspiciebantur. Erat idem longe primus
 horses were conspicuous. He was at once by far the first
 equitum peditumque: princeps ibat in proelium,
 of the cavalry and infantry; and, foremost to advance to the charge,
 ultimus excedebat conserto proelio. Ingentia vitia
 he was last to leave the engagement. Excessive vices
 æquabant has tantas virtutes viri, inhumana
 counterbalanced these eminent virtues of the hero; inhuman
 crudelitas, plus quam Punica perfidia, nihil veri,
 cruelty, more than Punio perfidy, no truth,
 nihil sancti, nullus metus deum, nullum jusjurandum,
 no regard for sanctity, no reverence for the gods, no respect for oaths,
 nulla religio. Cum hac indole
 no sense of religion. Endowed with such a disposition,
 virtutum atque vitiorum meruit sub
 a compound of virtues and vices, he served under
 imperatore Hasdrubale triennio nulla re prætermissa,
 he command of Hasdrubal for three years, without neglecting anything
 quæ agenda esset videndaque futuro
 which ought to be done or seen by one who was destined to be
 magno duci.
 . great general.

V.—Ceterum ex quo die declaratus est
 But from the day on which he was declared
 dux, velut Italia decreta esset ei provincia,
 chief, as if Italy had been decreed to him as his province,
 bellumque Romanum mandatum, ratus
 and the war with Rome committed to him, thinking
 nihil prolatandum, ne cunctantem aliquis
 there should be no delay, lest, while he procrastinated, some
 casus opprimeret se quoque, ut
 unforeseen event might defeat him [also], as had happened to

patrem Hamilcarem, deinde Hasdrubalem, statuit
his father, Hamilcar, and afterwards to Hasdrubal, he determined

inferre bellum Saguntinis. Quia haud dubie
to make war on the Saguntines; and as there could be no doubt

oppugnandis quibus Romana arma movebantur,
that by attacking them the Roman arms would be called forth,

prius induxit exercitum in fines Olcadum— gens
he first led his army into the territory of the Olcades, (a people

ea erat ultra Iberum magis in parte quam
that dwelled beyond the Iberus, rather within the boundaries than

in ditione Carthaginiensium— ut non posset videri
under the dominion of the Carthaginians,) so that he might not seem

petisse Saguntinos, sed tractus
to have aimed directly at the Saguntines, but to have been drawn on

ad id bellum serie rerum, finitimis gentibus
to the war by a series of events, after the adjoining nations

domitis, jungendoque.
had been subdued, and by the progressive annexation of conquered territory.

Expugnat diripitque Carteiam, opulentam urbem,
He storms and plunders Carteia, a wealthy city,

caput ejus gentis, quo minores civitates percussæ metu
the capital of that nation; at which the smaller states being dismayed

accepere imperium, imposito stipendio :
submitted to his authority, and to the imposition of a tribute.

exercitus victor opulentusque præda deductus est
His army, triumphant and enriched with booty, was led

in hiberna novam Carthaginem. Ibi firmatis
into winter-quarters to New Carthage. Having there secured

animis in se cunctis civium sociorumque,
the attachment [to himself] of all his countrymen and allies

large partiendo prædam, que cum fide exsolvendo
by a liberal distribution of the plunder, and by faithfully discharging

præterito stipendio, bellum promotum
the arrears of pay, the war was extended,

primo vere in Vaccæos. Eorum urbes
in the beginning of spring, to the Vaccæi. Their cities

Hermantica et Arbocala captæ vi. Arbocala
Hermantica and Arbocala were taken by storm. Arbocala

defensa diu et virtute et multitudine oppidanorum.
 was defended for a long time by the bravery and number of its inhabitants.

Profugi ab Hermandica, cum se junxissent
 Those who escaped from Hermandica, having joined themselves

exsulibus Olcadum—gentis domitæ priore æstate,—
 to the exiles of the Olcades, the nation subdued in the preceding summer,

concitant Carpetanos, adortique Hannibalem,
 roused up the Carpetans to arms; and attacking Hannibal

regressum ex Vaccæis, haud procul flumine
 as he was returning from the Vaccæi, not far from the river

Tago turbavere agmen grave præda.
 Tagus, they threw into disorder his army encumbered with spoil.

Hannibal abstinuit prælio, positisque castris
 Hannibal avoided an engagement, and having pitched his camp

super ripam, cum prima quies silentiumque
 on the bank, as soon as quiet and silence

fuit ab hostibus, trajecit amnem vado, que
 prevailed among the enemy, crossed the river by a ford; and

producto vallo ita, ut hostes haberent locum
 having removed his rampart so far that the enemy might have room

ad transgrediendum, statuit invadere eos transeuntes.
 to pass over, resolved to attack them in their passage.

Præcepit equitibus, ut, cum viderent
 He gave orders to his cavalry that, as soon as they should see

ingressos aquam, adorirentur. Agmen
 them advanced into the water, they should fall on them. The line

peditum disposuit in ripa, elephantos—
 of the infantry he formed on the bank stationing the elephants in front,

erant autem quadraginta. Carpetanorum
 of which there were some forty. The Carpetani,

cum appendicibus Olcadum Vaccæorumque
 with the addition of the Olcades and Vaccæi,

fuere centum millia, invicta acies, si
 amounted to a hundred thousand, an invincible army, if

dimicaretur æquo campo. Itaque
 a fight were to take place in an open plain. Being therefore

et ingenio feroces et freti multitudine, et, quod
 both naturally ferocious and confiding in their numbers; and since

credebant hostem cessasse metu, rati
they believed that the enemy had retired through fear, thinking

id morari victoriam quod amnis interesset,
that the only obstruction to their victory was that the river intervened,

sublato clamore, ruunt passim in amnem
having raised the shout, they rush from all parts into the stream

sine imperio ullius, cuique qua est proximum.
without the orders of anyone, each where it was nearest to him.

Et ingens vis equitum immissa in flumen
At the same time a heavy force of cavalry poured into the river

ex altera parte ripæ. medioque alveo concursum
from its opposite bank, and in the middle of the channel they met

haudquaquam pari certamine, quippe ubi pedes
in very unequal conflict for there the footman,

instabilis ac vix fidens vado
not being secure of footing and scarcely trusting to the ford,

posset perverti vel ab inermi equite,
could be borne down even by an unarmed horseman,

acto equo temere, eques,
by the mere shock of his horse urged at random; whereas a horseman,

corpore armisque liber,— equo stabili vel
with his limbs and weapons at liberty, his horse moving steadily even

per medios gurgites,— gereret rem
through the midst of the eddies, could maintain the fight either

comminus eminusque. Magna pars absumpta
at close quarters or at a distance. A great number were swallowed up

flumine, quidam delati verticoso amni
in the current: some, being carried by the whirlpools of the stream

in hostes, obtriti sunt ab elephantis:
to the side of the enemy, were trodden down by the elephants;

cum postremi, quibus fuit tutior regressus
and whilst the hindmost, for whom it was more safe to retreat

in suam ripam, colligerentur in unum
to their own bank, were collecting themselves into one body

ex varia trepidatione, Hannibal, priusquam
after their various alarms, Hannibal, before

reciperent animos tanto pavore, ingressus
they could regain courage after such excessive consternation, having entered

amnem agmine quadrato, fecit fugam ex ripa,
 the river with his army in a close square, forced them to fly from the bank
 vastatisque agris, accepit Carpetanos quoque
 Having then laid waste their territory, he reduced the Carpetani also,
 intra paucos dies in deditionem. Et jam omnia
 in a few days, to submission. And now all
 trans Iberum præter Saguntinos
 the country beyond the Iberus excepting that of the Saguntines
 erant Carthaginiensium.
 was under the power of the Carthaginians.

VI.—Nondum erat bellum cum Saguntinis,
 As yet there was no war with the Saguntines,
 ceterum jam causa belli certamina cum finitimis
 but already, in order to a war, disputes with their neighbors,
 maxime Turdetanis serebantur. Quibus
 more particularly the Turdetani, were industriously fomented; with whom
 cum idem adesset, qui erat sator litis,
 when the same person sided who had been the instigator of the quarrel,
 appareret nec certamen juris, sed vim
 and it was evident not that a discussion of rights, but violence
 quæri, legati missi a Saguntinis Romam,
 was intended, ambassadors were sent by the Saguntines to Rome
 orantes auxilium ad bellum jam haud dubie
 to implore assistance in the war which now evidently
 imminens. Consules tunc Romæ erant
 threatened them. The consuls then at Rome were
 P. Cornelius Scipio et Tib. Sempronius Longus,
 Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus,
 qui, legatis introductis in senatum,
 who, after the ambassadors had been introduced into the senate,
 cum retulissent de republica, placuissetque
 having made a motion on the state of public affairs, it was resolved
 legatos mitti in Hispaniam ad inspiciendas res
 that envoys should be sent into Spain to inspect the circumstances
 sociorum, si quibus videretur digna causa,
 of the allies; and, if there appeared to them sufficient reason,

et denuntiarent Hannibali, ut abstineret ab Saguntinia,
 both to warn Hannibal that he should refrain from the Saguntines,
 sociis Romani populi, et trajicerent in Africam
 the confederates of the Roman people, and to pass over into Africa
 Carthaginem ac deferrent querimonias sociorum
 to Carthage, and report there the complaints of the allies
 Romani populi,— hac legatione decreta necdum
 of the Roman people. This embassy having been decreed but not yet
 missa, allatum est celerius omnium spe
 dispatched, the news arrived, more quickly than any one expected,
 Saguntum oppugnari. Res tunc relata
 that Saguntum was besieged. The business was then referred
 de integro ad senatum; et alii, decernentes
 anew to the senate. And some, decreeing
 Hispaniam atque Africam provincias consulis,
 Spain and Africa as provinces for the consuls,
 censebant rem gerendam mari terraque,
 thought the war should be maintained both by sea and land,
 alii intenderant totum bellum in Hispaniam
 while others wished to direct the whole hostilities against Spain
 Hannibalemque. Erant, qui censerent
 and Hannibal. There were others again who were of opinion
 rem tantam non movendam temere; que
 that an affair of such importance should not be entered on rashly; and
 legatos ex Hispania expectandos. Hæc
 that the return of the ambassadors from Spain ought to be awaited. This
 sententia, quæ videbatur tutissima, vicit: quæ
 opinion, which seemed the safest, prevailed; and
 P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Bæbius Tamphilus
 Publius Valerius Flaccus and Quintus Bæbius Tamphilus
 eo maturius missi legati ad
 were, on that account, the more quickly dispatched as deputies to
 Hannibalem Saguntum atque inde Carthaginem, si
 Hannibal at Saguntum, and from thence to Carthage, if
 non absisteretur bello, ad deposcendum ducem ipsum
 he did not desist from the war, to demand the general himself
 in poenam rupti foederis.
 in atonement for the violation of the treaty.

VII.—Dum Romani ea parant consultantque
 While the Romans thus prepare and deliberate,
 Saguntum jam oppugnabatur. Ea civitas sita
 Saguntum was already besieged. This city, situated
 ferme mille passus a mari fuit longe opulentissima
 about a mile from the sea, was by far the most opulent
 ultra Iberum. Dicuntur oriundi
 beyond the Iberus. Its inhabitants are said to have been derived
 a insula Zacyntho, que quidam Rutulorum generis
 from the island Zacynthus, and some of the Rutulian race
 ab Ardea etiam mixti: ceterum creverant
 from Ardea to have been also mixed with them; but they had grown up
 brevi in tantas opes seu fructibus
 in a very short time to such prominent wealth, either by their gains
 maritimis seu terrestribus, seu incremento multitudine
 from the sea or the land, or by the increase of their numbers,
 seu sanctitate disciplinæ, qua coluerunt
 or the purity of their principles, by which they maintained
 fidem socialem usque ad suam perniciem.
 their faith with their allies, even to their own destruction.
 Hannibal ingressus fines infesto exercitu,
 Hannibal marched into their territory with a hostile army, and
 pervastatis agris passim, aggreditur urbem
 after laying waste the country in every direction, attacks the city
 tripartito. Erat angulus muri vergens
 on three different sides. There was an angle of the wall sloping down
 in vallem planiorem patentioremque, quam
 into a vale more level and open than
 cetera circa: adversus eum instituit agere
 the other space around; against this he resolved to move
 vineas, per quas aries posset admoveri
 the vines, by means of which the battering-ram might be advanced up
 mœnibus. Sed ut locus procul muro fuit
 to the walls. But, though the ground at a distance from the wall was
 satis æquus agendis vineis, ita, postquam
 sufficiently level for working the vines, yet, when
 ventum est ad effectum operis, cœptis
 they came to the carrying-out of the task, their undertakings

haudquaquam prospere succedebat : et ingens turris
by no means favorably succeeded. Both a very large tower

imminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco,
overlooked it, and the wall, as in a suspected place,

emunitus erat modum altitudinis supra ceteræ ; et
was raised to a height beyond that of the rest ; and

delecta juvenus obsistebant majore vi
a chosen band of youths stood the defence with the greater energy

ibi, ubi plurimum laboris ac periculi
[in that place] where the greatest amount of fatigue and danger

ostendebatur. Ac primo summovere hostem
was indicated. At first they repelled the enemy

missilibus, pati nec quidquam satis tutum
with missile weapons, and suffered no place to be sufficiently secure

munientibus. Deinde jam non modo micare
for the working parties. In a little time they not only brandished

tela pro mœnibus atque turri, sed animus erat
their weapons in defence of the walls and tower, but they had courage

etiam ad erumpendum in stationes operaque hostium :
[even] to sally out on the posts and works of the enemy ;

quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures
in which tumultuary engagements scarcely more

Saguntini quam Pœni cadebant. Ut vero
Saguntines than Carthaginians were slain. But when

Hannibal ipse, dum incautius subit murum,
Hannibal himself, while he too incautiously approached the wall,

cecidit graviter ictus adversum femur tragula,
fell severely wounded in the forepart of the thigh with a heavy javelin,

tanta fuga ac trepidatio circa fuit, ut opera ac
such flight and dismay spread around, that the works and

vineæ non multum abesset, quin desererentur.
vineæ came very near being abandoned.

VIII.—Per paucos dies, dum ducis vulnus
For a few days, while the general's wound

curaretur, fuit magis obsidio quam oppugnatio :
was being cured, there was rather a blockade than a siege :

per quod tempus ut erat quies certaminum, ita
during which time, though there was a respite from fighting, yet

nihil cessatum ab apparatu operum ac
there was no intermission in the preparation of works and

munitionum. Beilum itaque coortum est de integro
fortifications. Hostilities, therefore, broke out afresh

acrius, pluribusque partibus— quibusdam
with greater fury, and in more places, in some even where

locis vix accipientibus opera— vineæ coeptæ
the ground scarcely admitted of the works, the vines began

agi ariesque admoveri.
to be moved forward, and the battering-ram to be advanced to the walls.

Poenus abundabat multitudo hominum; enim
The Carthaginian abounded in the numbers of his men; for

satis creditur habuisse ad centum
it is sufficiently credited that he had as many as a hundred

quingenta millia in armis. Oppidani
and fifty thousand in arms. The townsmen

coepti sunt distineri multifariam ad
began to be embarrassed by their multifarious employment in order to

tuenda omnia atque obeunda :
maintain the several defences, and execute every necessary measure

et non sufficebant; enim muri jam feriebantur
nor were they equal to the task, for the walls were now battered

arietibus multæque partes quassatæ. Una
by the rams, and many parts of them were shattered. One section

continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem : tres turres
by continuous breaches left the city quite exposed; three towers,

deinceps quantumque erat muri inter eas,
in one range, and the whole extent of wall between them

prociderunt cum ingenti fragore : Poenique
had fallen down with a prodigious crash, and the Carthaginians

crediderant oppidum captum ea ruina; qua,
believed the town taken by that breach; through which,

velut si murus pariter texisset utrosque,
as if the wall had alike protected both parties

ita procursum est utrimque in pugnam. Erat nihil
they [thus] rushed from each side to the battle. There was nothing

simile tumultuariæ pugnæ, quales in oppugnationibus
resembling that disorderly fighting which, in the storming

urbium solent conseri per occasionem alterius
of towns, is wont to be engaged in on the opportunities of either

partis : sed justæ acies, velut patenti campo,
party ; but regular lines, as in an open plain,

constiterant inter ruinas muri tectaque
stood arrayed between the ruins of the walls and the buildings

urbis distantia modico intervallo. Hinc spes,
of the city which lay at no great distance. On the one side hope,

hinc desperatio irritat animos ; Pœno
on the other despair, inflamed their courage ; the Carthaginian

credente, si paulum annitatur se jam cepisse
supposing that if a little more effort was used, he could [now] reduce

urbem ; Saguntinis opponentibus corpora pro
the city ; the Saguntines opposing their bodies in defence of

patria nudata moenibus, nec ullo referente
their native city deprived of its walls, and not a man retiring

pedem, ne immitteret hostem in locum relictum
a step, lest he might admit the enemy into the place thus deserted

a se. Quo acrius et magis confertim itaque
by him. The more keenly and closely, therefore,

pugnabatur utrimque, plures eo vulnerabantur,
they fought on both sides, the more, on that account, were wounded,

nullo telo intercidente vano inter arma corporaque.
no weapon falling without effect amidst their arms and persons.

Erat Saguntinis miss'le telum phalarica,
There was used by the Saguntines a missile weapon called phalarica,

hastili abieigno et teriti cetera præterquam ad
with a shaft of fir, and round in other parts except towards

extremum, unde ferrum exstabat. Id quadratum,
the point, whence the iron projected. This part, which was square,

sicut in pilo, circumligabant stuppa, lineabantque
as in a javelin, they bound about with tow, and daubed

pice : habebat autem ferrum tres pedes longum,
with pitch. It had [moreover] an iron head three feet long,

ut posset transfigere cum armis corpus. Sed
so that it could pierce both armor and body together. But

id maxime faciebat pavorem, quod, cum
 what more than all rendered it an object of dread was that, when
 mitteretur medium accensum ferretque
 it was discharged with the middle part on fire, and bore along
 multo majorem ignem conceptum ipso motu,
 a much greater flame, engendered by the mere motion,
 etiam si hæsisset in scuto nec penetrasset in
 even though it stuck in the shield and did not penetrate into
 corpus, cogebat militem omitti arma que
 the body, it compelled the soldier to throw away his arms, and
 præbebat nudum ad insequentes ictus.
 exposed him to succeeding blows.

IX.—Cum certamen diu fuisset anceps,
 When the contest had for a long time continued doubtful,
 et animi Saguntinis crevisset, quia
 and the courage of the Saguntines had increased, because
 resisterent præter spem, Pœnus,
 they had stood their ground beyond expectation, while the Carthaginian,
 quia non vicisset, esset pro victo, oppidani
 because he had not conquered, felt as vanquished, the townsmen
 repente tollunt clamorem, que expellunt hostem
 suddenly set up a shout, and push back the enemy
 in ruinas muri, exturbant inde impeditum
 to the ruins of the wall, force them off from that ground, while embarrassed
 trepidantemque, postremo redigunt fusum
 and disordered; and, in fine, drove them back, routed
 fugatumque in castra.
 and put to flight, to their camp.

Interim nuntiatum est legatos venisse
 In the meantime it was announced that ambassadors had arrived
 ab Roma: obviam quibus missi ad mare
 from Rome; to meet whom messengers were sent to the sea-side
 ab Hannibale, qui dicerent, eos nec tuto adituros
 by Hannibal, to tell them that they could not safely come to him
 inter tot arma tam effrenatarum gentium, in
 through so many armed bands of [such] savage tribes, and that is

tanto discrimine rerum Hannibali esse operæ
 such a critical state of affairs Hannibal had not leisure
 audire legationes. Apparebat, non
 to give audience to embassies. It was obvious that, if not
 admissos ituros protinus Carthaginem.
 admitted they would proceed immediately to Carthage;
 Igitur præmittit litteras nuntiosque ad principes
 he therefore sends letters and messengers beforehand to the leaders
 Barcinæ factionis, ut præpararent animos suorum,
 of the Barcine faction, to prepare the minds of their *partisans*,
 altera pars ne posset quid gratificari
 so that the other party might not be able to afford any advantage
 pro Romanis.
 to the Romans.

X.—Ea legatio itaque, præterquam quod
 That embassy, therefore, excepting that *the ambassadors*
 admissi sunt auditique, fuit quoque vana atque
 were admitted and heard, proved likewise vain and
 irrita. Hanno unus adversus senatum
 fruitless. Hanno alone, in opposition to the *rest of the senate*,
 egit causam foederis, magno silentio propter
 pleaded the cause of the treaty, amidst deep silence on account of
 auctoritatem, non cum assensu audientium,
 his authority, and not from the approbation of the audience;
 obtestans senatum per deos, arbitros ac
 calling upon the senate in the name of the gods, the arbiters and
 testes foederum, ne suscitarent bellum Romanum
 witnesses of treaties, that they should not provoke a war with Rome
 cum Saguntino. Se monuisse,
 in addition to *the one* with the Saguntines. He said: that he admonished
 prædixisse, ne mitterent progeniem Hamilcaris
 and forewarned them not to send the son of Hamilcar
 ad exercitum: non manes, non stirpem ejus viri
 to the army; that neither the manes, nor the offspring of that man
 conquiescere, nec unquam, donec quisquam
 could be quiet, nor ever, while any one

Barcini sanguinis nominisque supersit
of the Barcine blood and name survived,

Romana fœdera quietura : "præbentes
would the Roman treaties continue undisturbed. "You, supplying.

velut materiam igni, misistis ad exercitus
as it were, fuel to the flame, have sent to your armies

juvenem flagrantem cupidine regni cernentemque
a young man burning with ambition for absolute power, and seeing

unam viam ad id, si serendo bella ex bellis
but one road to reach it, if by exciting war after war,

vivat succinctus armis legionibusque.
he may live surrounded by arms and legions.

Ergo aluistis hoc incendium, quo nunc ardetis.
You have, therefore, fostered this fire, in which you are now scorched.

Vestri exercitus circumsedent Saguntum, unde
Your armies invest Saguntum, whence

arcentur fœdere: mox Romanæ legiones
they are forbidden by the treaty: ere long the Roman legions

circumsedebunt Carthaginem ducibus iisdem diis,
will invest Carthage under the guidance of those same deities,

per quos ultii sunt priore bello
though whose aid they took vengeance, in the former war,

rupta fœdera. Utrum ignoratis hostem an
for the breach of treaties. Are you unacquainted with the enemy, or

vos an fortunam utriusque populi? Vester
with yourselves or with the fortune of either nation? Your

bonus imperator non admisit in castra legatos,
worthy general would not admit into his camp ambassadors

venientes ab sociis et pro sociis, sustulit
coming from allies and in behalf of allies, and set at nought

jus gentium: hi tamen pulsi, unde
the law of nations. They, however, after meeting a repulse, where

ne quidem legati hostium arcentur,
not even the ambassadors of enemies are refused access,

venerunt ad vos. Res repetuntur ex fœdere:
have come to you. Restitution is demanded in accordance with the compact,

fraus absit publica, deposcunt auctorem
let not guilt attach to the state; they only demand the author

culpæ et reum criminis.
 of the transgression [and] the person answerable for the offence
 Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt,
 The more gently they proceed,— the slower they *are to begin*,
 eo perseverantius, vereor, ne sæviant, cum
 the more unrelentingly, I fear, will they wreak vengeance when once
 cœperint. Proponite ante oculos insulas *Ægates*
 they shall have begun. Set before your eyes the islands *Ægates*
 Erycemque, quæ passi sitis terra marique per
 and Eryx, all that you have suffered on land and sea during
 quattuor et viginti annos. Nec erat hic puer dux,
 twenty-four years. Nor was this boy the leader,
 sed pater Hamilcar ipse, alter Mars, ut isti
 but his father Hamilcar himself, a second Mars, as these *people*
 volunt. Sed non abstinueramus Tarento,
 would have it. But we had not refrained from Tarentum,
 id est Italia, ex fœdere sicut nunc
 that is, from Italy, according to the treaty, as now
 non abstinemus Sagunto. Dii hominesque
 we do not refrain from Saguntum. The gods and men
 ergo vicerunt, et id, de quo
 have, therefore, prevailed *over us*; and *as to that*, about which
 ambigebatur verbis, uter populus rupisset
 there was a dispute in words, ‘Which of the two nations had infringed
 fœdus, eventus belli, velut æquus iudex, dedit
 the treaty,’ the issue of the war, like an equitable judge, hath awarded
 victoriam ei, unde jus stabat. Carthagini
 the victory to that *side* on which justice stood. *It is against Carthage*
 Hannibal nunc admovet vineas turresque, moenia
 that Hannibal is now moving his vineæ and towers; it is the walls
 Carthaginis quatit ariete: ruinæ
 of Carthage that he is shaking with his battering-ram. The ruins
 Sagunti— utinam sim falsus vates— incident
 of Saguntum (oh, that I may prove a false prophet!) will fall
 nostris capitibus, bellumque susceptum
 on our heads; and the war commenced
 cum Saguntinis habendum est cum Romanis.
 against the Saguntines must be maintained against the Romans.

Aliquis dicet Ergo dedemus Hannibalem ?
 Someone will say, 'Shall we then deliver up Hannibal ?'

In eo scio, meam auctoritatem esse levem
 With respect to him I am aware that my authority is of little weight,

propter inimicitias paternas : sed et lætatus sum
 on account of my enmity with his father. But I both rejoice

Hamilcarem perissee eo, quod, si ille viveret
 that Hamilcar perished, for this reason, that, had he lived,

jam haberemus bellum cum Romanis, et
 we should have now been engaged in a war with the Romans ; and

hunc juvenem tamquam furiam facemque hujus belli
 this youth, as the fury and fire-brand of this war,

odi ac detestor : nec solum dedendum
 I hate and detest. Nor ought he only to be given up

ad piaculum rupti foederis ; sed, si nemo
 as an expiation for the infractions of the treaty ; but, even though no one

deposcit, devehendum in ultimas oras
 demanded him, he ought to be conveyed away to the extremest shores

terrarum marisque, ablegandum eo, unde
 of earth or sea, and banished to a distance, whence

nec nomen famaue ejus accedere ad nos,
 neither his name nor any account of him can reach us,

neque ille possit sollicitare statum quietæ civitatis.
 and he be unable to disturb the peace of a tranquil state.

Ego ita censeo, legatos mittendos extemplo
 I, therefore, give my opinion, that ambassadors be sent instantly

Roman, qui satisfaciant senatui, alios, qui nuntient
 to Rome to make apologies to the senate ; others to tell

Hannibali, ut abducatur exercitum ab Sagunto,
 Hannibal to withdraw the troops from Saguntum,

dedantque Hannibalem ipsum Romanis ex
 and to deliver up Hannibal himself to the Romans, in conformity to

foedere : decerno tertiam legationem
 the treaty ; and I propose a third embassy,

ad reddendas res Saguntinis."
 to make restitution to the Saguntines."

XI.—Cum Hanno perorasset, fuit necesse nemini

When Hanno had ended his discourse, there was no occasion for any

omnium certare cum eo oratione, adeo
member of their whole body to contend with him in debate, to such a degree

erat prope omnis senatus Hannibal; que
was almost the entire senate in the interest of Hannibal; and

arguebant Hannonem locutum infestius quam
they accused Hanno as having spoken with more acrimony than

Flaccum Valerium, Romanum legatum.
even Flaccus Valerius, the Roman ambassador.

Est inde responsum Romanis legatis, bellum
It was then said in answer to the Roman ambassadors, "that the war

ortum esse ab Saguntinis non ab Hannibale :
had been commenced by the Saguntines, not by Hannibal ;

Romanum populum facere injuste, si præponat
and that the Roman people acted unjustly if they preferred

Saguntinos vetustissimæ societati Carthaginensium.
the Saguntines to the most ancient hospitality of the Carthaginians."

Dum Romani terunt tempus mittendis legationibus,
Whilst the Romans waste time in sending embassies,

Hannibal, quia habebat militem fessum
Hannibal, because he found his soldiers fatigued

præliis operibusque, dedit his quietem paucorum
with the battles and the works, allowed them rest for a few

dierum, stationibus dispositis ad custodiam vinearum
days, parties being stationed to guard the vines

aliorumque operum. Interim accendit animos
and other works. In the interval he fires their spirits

stimulando nunc ira in hostes,
by stimulating them at one time with resentment against the enemy,

nunc spe præmiorum : ut vero edixit pro concione
at another with hope of rewards. But when he declared in open assembly,

prædam captæ urbis fore militum,
that the plunder of the captured city should belong to the soldiers,

adeo omnes accensi sunt, ut, si signum datum esset
to such a degree were they all excited, that if the signal had been given

extemplo, videretur posse resisti nulla vi.
that instant, it appeared that they could not have been resisted by any force.

Saguntini, ut habuerant quietem a proeliis,
The Saguntines, as they had a respite from fighting,

nec per aliquot dies lacessentes nec lacessiti,
neither for some days attacking nor attacked,

ita non nocte, non die unquam cessaverant ab opere,
so they had not, by night or day, ever ceased from toiling,

ut reficerent novum murum ab ea parte, qua
that they might repair anew the wall in that part, where

oppidum erat patefactum ruinis.
the town had been left exposed by the breach.

Aliquanto atrocior oppugnatione quam ante inde
A still more desperate storming than the former then

adorta est, nec poterant satis scire, cum
assailed them, nor could they satisfactorily know, whilst

omnia streperent clamoribus variis, qua parte
all places resounded with clamors of various kinds, to what side

primum aut potissimum ferrent opem. Hannibal
they should first or principally send succor. Hannibal,

hortator aderat ipse, qua mobilis
as an encouragement, was present in person, where a movable

turris, superans altitudine omnia munimenta
tower, exceeding in height all the fortifications

urbis, agebatur. Cum admota
of the city, was being urged forward. When, being brought up,

quæ nudasset muros defensoribus catapultis
it had cleared the walls of their defenders by means of the catapults

ballistisque dispositis per omnia tabulata, tum
and ballistæ ranged through all its stories, then

Hannibal, ratus occasionem, mittit ferme
Hannibal, thinking it a favorable opportunity, sends about

quingentos Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum
five hundred Africans, with pick-axes, to undermine

murum ab imo. Nec erat opus difficile, quod
the wall at the bottom. Nor was the work difficult, since

cæmenta non durata erant calce sed interlita
the unhewn stones were not fastened with lime, but filled in their interstices

luto, genere antiquæ structuræ. Ruebat
with clay, after the manner of ancient building. It fell,

itaque latius, quam cæderetur, perque
therefore, more extensively than it was struck, and through

 patentia ruinis agmina armatorum vadebant
the open spaces of the ruins troops of armed men rushed

in urbem. Capiunt quoque editum locum,
into the city. They also obtain possession of a rising ground;

 collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut haberent
and having collected thither catapultæ and ballistæ, so that they might have

castellum in urbe ipsa imminentem velut arcem,
a fortress within the city itself, commanding it like a citadel,

 circumdant muro. Et Saguntini ducunt.
they surround it with a wall: and the Saguntines raise

interiorem murum ab parte urbis nondum capta.
an inner wall before the part of the city which was not yet taken.

Utrimque et muniunt et pugnant summa vi:
On both sides they erect works and show battle with the utmost vigor:

sed Saguntini tuendo interiora faciunt minorem
but the Saguntines, by thus defending the interior parts, diminish

in dies urbem. Simul inopia omnium
daily the size of their city. At the same time the scarcity of all things

crescit longa obsidione, et exspectatio
increased through the length of the siege, and the expectation

externæ opis minuitur, cum Romani, unica spes
of foreign aid diminished, since the Romans, their only hope,

essent tam procul omnia circa
were at such a distance, and all the country round was in the power

hostium. Tamen repentina profectio Hannibalis
of the enemy. However, the sudden departure of Hannibal

 in Oretanos Carpetanosque recreavit paulisper
against the Oretani and Carpetani revived for a little

 affectos animos, qui duo populi, consternati
their drooping spirits; for these two nations, being exasperated

 acerbitate dilectus, cum, retentis
by the severity used in levying soldiers, when, by detaining

conquisitoribus præbuissent metum defectionis,
the commissaries, they had afforded apprehensions of a revolt

oppressi celeritate Hannibalis, omiserunt
 were suddenly checked by the quickness of Hannibal, and laid down
 arma mota.
 the arms they had taken up.

XII.—Nec erat oppugnatio Sagunti segnior,
 Nor was the siege of Saguntum prosecuted less vigorously;
 Maharbale filio Himilconis— eum Hannibal
 Maharbal, the son of Himileo, whom Hannibal
 præfecerat— agente rem ita impigre, ut nec
 had set over the army, carrying on operations so actively that neither
 cives nec hostes sentirent ducem abesse.
 the townsmen nor their enemies perceived that the general was absent.
 Is et fecit aliquot secunda prælia, et
 He both engaged in several successful battles, and
 tribus arietibus discussit aliquantum muri,
 with three battering-rams demolished a considerable extent of the wall;
 ostenditque Hannibali advenienti omnia
 and showed to Hannibal on his arrival the whole ground
 strata recentibus ruinis. Exercitus itaque ductus
 covered with fresh ruins. The troops were therefore led
 ex templo ad arcem ipsam, atroxque prælium
 instantly against the citadel itself, and a furious combat
 initum cum multorum cæde utrimque, et pars arcis
 was commenced with much slaughter on both sides, and part of the citadel
 capta est. Exigua spes pacis deinde tentata est
 was taken. The slight chance of a peace was then tried
 per duos, Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum
 by two persons; Alcon a Saguntine, and Alorus
 Hispanum. Alco— ratus moturum aliquid precibus—
 a Spaniard. Alcon, thinking he could effect something by entreaties,
 cum transisset, insciis Saguntinis,
 having passed over, without the knowledge of the Saguntines,
 ad Hannibalem noctu, postquam lacrimæ
 to Hannibal by night, when his tears
 nihil movebant, tristesque condiciones ferebantur,
 produced no effect, and harsh conditions were offered

ut ab irato victore, factus transfuga
as from an exasperated conqueror, becoming a deserter

ex oratore, mansit apud hostem, affirmans
instead of an advocate, remained with the enemy; affirming

moriturum, qui ageret de pace sub
that the man would be put to death, who should treat for peace on

his conditionibus. Postulabatur autem, redderent res
such terms. For it was required that they should make restitution

Turdetanis, traditoque omni auro atque argento,
to the Turdetani; and after delivering up all their gold and silver,

egressi urbem cum singulis vestimentis
departing from the city each with a single garment,

habitarent ibi, ubi Pœnus
should take up their dwelling in whatever place the Carthaginian

jussisset. Alcone abnuente Saguntinos accepturos
should order. Alcon having denied that the Saguntines would accept

has leges pacis, Alorcus, affirmans, ubi alia
these conditions of peace, Alorcus, asserting that when all else

vincantur, animos vinci, pollicetur se
is subdued the spirit is subdued, offers himself

fore interpretem ejus pacis. Erat autem tum
as the proposer of that peace. Now he was at this time

miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice amicus atque hospes
a soldier of Hannibal's, but publicly the friend and host

Saguntinis. Palam tradito telo custodibus
of the Saguntines. Having openly delivered his weapon to the guards

hostium, transgressus munimenta, deductus est—
of the enemy and passed the fortifications, he was conducted

et ita ipse jubebat— ad Saguntinum prætorem.
as he had himself requested, to the Saguntine prætor;

Quo cum esset factus extemplo concursus
whither when there was [made] immediately a general rush

omnis generis hominum, cetera multitudine submota,
of every description of people, the rest of the multitude being removed,

senatus datus est Alorco, cujus oratio
an audience of the senate is given to Alorcus; whose speech

fuit talis:
was to this effect:

XIII.—“Si vester cives Alco, sicut venit ad
 “If your countryman Alcon, as he came to
 Hannibalem ad petendam pacem, ita retulisset
 Hannibal to sue for peace, had in like manner brought back
 ad vos conditiones pacis ab Hannibale, hoc iter mihi
 to you the terms of peace *proposed* by Hannibal, this journey of mine
 fuisset supervacaneum, quo nec venissem ad vos
 would have been unnecessary; as I should not have come to you
 orator Hannibalis nec transfuga. Cum ille
 a deputy from Hannibal, nor as a deserter. Since he
 manserit apud hostem aut vestra culpa aut sua—
 has remained with your enemies, either through your fault or his own,
 sua, si simulavit metum, vestra, si
 (through his own, if he counterfeited fear; through yours, if
 apud vos est periculum referentibus vera—
 among you there be danger to those who tell the truth,)
 veni ad vos pro vetusto hospitio,
 I have come to you in consideration of the ancient ties of hospitality
 quod est mihi vobiscum, ne ignoraretis
 which subsist between us, in order that you may not be ignorant
 esse aliquas conditiones salutis et pacis vobis.
 that there are at least some terms of safety and peace for you.
 Autem me loqui, quæ loquor apud vos, vestra causa
 Now, that I speak what I address to you for your sake
 nec ullius alterius, vel ea sit fides, quod
 and that of no other, let even this be the proof: that
 neque dum restitistis vestris viribus, neque dum
 neither while you resisted with your own strength, nor while
 sperastis auxilia ab Romanis, unquam feci
 you had hopes of assistance from the Romans, did I ever make
 mentionem pacis apud vos. Jam postquam
 any mention of peace to you. But now, after
 vobis est nec ulla spes ab Romanis nec vestra aut arma
 you have neither any hope from the Romans, nor your own arms
 aut mœnia satis defendunt vos, afferro ad vos pacem
 nor walls sufficiently defend you, I bring to you a peace
 magis necessariam quam æquam: cujus est
 rather necessary than just; of affecting which there may be

aliqua spes ita, si, quemadmodum Hannibal
 some hope on this condition, if, as Hannibal

fert eam ut victor, sic vos audiat
 offers it in the spirit of a conqueror, so you should listen to it

ut victi, si habituri estis non id, quod amittitur,
 as vanquished; if you will consider not what is taken from you

in damno, cum omnia sint victoris, sed
 as loss, (since all belongs to the victor,) but

quidquid relinquitur pro munere. Urbem, quam
 whatever is left, as a gift. The city, which,

jam ex magna parte dirutam habet fere totam
 already for the greater part in ruins, he has almost wholly

captam, adimit vobis, agros relinquit,
 in his possession, he takes from you; your lands he leaves to you,

assignaturus locum, in quo ædificetis novum
 intending to assign a place where you may build a new

oppidum: omne aurum et argentum, publicum
 town; all the gold and silver, both public

privatumque, jubet deferri ad se: vestra corpora
 and private, he orders to be brought to him; your persons

que vestrorum conjugum ac liberorum servat inviolata,
 and those of your wives and children he preserves inviolate,

si velitis exire ab Sagunto inermes
 provided you are willing to depart from Saguntum, unarmed,

cum binis vestimentis. Hæc victor hostis imperat,
 each with two garments. These terms a victorious enemy dictates;

hæc, quamquam sunt acerba atque gravia,
 these, though [they are] harsh and grievous,

vestra fortuna suadet vobis. Equidem haud despero,
 your condition commends to you. Indeed I do not despair,

cum potestas omnium ei facta sit, remissurum aliquid
 when the power of everything is given him, that he will remit something

ex his rebus: sed vel hæc censeo potius patienda
 from these terms. But even these I think you ought rather to endure,

quam sinatis vestra corpora trucidari, conjuges
 than suffer yourselves to be slaughtered, and your wives

ac liberos rapi trahique ante vestra ora
 and children seized and dragged into slavery before your faces,
 jure belli."
 according to the practice of war."

XIV.—Cum concilium populi
 When an assembly of the people,
 paulatim circumfusa multitudo permixtum esset
 by the gradual crowding round of the multitude, had mingled
 senatui ad audienda hæc, primores repente,
 with the senate to hear these proposals, the chief men suddenly
 secessione facta, priusquam responsum daretur,
 withdrawing before an answer was returned,
 conjicientes omne aurum argentumque, collatum
 and throwing all the gold and silver gathered,
 ex publico privatoque in forum, in ignem
 both from public and private stores, to the forum, into a fire
 raptim factum ad id, plerique ipsi
 hastily kindled for that purpose, most of them
 præcipitaverunt semet eodem. Cum pavor ac
 cast themselves headlong in after it. When the dismay and
 trepidatio ex eo pervasisset totam urbem,
 agitation produced by this deed had pervaded the whole city,
 alius tumultus auditur insuper ex arce: turris
 another uproar was heard in addition from the citadel. A tower,
 diu quassata prociderat, que cum cohors
 long battered, had fallen down; and when a cohort
 Pœnorum impetu facto per ejus ruinam
 of Carthaginians, rushing through the breach,
 dedisset signum imperatori, urbem esse nudatam
 had made a signal to their general that the city was destitute
 solitis stationibus custodiisque, Hannibal ratus
 of the usual outposts and guards, Hannibal, thinking
 non cunctandum in tali occasione, aggressus
 that there ought to be no delay at such an opportunity, having assaulted
 urbem totis viribus cepit momento, signo dato
 the city with his whole force, took it in a moment, command being given

ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod
 that all the adults should be put to death. Which
 crudele imperium cognitum est ceterum ipso eventu
 cruel order was proved, however, by the event,
 prope necessarium : enim cui ex his
to have been almost necessary ; for to whom of those men
 potuit parci, qui aut inclusi cum conjugibus
 could mercy have been shown, who, either shut up with their wives
 ac liberis concremaverunt domos super se ipsos,
 and children, burned their houses over their own heads,
 aut armati fecerunt nullum finem pugnae
 or abroad in arms made no end of fighting
 ante quam morientes ?
 until prostrate in death ?

XV.—Oppidum captum est cum ingenti præda.
 The town was taken with immense spoil.

Quamquam pleraque de industria corrupta erant
 Though the greater part of the goods had been purposely damaged
 ab dominis, et ira fecerat vix ullum discrimen
 by their owners, and resentment had made hardly any distinction
 ætatis in cædibus, et captivi fuerant
 of age in the massacre, and the prisoners were
 præda militum, tamen constat aliquantum pecuniæ
 the booty of the soldiers ; still it appears quite a sum of money
 redactum esse ex pretio rerum venditarum,
 was raised from the price of the effects that were sold,
 et multam pretiosam suppellectilem vestemque missam
 and that much costly furniture and apparel were sent
 Carthaginem. Quidam scripsere Saguntum captum
 to Carthage. Some have written that Saguntum was taken
 octavo mense, quam ceptum oppugnari : Hannibalem
 in the eighth month after it began to be besieged ; that Hannibal
 inde concessisse in hiberna novam Carthaginem,
 then retired into winter-quarters to New Carthage ;
 quinto mense deinde, quam profectus sit
 and that in the fifth month after he had set out

ab Carthagine, pervenisse in Italiam. quæ ita sunt
 from Carthage he arrived in Italy. If this be so,
 potuit non fieri, ut P. Cornelius, Tib. Sempronius
 it was impossible that Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius
 fuerint consules, ad quos et principio oppugnationis
 could have been the consuls, to whom both in the beginning of the siege
 Saguntini legati missi sint, et qui
 the Saguntine ambassadors were despatched, and who,
 in suo magistratu pugnaverint cum Hannibale, alter
 during their office, fought with Hannibal; the one
 ad amnem Ticinum, ambo aliquanto post
 at the river Ticinus, and both, a considerable time after,
 ad Trebiam. Aut omnia fuere aliquanto breviora,
 at the Trebia. Either all *these events* took place in a somewhat shorter
 aut Saguntum non coeptum est oppugnari,
 period, or Saguntum was not begun to be besieged,
 sed captum principio anni, quo P. Cornelius,
 but invested at the beginning of *that year*, in which Publius Cornelius
 Tib. Sempronius fuerunt consules. Nam pugna
 and Tiberius Sempronius were consuls. For the battle
 ad Trebiam potest non excessisse in annum
 at Trebia could not have happened so late as the year
 Cn. Servilii et C. Flamini, quia C. Flaminius
 of Cneius Servilius and Caius Flaminius, because Caius Flaminius
 iniit consulatum Arimini, creatus
 entered on his consulate at Ariminum, having been elected *thereto*
 a consule Tib. Sempronio, qui, cum venisset Romam
 by the consul Tiberius Sempronius, who, having repaired to Rome
 post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules,
 after the engagement at Trebia, for *the purpose of* creating consuls,
 rediit comitiis perfectis in hiberna ad
 returned, when the election was finished, into winter-quarters to
 exercitum.
 the army.

XVI.—Fere sub idem tempus et legati,
 Nearly about the same time [both] the ambassadors

qui redierant ab Carthagine, retulerunt Romam,
 who had returned from Carthage brought information to Rome
 omnia esse hostilia, et excidium Sagunti
 that all appearances were hostile, and the destruction of Saguntum
 nuntiatum est : tantusque mæror misericordiaeque
 was announced. Then such grief, and pity
 sociorum indigne peremptorum et pudor
 for allies so undeservedly destroyed, and shame
 non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses
 for not having afforded them succor, and rage against the Carthaginians,
 metusque de summa rerum, velut si hostis jam esset
 and fear for the issue of events, as if the enemy were already
 ad portas, simul cepit patres, ut,
 at their gates, simultaneously took possession of the senators, that,
 animi turbati tot motibus uno tempore
 their minds agitated by so many passions at once,
 trepidarent magis quam consulerent. Nam
 they trembled with fear rather than deliberated : for
 neque unquam hostem acriorem bellicosiorumque
 "never," they observed, "had an enemy more spirited and warlike
 congressum secum, nec Romanam rem fuisse
 entered the field with them, nor had the Roman state been ever
 tam desidem atque imbellem. Sardos Corsosque
 so sunk in sloth, and unfit for war : as to the Sardinians, the Corsicans,
 et Istros atque Illyrios magis lacecississe
 the Istrians and the Illyrians, they had rather roused
 quam exercuisse Romana arma, et cum Gallis
 than exercised the Roman arms ; and with the Gauls
 verius tumultuatum quam belligeratum :
 it had been more properly a tumult than a war.
 Pœnum veteranum hostem semper victorem
 That the Carthaginian, a veteran enemy, ever victorious
 durissima militia trium et viginti annorum inter
 during the hardest service for twenty-three years among
 gentes Hispanas, primum assuetum Hamilcare,
 the tribes of Spain, first trained to arms under Hamilcar,
 deinde Hasdrubale nunc Hannibale acerrimo duce,
 then Hasdrubal, now Hannibal a most active leader

recentem ab excidio opulentissimæ urbis transire
and fresh from the destruction of a most opulent city, was passing
 Iberum ; secum trahere tot populos
the Iberus ; that along with them he was bringing the numerous tribes
 Hispanorum excitos, concitutum
of Spain, already aroused, and was about to excite
 gentes Gallicas semper avidas armorum : bellum
the nations of Gaul ever desirous of fighting ; and that a war
 cum orbe terrarum gerendum esse in Italia ac
against the world was to be maintained in Italy and
 pro mœnibus Romanis.
before the walls of Rome."

XVII.—Provinciæ jam erant antea nominatæ
The provinces had already been previously named
 consulibus, tum jussi sortiri : Hispania evenit
for the consuls, but now they were ordered to cast lots. Spain fell
 Cornelio, Africa cum Sicilia Sempronio. Sex legiones
to Cornelius ; Africa with Sicily to Sempronius. Six legions
 decretæ in eum annum, et quantum sociûm
were decreed for that year, and as many of the allies as
 videretur ipsis, et quanta classis
should be deemed advisable by them (i. e. the consuls), and as great a fleet as
 posset parari. Romanorum scripta sunt
could be fitted out. Of Romans were enlisted
 quattuor et viginti millia peditum et mille octingenti
twenty four thousand foot, and one thousand eight hundred
 equites, sociorum quadraginta millia peditum, et
horse ; of the allies forty thousand foot, and
 quattuor millia quadringenti equites : ducentæ viginti
four thousand four hundred horse : two hundred and twenty
 naves quinqueremes, viginti celoces deductæ.
ships of five banks of oars, and twenty light galleys, were launched.
 Inde latum ad populum, vellent, juberent
It was then proposed to the people, "whether they chose and ordered
 bellum indici populo Carthaginensi : causaque
that war should be declared against the people of Carthage ;" and for the sake

ejus belli supplicatio habita per urbem, atque dii
of that war a supplication was made through the city, and the gods

adorati, ut bellum, quod Romanus populus
were implored, that the war, which the Roman people

jussisset, bene ac feliciter eveniret. Copiæ
had ordered, might have a prosperous and happy issue. The forces

divisæ inter consules ita : Sempronio
were divided between the consuls in this manner : to Sempronius

datæ duæ legiones— erant ea quaterna millia peditum
were assigned two legions, containing each four thousand foot

et treceni equites— et sociorum sexdecim millia peditum,
and three hundred horse, and of the allies sixteen thousand foot,

mille octingenti equites, centum sexaginta
and one thousand eight hundred horse, with one hundred and sixty

naves longæ, duodecim celoces. Cum his terrestribus
ships of war, and twelve light galleys. With these land

maritimisque copiis Tib. Sempronius missus
and sea forces Tiberius Sempronius was despatched

in Siciliam, ita transmissurus in Africam, si
to Sicily, with a view to crossing over into Africa, in case

alter consul satis esset ad arcendum Pœnum
the other consul should be able to prevent the Carthaginians

Italia. Minus copiarum datum Cornelio,
from invading Italy. Fewer troops were given to Cornelius,

quia L. Manlius prætor et ipse mittebatur
because Lucius Manlius, a prætor, also had been sent

cum haud invalido præsidio in Galliam. Numerus
with no weak force into Gaul. The number

navium maxime diminutus Cornelio : sexaginta
of ships in particular was reduced to Cornelius : sixty

quinqueremes datæ— enim neque credebant
quinqueremes only were given him (for they did not believe

hostem venturum mari aut dimicaturum
that the enemy would come by sea, or would fight

ea parte belli— et duæ Romanæ legiones cum
after that mode of warfare,) and two Roman legions with

suo justo equitatu et sociorum quattuordecim
their regular proportion of cavalry, and of the allies fourteen

millibus peditum, mille sexcentis equitibus. Eodem
 thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse. In this year
 provincia Gallia versa in Punicum bellum
 the province of Gaul, not as yet exposed to the Carthaginian invasion,
 habuit duas Romanas legiones et decem millia
 had posted in it two Roman legions, and ten thousand
 sociorum peditum, mille socios equites,
 confederate infantry, with one thousand confederate horsemen
 sexcentos Romanos.
 and six hundred Romans.

XVIII.—His ita comparatis, ut omnia
 These arrangements being thus made, in order that everything
 justa fierent ante bellum, mittunt
 that was proper might be done before commencing hostilities, they send
 Q. Fabium, M. Livium, L. Æmilium,
 Quintus Fabius, Marcus Livius, Lucius Æmilius,
 C. Licinium, Q. Bæbium, majores natu
 Caius Licinius, and Quintus Bæbius, men of advanced years,
 legatos in Africam, ad percunctandos Carthaginienses,
 as ambassadors into Africa, to inquire of the Carthaginians,
 ne Hannibal oppugnasset Saguntum publico consilio,
 whether Hannibal had attacked Saguntum by public authority;
 et si faterentur, id quod videbantur facturi,
 and in case they should acknowledge it, as it seemed likely they would,
 ac defenderent factum consilio publico, ut indicerent
 and defend it as done by authority of the state, then to declare
 bellum populo Carthaginiensi. Postquam Romani
 war against the people of Carthage. After the Romans
 venerunt Carthaginem, cum senatus
 arrived at Carthage, when an audience of the senate
 datus esset, et Q. Fabius nihil ultra percunctatus esset
 was given them, and Quintus Fabius had addressed no further inquiry
 quam unum, quod mandatum erat, tum unus
 than the one, with which they had been charged, then one
 ex Carthaginiensibus, “et vestra prior legatio,
 of the Carthaginians replied: “Even your former embassy,

Romani, fuit præceps, cum deposcebatis Hannibalem
Romans, was too precipitate, when you demanded Hannibal to be

tamquam oppugnantem Saguntum suo consilio :
given up, as attacking Saguntum on his own authority :

ceterum hæc legatio, adhuc lenior verbis,
but your present embassy, though hitherto milder in words,

est re asperior : enim tunc Hannibal
is in fact more severe. For then Hannibal

et insimulabatur et deposcebatur, nunc et
was both accused and required to be delivered up : now both

confessio culpæ exprimitur ab nobis, et, ut
a confession of wrong is exacted from us, and, as

a confessis, res extemplo repetuntur.
from those who have pleaded guilty, reparation is immediately demanded.

Ego autem censeam non quærendum, Saguntum
But I think that the question is not, whether Saguntum

oppugnatum sit privato publicone consilio, sed
was attacked by private or public authority, but

utrum jure an injuria. Enim in civem nostrum,
whether it was with right or wrong. For in the case of a citizen of ours,

quid fecerit suo arbitrio aut nostro, hæc quæstio
whether he has acted by his own pleasure or ours, the right of inquiry

atque animadversio nostra est : una disceptatio
and of punishment belongs to us. The only dispute

vobiscum est licueritne fieri per foedus.
with you is, whether it was allowed to be done by the treaty.

Quoniam itaque placet discerni,
Since, therefore, it pleases you that a distinction be made between

quid imperatores faciant publico consilio, quid
what commanders do by public authority, and what

sua sponte, est foedus nobis vobiscum ictum
of their own will, there is a treaty subsisting between us, concluded

a consule C. Lutatio, in quo cum caveretur
by your consul Lutatius, in which, though provision was made

sociis utrorumque, nihil cautum est
for the allies of both nations, there is no provision made

de Saguntinis— enim erant necdum vestri socii.
for the Saguntines, for they were not as yet your allies.

At enim **eo fœdere** **quod ictum est** **cum**
 But then, you will say, in the treaty which was made with

Hasdrubale, **Saguntini excipiuntur.**
 Hasdrubal, the Saguntines are exempted from hostilities,

Adversus quod **ego nihil dicturus sum,** **nisi quod**
 in answer to which I shall urge nothing but what

didici **a vobis:** **enim vos negastis vos teneri**
 I have learned from yourselves. For you denied that you were bound

eo, quod fœdus **C. Lutatius** **consul** **primo**
 by the treaty which Caius Lutatius, the consul, at first

icit nobiscum **quia** **neque ictum erat**
 concluded with us, because that it had neither been made

auctoritate patrum **nec jussu populi:**
 with the approbation of the senate nor the command of the people:

aliud fœdus **itaque ictum est** **de integro** **publico**
 and another treaty was therefore contracted anew by public

consilio. **Si vestra fœdera non tenent vos** **nisi icta**
 authority. Now if your treaties do not bind you unless concluded

ex auctoritate **aut vestro jussu,** **quidem fœdus**
 with your approbation and order, surely the treaty

Hasdrubalis, **quod icit** **nobis insciis,** **ne potuit**
 of Hasdrubal, which he made without our knowledge, can not

obligare nos. **Omittite proinde** **facere mentionem**
 be binding on us. Cease, therefore, to make mention

Sagunti atque Iberi, **et vester animus aliquando pariat,**
 of Saguntum and Iberus, and let your mind at length bring forth

quod **diu parturit."** **Tum Romanus**
 that with which it has long been in labor." Then the Roman,

facto sinu ex toga, **inquit,** **"Hic portamus vobis**
 having formed a fold in his robe, said, "Here we bring to you

pacem et bellum: **sumite** **utrum placet."** **Sub hanc**
 peace and war; take which you please." On this

vocem **subclamatum est** **haud minus ferociter,**
 speech they exclaimed, no less fiercely, in reply:

"daret, **utrum vellet:"** **Et** **cum is**
 "He should give whichever he chose." And when he,

iterum effuso sinu **dixisset** **"dare bellum,"**
 again throwing open the fold, said "he gave war,"

omnes responderunt "se accipere, et se gesturos
 they all answered "that they accepted it, and would prosecute it,
 iisdem animis, quibus acciperent."
 with the same spirit with which they accepted it."

XIX.—Hæc directa percunctatio ac denuntiatio
 This direct inquiry and denunciation
 belli visa est magis ex dignitate Romani
 of war seemed more in accordance with the dignity of the Roman
 populi cum ante, tum maxime
 people, both before *this time*, and more particularly
 excisa Sagunto, quam disceptare verbis
 after the destruction of Saguntum, than to cavil in words
 de jure foederum. Nam si esset res disceptationis
 about the obligation of treaties. For if it were a subject for a controversy
 verborum, quid erat foedus Hasdrubalis comparandum
 of words, in what was the treaty of Hasdrubal to be compared
 cum priore foedere Lutatii, quod mutatum est,
 with the former treaty of Lutatius, which was altered?
 cum in foedere Lutatii diserte additum esset
 Since in the treaty of Lutatius it was expressly added,
 id fore ratum ita, si populus censuisset:
 "that it should be valid only on condition that the people ratified it;
 in foedere Hasdrubalis fuerit
 but in the treaty of Hasdrubal, there was
 nec quidquam tale exceptum et foedus
 no such exception; and besides this treaty
 comprobatum sit ita silentio tot annorum
 was confirmed in such a manner by the silence of so many years,
 eo vivo ut ne quidem mortuo auctore
 while he was still living, that not even after the death of its author
 quidquam mutaretur. Quamquam et si staretur
 was any change made in it. Although, even were they to abide
 priore foedere erat satis cautum
 by the former treaty, there was sufficient security provided
 Saguntinis, exceptis sociis utrorumque: nam
 for the Saguntines, by excepting the allies of both states: for

neque additum erat iis qui tunc esset,
 neither was it added, "those who then were,"
 nec ne qui postea assumerentur: et
 nor "those who should afterwards be admitted:" and
 cum liceret assumere novos socios, quis
 as it was *evidently* allowable to admit new allies, who
 censeret æquum aut quemquam recipi
 could think it reasonable, either that a *people* should not be received
 in amicitiam ob nulla merita, aut
 into friendship for any services *whatever*; or that
 receptos in fidem non defendi? tantum,
 once taken under protection, they should not be defended? provided only
 socii Carthaginiensium ne aut sollicitarentur
 the allies of the Carthaginians should neither be solicited
 ad-defectionem, aut desciscentes sua sponte
 to revolt, nor, revolting of their own accord,
 reciperentur. Romani legati, sicuti
 be received. The Roman ambassadors, according as
 imperatum erat iis Romæ, trajecerunt ab Carthagine
 orders had been given them at Rome, passed over from Carthage
 in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates, ut pellicerent
 into Spain, in order to visit the nations, and either to persuade
 in societatem aut averterent a
 them into an alliance, or at least dissuade them from joining
 Pœnis. Venerunt primum ad Bargusios,
 the Carthaginians. They came first to the Bargusii,
 a quibus benigne excepti, quia tædebat
 by whom being favorably received, because they were tired
 Punici imperii, erexerunt multos populos
 of the Carthaginian government, they excited many of the states
 trans Iberum ad cupidinem novæ fortunæ. Inde
 beyond the Iberus to the desire of a revolution. Thence
 ventum est ad Volcianos, quorum responsum
 they came to the Volciani, whose answer,
 celebre per Hispaniam avertit ceteros populos
 noised with applause through Spain, deterred the other states
 ab societate Romana. Enim ita maximus natu
 from joining in alliance with the Romans. For thus the oldest member

imperii petissent, ne darent transitum
of their empire, they requested that the Gauls would not grant a passage

per suas urbes agrosque Pœno
through their cities and territories to the Carthaginian who was

inferenti bellum Italiæ, tantus risus dicitur
preparing to invade Italy, such a laugh, it is said,

ortus cum fremitu, ut juvenus
was raised, accompanied with a yell, that the youths

vix sedaretur a magistratibus majoribusque :
were with difficulty brought to order by the magistrates and elder members :

adeo stolida impudensque postulatio visa est, censere,
so absurd and shameless did the request seem, to propose

ne Galli transmittant bellum in Italiam,
that the Gauls should not suffer the war to pass into Italy,

id avertere in se ipsos que objicere suos agros
but should draw it on themselves and expose their own lands

populandos pro alienis. Fremitu
to be devastated, instead of those of strangers. The uproar

tandem sedato responsum est legatis,
being at length appeased, answer was given to the ambassadors,

neque Romanorum esse meritum
"that neither on the part of the Romans was any kindness observed

in se neque injuriam Carthaginiensium,
towards them, nor ill-treatment on the part of the Carthaginians,

ob quæ sumant arma aut pro Romanis
on account of which they should take up arms either in favor of the Romans

aut adversus Pœnos. Contra ea sese audire homines
or against the Carthaginians. On the contrary, they had heard that men

sux gentis pelli agro finibusque Italiæ
of their nation had been driven from the lands and confines of Italy

a Romano populo pendereque stipendium et pati
by the Roman people, that they had to pay a tribute, and suffered

cetera indigna. Ferme eadem dicta auditaque
other indignities." Nearly the same was said and heard

in ceteris conciliis Galliæ, nec auditum quidquam
in the other assemblies of Gaul; nor did they hear anything

satis hospitale pacatumve prius, quam venerè
very friendly or pacific before they came

Massiliam. Ibi omnia inquisita ab sociis
to Marseilles. There everything, *that had been* ascertained by the allies

cum cura ac fide cognita, animos
with diligence and fidelity, was made known to them,— “that the minds

Gallorum jam ante præoccupatos esse ab Hannibale :
of the Gauls had been already prepossessed by Hannibal,

sed ne quidem illi ipsi gentem fore
but that not even by him would *that* nation be found

satis mitem— adeo ferocia atque indomita
very tractable, (so ferocious and ungovernable

esse ingenia,— ni animi principum
were their tempers,) unless the affections of the chiefs

subinde concilientur auro cujus gens
should every now and then be conciliated with gold, of which *that* people

est avidissima. Ita peragratis populis
are most covetous.” Having thus gone round through the tribes

Hispaniæ et Galliæ legati redeunt Romam,
of Spain and Gaul, the ambassadors return to Rome,

haud ita multo post quam consules profecti erant
not long after the consuls had set out

in provincias. Invenerunt omnem civitatem erectam
for their provinces. They found the whole city on tip-toe

in exspectationem belli, fama satis constante
in expectation of war, the report being sufficiently confirmed,

Pœnos jam transmisisse Iberum.
that the Carthaginians had already passed the Iberus.

XXI.—Hannibal, capto Sagunto, concesserat
Hannibal, after the taking of Saguntum, had retired

novam Carthaginem in hiberna, ibique auditis,
to New Carthage into winter-quarters ; and there, having heard

quæ forent acta decretaque Romæ, quæque
what had been done and decreed at Rome, and [what]

Carthagine, seque esse non solum ducem
at Carthage, and that he was not only the leader,

sed etiam causam belli, partitis divenditisque
but likewise the cause of the war, after having distributed and sold off

reliquiis prædæ, ratus nihil ultra differendum,
the remains of the plunder, thinking there ought to be no longer delay,

convocat milites Hispani generis; inquit,
he calls together his soldiers of the Spanish race and speaks to this effect.

"Ego credo, socii et vos ipsos cernere,
"I believe, fellow-soldiers, that even you yourselves perceive that,

omnibus populis Hispaniæ pacatis aut nobis finiendam
all the tribes of Spain being reduced to peace, we must either conclude

militiam que dimittendos esse exercitus, aut
our campaigns and disband our armies, or

transferendum bellum in alias terras: enim ita
transfer the war to other regions: for thus

hæ gentes florebunt bonis non solum pacis
these nations will flourish amid the blessings not only of peace,

sed etiam victoriæ, si quæremus ex aliis gentibus
but also of victory, if we seek from other countries

prædam et gloriam. Cum itaque militia
spoils and renown. Since, therefore, a campaign

longinqua a domo instet, incertumque sit, quando
far from home soon awaits you, and it is uncertain when

visuri sitis vestras domos et quæ
you shall again see your homes and all that

sunt ibi cara cuique, si quis vestrum vult invisere suos,
is there dear to you, if any one of you desires to visit his friends,

do commeatum. Edico adsitis
I grant him leave of absence. I give you orders to be here

primo vere, ut bene juvantibus diis
at the beginning of spring, that, with the good assistance of the gods,

incipiamus bellum futurum ingentis gloriæ
we may enter on a war which will prove one of great glory

prædæque." Potestas visendi domos ultro oblata
and spoil." This power of visiting their homes, voluntarily offered,

erat grata fere omnibus et jam desiderantibus suos
was acceptable to almost all, [both] already longing to see their friends,

et providentibus in futurum longius desiderium.
and foreseeing in future a still longer absence.

Quies per totum tempus hiemis inter labores
Reste through the whole season of winter, between toils

aut jam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit
 already undergone and those *that were* soon to be endured, renewed

corpora animosque ad patienda omnia
the vigor of their bodies and minds to encounter all *difficulties*

de integro. Primo vere convenere
 afresh. At the beginning of spring they assembled

ad edictum. Hannibal, cum recensuisset
 according to command. Hannibal, when he had reviewed

auxilia omnium gentium, profectus Gades
 the auxiliaries of all the nations, having gone to Gades,

exsolvit vota Herculi, obligatque se novis votis,
 fulfilled his obligations to Hercules, and bound himself by new vows,

si cetera prospera evenissent. Inde
 provided his other *projects* should have a prosperous issue. Then

partiens curas simul in inferendum
 dividing his attention at the same time between the offensive

atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse peteret
 and defensive *operations of the war*, lest, while he was advancing on

Italiam terrestri itinere per Hispaniam Galliasque,
 Italy by a land journey through Spain and Gaul,

Africa esset nuda apertaque Romanis ab Sicilia,
 Africa should be unprotected and exposed to the Romans from Sicily,

statuit firmare eam valido præsidio.
 he resolved to strengthen it with a powerful force

Pro eo ipse petiit supplementum ex Africa,
 For this *purpose* he requested a reinforcement from Africa

maxime levium armis jaculatorum, ut Afri
 chiefly of light-armed spearmen, in order that the Africans

facerent stipendia in Hispania, Hispani in Africa,
 might do service in Spain, and the Spaniards in Africa,

uterque futurus melior milites procul ab domo,
 each likely to be a better soldier at a distance from home,

velut obligati mutuis pignoribus. Misit in Africam
 as if bound by mutual pledges. He sent into Africa,

pedites tredecim millia octingentos quinquaginta
 of infantry, thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty

cetratos, octingentos septuaginta Baleares funditores
 targeteers, eight hundred and seventy Balearic slingers,

mille ducentos equites mixtos ex multis gentibus.
and one thousand two hundred horsemen, composed of various nations.

Has copias jubet partim esse præsidio
These forces he orders partly to be used as a garrison

Carthagini, partim distribui per Africam.
for Carthage, and partly to be distributed through Africa.

Simul jubet quatuor millia delectæ juventutis
At the same time he orders four thousand chosen youth,

conscripta conquisitoribus missis in
whom he had enlisted by means of commissaries sent among

civitates, duci Carthaginem eosdem præsidium
the several states, to be conducted to Carthage both as a garrison

et obsides.
and as hostages.

XXII.—Ratus Hispaniam neque negligendam.
Judging also that Spain ought not to be neglected,
 atque ideo haud minus, quod erat haud ignarus
(and the less, because he was aware

eam circumitam ab Romanis legatis ad sollicitandos
that it had been traversed by the Roman ambassadors, to solicit

animos principum, destinat eam provinciam
the friendship of the chiefs,) he assigns that province

Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, firmatque eum
to Hasdrubal his brother, a man of active spirit, and strengthens him

maxime Africis præidiis, undecim millibus octingentis
chiefly with African troops: eleven thousand eight hundred

quinquaginta Afrorum peditum, trecentis Liguribus,
and fifty African foot, three hundred Ligurians,

quingentis Balearibus. Ad hæc auxilia peditum
and five hundred Balearians. To these forces of infantry

additi quadringenti equites Libyphœnices—
were added four hundred horsemen of the Liby-Phœnicians,

genus mixtum Punicum Afris—
a race composed of a mixture of Carthaginians with Africans;

et Numidiæ Maurique accollæ Oceani ad
of Numidians and Moors who border on the Ocean, to the number of

mille octingenti et parva manus Ilergetum
 one thousand eight hundred, and a small band of Ilergetes
 ex Hispania, ducenti equites, et,
 from Spain, amounting to two hundred horse; and,
 ne quid genus terrestris auxilii deesset,
 that no description of land force might be wanting,
 quatuordecim elephanti. Classis data præterea
 fourteen elephants. A fleet was given him besides
 ad tuendam maritimam oram, quia poterat credi
 to defend the sea-coast, (because it might be supposed
 Romanos tum quoque gesturos rem ea parte
 that the Romans would then [too] carry on operations after the manner
 belli, qua vicerant,
 of warfare, by which they had formerly prevailed,)
 quinquaginta quinqueremes, duæ quadriremes,
 fifty quinqueremes, two quadriremes,
 quinque triremes : sed triginta et duæ quinqueremes
 and five triremes : but only thirty-two quinqueremes
 et quinque triremes erant aptæ instructæque remigio.
 and the five triremes were fully equipped and manned with rowers
 Ab Gadibus redit ad hiberna exercitus Carthaginem.
 From Gades he returned to the winter-quarters of the army at Carthage :
 Atque inde profectus ducit præter urbem
 and thence setting out, he led his forces by the city
 Et ovissam ad Iberum maritimamque oram
 Etovissa to the Iberus and the sea-coast.
 Ibi fama est juvenem divina specie
 There, it is reported a youth of divine figure
 visum ab eo in quiete, qui diceret
 was seen by him in his sleep, who said,
 se missum ab Jove ducem Hannibali
 "that he was sent by Jupiter as the guide of Hannibal
 in Italiam : proinde sequeretur, neque usquam
 into Italy, and that he should, therefore, follow him, nor in any direction
 deflecteret oculos a se. Pavidum secutum primo,
 turn his eyes away from him." Filled with terror he followed at first
 nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem, deinde
 looking nowhere either around or behind : but afterwards,

cura humani ingenii, cum agitaret animo,
 through the curiosity of human nature, when he revolved in his mind
 quidnam id esset quod vetitus esset respicere,
 what that could be on which he was forbidden to look back,
 eum nequivisse temperare oculis: tum vidisse
 he could not restrain his eyes; he then saw
 post sese serpentem mira magnitudine ferri
 behind him a serpent of wonderful size moving along
 cum ingenti strage arborum ac virgultorum, ac
 with an immense destruction of trees and bushes, and
 post nimbum insequi cum fragore cœli.
 after it a cloud following with thunderings from the skies;
 Tum quærentem, quæ esset ea moles
 and that then inquiring "what was that great commotion,
 quidve prodigii, andisse esse
 and what the cause of the prodigy," he heard in reply: "That it was
 vastitatem Italiæ: pergeret porro ire,
 the devastation of Italy: that he should continue to advance forward,
 nec ultra inquireret, sineretque fata esse in occulto.
 nor inquire further, but suffer the fates to remain in obscurity."

XXIII.—Lætus hoc visu trajecit copias

Cheered by this vision he transported his forces.

tripartito Iberum, præmissis,
 in three divisions, across the Iberus, having sent forward emissaries
 qui conciliarent donis animos Gallorum,
 to conciliate by presents the minds of the Gauls,
 qua exercitus erat traducendus, que
 through whose country the army was to be led, and
 specularentur transitus Alpium. Traduxit Iberum
 to explore the passes of the Alps. He brought across the Iberus
 nonaginta millia peditum, duodecim millia equitum.
 ninety thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry.
 Inde subegit Ilergetes Bargusiosque et Ausetanos
 He then reduced the Ilergetes, the Bargusii, the Ausetani,
 et Lacetaniam, quæ subjecta est
 and the province of Lacetania, which lay at the foot

Pyrenæis montibus, que præfecit Hannonem
of the Pyrenæan mountains; and he placed Hanno in command

omni huic oræ, ut fauces, quæ jungunt Hispanias
over all this tract, that the narrow gorges, which connect Spain

Galliis essent in potestate. Decem millia peditum
with Gaul, might be under his power. Ten thousand foot

et mille equites data Hanno ad præsidium
and a thousand horse were assigned to Hanno for the defence

regionis obtinendæ. Postquam exercitus
of the country he was to occupy. After the army

coeptus est traduci per saltum Pyrenæum,
began to march through the defiles of the Pyrenees,

certiorque rumor de Romano bello manavit
and a more positive rumor of the Roman war spread

per barbaros tria millia Carpetanorum peditum
among the barbarians, three thousand of the Carpetanian infantry

inde averterunt iter. Constabat
[thereupon] turned back [from their march]. It clearly appeared

non tam motos bello quam
that they were not so much swayed by the prospect of the war as

longinquitate viæ insuperabilique transitu Alpium
by the length of the journey and the insuperable passage of the Alps.

Hannibal, quia erat anceps revocare aut retinere eos
Hannibal, because it was hazardous to recall or detain them

vi, ne feroces animi ceterorum etiam irritarentur,
by force, lest the ferocious tempers of the rest might also be irritated,

remisit domos supra septem millia hominum, quos
sent home above seven thousand men, whom

et ipse senserat gravari militia, simulans
he also had observed to be annoyed with the service, pretending

Carpetanos quoque dimissos ab se.
that the Carpetani had likewise been dismissed by him.

XXIV.—Inde, ne mora atque otium sollicitaret
Then, lest delay and ease might unsettle

animos, transgreditur Pyrenæum cum reliquis copiis,
their minds, he crosses the Pyrenees with the rest of his forces,

et locat castra ad oppidum Iliberri. Galli
 and pitches his camp near the town of Illiberis. The Gauls,
 quamquam audiebant bellum inferri Italiæ, tamen,
 though they had heard that the war was directed against Italy, yet,
 quia erat fama Hispanos trans
 because there was a report that the Spaniards on the other side of
 Pyrenæum subactos vi, validaque præsidia
 the Pyrenees had been reduced by force, and that a powerful guard
 imposita, consternati ad arma metu servitutis
 was imposed on them, being roused to arms through dread of slavery,
 conveniunt aliquot populi Ruscinonem.
 assembled several states at Ruscino.
 Ubi quod nuntiatum est Hannibali, magis metuens
 When this was announced to Hannibal, he, having more fear of
 moram quam bellum misit oratores ad eorum regulos,
 the delay than of the war, sent envoys to say to their princes,
 semet velle colloqui cum iis ipsum, et illi
 "that he wished to confer with them in person; and that they
 vel propius accederent Iliberrim, vel se processurum
 should either come nearer to Illiberis, or that he would advance
 Ruscinonem, ut congressus faciliior esset ex propinquo :
 to Ruscino, that their meeting might be facilitated by vicinity :
 nam et se lætum accepturum eos in sua castra,
 for that he would either be happy to receive them into his camp,
 se ipsum nec cunctanter venturum ad eos : enim
 or would himself without hesitation come to them : since
 se advenisse Galliaë hospitem, non hostem,
 he came into Gaul as a friend, and not as an enemy,
 nec stricturum gladium, si liceat per Gallos
 and would not draw the sword, if let alone by the Gauls,
 ante, quam venisset in Italiam. Hæc et quidem
 before he arrived in Italy." These proposals, indeed,
 per nuntios. Ut vero reguli Gallorum,
 were made by his messengers. But when the princes of the Gauls
 extemplo motis castris ad Iliberrim, venerunt
 having immediately moved their camp to Illiberis, came
 haud gravate ad Pœnum, capti donis,
 without reluctance to the Carthaginian, being captivated by his presents,

transmiserunt exercitum per suos fines præter
 they suffered his army to pass through their territories by
 oppidum Ruscinonem cum bona pace.
 the town of Ruscino, without any molestation.

XXV.—Interim nihil ultra perlatum erat
 In the meantime no further intelligence had been brought
 in Italiam Romam a legatis Massiliensium, quam
 into Italy to Rome by the ambassadors of Marseilles, than
 Hannibalem transisse Iberum, cum Boii,
 that Hannibalem had passed the Iberus; when the Boii,
 perinde ac si jam transisset Alpes, defecerunt
 as if he had already passed the Alps, revolted
 sollicitatis Insubribus, nec tam ob veteres iras
 after instigating the Insubrians; not so much through their ancient enmity
 in Romanum populum quam quod ægre patiebantur
 towards the Roman people, as on account of their having felt aggrieved
 colonias Placentiam Cremonamque nuper deductas
 that the colonies of Placentia and Cremona had been lately established
 in Gallicum agrum circa Padum.
 in the Gallic territory about the Po.

Itaque repente arreptis armis facto impetu
 Having, therefore, suddenly taken up arms, and made an attack
 in eum ipsum agrum fecerunt tantum terroris
 on that very territory, they caused such terror

ac tumultus, ut non modo agrestis multitudo
 and confusion, that not only the rustic population,
 sed ipsi Romani triumviri C. Lutatius, C. Servilius,
 but even the Roman commissioners, Caius Lutatius, Caius Servilius,

T. Annius, qui venerant ad assignandum agrum,
 and Titus Annius, who had come to assign the lands,
 diffusi mœnibus Placentiæ confugerint Mutinam.
 distrusting the walls of Placentia, fled to Mutina.

Nomen Lutatii est haud dubium: quidam annales
 About the name of Lutatius there is no doubt: but some annals,

per C. Servilio et T. Annio habent Q. Acilium
 instead of Caius Servilius and Titus Annius, have Quintus Acilius

et C. Herennium, alii P. Cornelium Asinam
and Caius Herennius ; others, Publius Cornelius Asina

et C. Papirium Masonem. Id est quoque dubium,
and Caius Papirius Maso. This point is also uncertain,

legati missi ad expostulandum ad Boios
whether the ambassadors sent to expostulate with the Boii

violati sint, an inpetus sit factus in triumviros
suffered violence or whether an attack was made on the commissioners

metantes agrum. Cum obsiderentur Mutinæ,
while measuring out the lands. Whilst they were shut up in Mutina,

et gens rudis ad artes oppugnandarum urbium,
and a people unskilled in the arts of attacking towns,

eadem pigerrima ad militaria opera,
and at the same time most sluggish at military operations,

assideret segnis muris intactis,
lay inactive before the walls which they had not touched,

simulari de pace cœptum agi,
a pretended proposal for an accommodation was set on foot ;

legatique evocati ad colloquium ab principibus
and the ambassadors, being invited out to a conference by the chiefs

Gallorum comprehenduntur non modo contra jus
of the Gauls, are seized, not only contrary to the law

gentium, sed violata etiam fide, quæ data erat
of nations, but in violation [also] of the faith which was pledged

in id tempus, Gallis negantibus dimissuros eos,
on that very occasion, the Gauls declaring that they would not set them free

nisi obsides redderentur sibi. Cum hæc
unless their own hostages were returned to them. When this treatment

de legatis nuntiata essent, et Mutina præsidiumque
of the ambassadors was made known to him, and that Mutina and its garrison

esset in periculo, L. Manlius prætor accensus
were in danger, Lucius Manlius, the prætor, inflamed

ira ducit agmen effusum ad Mutinam.
with resentment, led his army in haste to Mutina.

Erant tunc silvæ circa viam,
There were at that time woods on both sides of the road,

plerisque incultis : ibi profectus
most of the ground being uncultivated. There, having advanced

inexplorato, præcipitatus in insidias,
 without having examined the country, he fell suddenly into an ambuscade;
 que cum multa cæde suorum segre emerisit
 and after much slaughter of his men, with difficulty made his way
 in apertos campos. Ibi castra communita; et,
 into the open plains. Here a camp was fortified, and
 quia spes defuit Gallis ad tentanda ca.
 because confidence was wanting to the Gauls to attack it,
 animi militum refecti sunt, quamquam satis constabat
 the spirits of the soldiers were revived, although it was sufficiently eviden-
 res accisas. Iter deinde cœptum
 that their strength was much impaired. The journey was then commenced
 de integro, nec, dum agmen ducebatur
 anew; nor, while the army was led in march
 per patentia loca, hostis apparuit: ubi silvæ
 through the open tracts, did the enemy appear: but when the woods
 rursus intratæ, tum adorti postremos cum
 were again entered, then falling on their rear, amid
 magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium occiderunt
 great confusion and alarm of all, they slew
 septingentos milites, ademere sex signa. U
 seven hundred soldiers, and carried off six standards. Whe
 evasere e invio atque impedito saltu, fuit finis
 they had escaped from the pathless and entangled thicket, there was an ex
 et Gallis territandi et Romanis
 [both] to the Gauls of striking terror and to the Roman
 pavendi. Inde facile tutantes agmen
 of being panic-struck; and afterwards, easily defending their march
 apertis locis Romani contendere Tanetum,
 through the open ground, the Romans proceeded to Tanetum,
 vicum propinquum Pado. Ibi ad tempus munimento
 a village near the Po; where by a temporary fortification,
 commeatibusque fluminis et etiam auxilio
 and the supplies conveyed by the river, and also by the aid
 Brixianorum Gallorum tutabantur se adversus
 of the Brixian Gauls, they defended themselves against
 in dies crescentem multitudinem hostium.
 the daily increasing multitude of their enemies.

XXVI.—**Postquam** **perlatus est** **qui repens**
 When account was brought of this sudden
tumultus **Romam,** **et patres acceperunt** **Punicum**
 disturbance to Rome, and the senators learned that the Punic
bellum **auctum insuper Gallico,** **jubent C. Atilium**
 war had increased by addition of the Gallic, they order Caius Atilius,
prætorem **ferre auxilium Manlio** **cum una Romana**
 a prætor, to carry assistance to Manlius with one Roman
egione **et quinque millibus sociorum** **conscriptis**
 legion and five thousand of the allies, enlisted
a consule **novo dilectu,** **qui sine ulla certamine—**
 by the consul in the late levy; who, without any contest,
enim hostes abscesserant metu— **pervenit Tanetum.**
 (for the enemy had retired through fear,) arrived at Tanetum.

Et P. Cornelius, **nova legione transcripta**
 At the same time Publius Cornelius, a new legion having been levied
in locum ejus, **quæ missa erat** **cum prætore,**
 in the room of that which had been sent with the prætor,
profectus ab urbe **sexaginta** **navibus longis,**
 setting out from the city with sixty ships of war,
præter oram **Etruriæ Ligurumque** **et inde**
 by the coast of Etruria and Liguria, and then
montes Salyûm **pervenit Massiliam,** **et locat castra**
 the mountains of the Salyes, arrived at Marseilles, and pitched his camp
ad proximum ostium **Rhodani—** **enim amnis**
 on the nearest mouth of the Rhone, (for the stream,
divisus **decurrit in mare** **pluribus—**
 dividing itself, flows down to the sea through several channels,)
vixdum **satis credens** **Hannibalem** **superasse**
 scarcely as yet well believing that Hannibal had passed
Pyrenæos montes. **Ut** **animadvertit** **quem**
 the Pyrenæan mountains. But when he ascertained that he
quoque agitare **de transitu** **Rhodani,**
 was also taking steps for a passage of the Rhone,
incertus quonam loco **occurreret ei,** **militibus**
 uncertain in what place he might meet him, his soldiers
necdum satis reffectis **ab jactatione maritima,**
 not yet being sufficiently recovered from the tossing of the sea,

præmittit interim trecentos delectos equites
he sends forward, in the mean time, three hundred chosen horsemen,

Massiliensibus ducibus et Gallis auxiliariibus
with Massilian guides and Gallic auxiliaries

ad exploranda omnia visendosque hostes ex tuto.
to explore all the country, and observe the enemy from a safe distance

Hannibal, ceteris pacatis metu aut pretio,
Hannibal, the other states being pacified by fear or bribes,

jam pervenerat in agrum Volcarum, validæ gentis :
had now come into the territory of the Volcæ, a powerful nation.

colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani : sed,
They, indeed, dwell on both sides of the Rhone : but

diffisi Pœnum posse arceri agro
doubting that the Carthaginian could be driven from the country

citeriore, ut haberent flumen
on the hither side, in order that they might have the river

pro munimento trajectis ferme omnibus suis
as a defence, having transported almost all their effects

trans Rhodanum obtinebant armis ulteriorem ripam
across the Rhone, they occupied in arms the farther bank

amnis. Hannibal donis simul pellicit
of the river. Hannibal, by means of presents [at once] persuades

ceteros accolæ fluminis et eorum ipsorum,
the other inhabitants of the river-side, and those also of the Volcæ themselves,

quos suæ sedes tenuerant, ad contrahendas naves
whom their homes had detained, to collect ships

undique fabricandasque ; simul et ipsi
from every quarter, and to build others ; and they at the same time themselves

cupiebant exercitum trajici suamque regionem
desired that the army should be transported, and their country

levari quamprimum tanta turba hominum
relieved, as soon as possible, from the vast multitude of men

urgente. Ingens vis navium itaque
enumbering it. A great number of vessels, therefore,

coacta est lintriumque temere paratarum
were brought together, and of boats rudely constructed

ad vicinalem usum : Gallique primum inchoantes
for the neighboring passages ; and the Gauls first beginning the plan

cavabant alias novas ex singulis arboribus,
 hollowed out some new ones from single trees;
 et deinde milites ipsi, simul inducti copia
 and then the soldiers themselves, at once induced by the plenty
 materiæ simul facilitate operis, raptim faciebant
 of materials and the easiness of the work, hastily formed
 informes alveos, quibus transveherent se
 clumsy hulks, in which they could transport themselves
 suaque, curantes nihil, dummodo
 and their baggage, caring about nothing else, provided
 possent innare aquæ et capere onera.
 they would but float and contain a burden.

XXVII.—Jamque omnibus satis comparatis
 And now when all things were sufficiently prepared
 ad trajiciendum, hostes ex adverso obtinentes
 for crossing, the enemy over against them, occupying
 omnem ripam equites virique, terrebant:
 the whole bank, horse and foot, deterred them.
 ut averteret quos, jubet Hannonem filium
 But in order to dislodge them, Hannibal orders Hanno, the son
 Bomilcaris prima vigilia noctis ire cum parte
 of Bomilcar, at the first watch of the night, to proceed with a part
 copiarum, maxime Hispanis, unius diei iter
 of the forces, principally Spanish, one day's journey
 adverso flumine, et, trajecto amni, ubi primum possit
 up the river; and having crossed it where he might first be able,
 quam occultissime, circumducere agmen, ut,
 as secretly as possible, to lead round his detachment, that,
 cum sit opus facto adoriatur hostem ab tergo.
 when there was occasion for the feat, he might attack the enemy on the rear.
 Galli dati duces ad id edocent,
 The Gauls, given him as guides for the purpose, inform him
 ferme quinque et viginti millia supra inde amnem
 that about twenty-five miles above that place the river,
 circumfusum parvæ insulæ ostendere transitum,
 spreading round a small island showed the passage,

ubi dividebatur, latiore, alveoque eo
 where it divided itself, broader, and the channel consequently
 minus alto. Ibi materia raptim cæsa
 shallower. At this place timber was quickly cut down
 ratesque fabricatæ, in quibus viri equique
 and rafts formed, on which men, horses,
 et alia onera trajicerentur. Hispani
 and other weighty matters might be conveyed over. The Spaniards,
 sine ulla mole, conjectis vestimentis in utres,
 without making any difficulty, having thrust their clothes into leathern bags,
 ipsi incubantes cætris superpositis
 and themselves leaning on their bucklers placed under them,
 tranavere flumen. Et alius exercitus trajectus
 swam over the river. And the rest of the army, having passed over
 ratibus junctis, positis castris prope flumen,
 on the rafts joined together, and pitched their camp near the river,
 fessus itinere nocturno atque labore operis
 being fatigued by the journey of the night and the labor of the work,
 reficitur quiete unius diei, duce intento
 refreshed themselves with rest for one day, their leader being anxious
 ad exsequendum consilium opportune. Profecti
 to execute his design at a proper season. Setting out
 postero die ex loco significant prodito fumo
 next day from this place, they signify, by raising a smoke,
 transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi
 that they had crossed, and were not far distant; which, when
 Hannibal accepit, ne deesset tempori,
 Hannibal understood, that he might not be wanting on the opportunity,
 dat signum ad trajiciendum. Pedes jam habebat
 he gives the signal for crossing. The infantry already had
 lintres aptatas paratasque. Agmen navium
 the boats equipped and in readiness; A line of ships
 superiore parte transmittens equites
 higher up, transporting the horsemen
 fere propter equos nantes, ad
 for the most part near their horses swimming beside them, in order to
 excipiendum impetum adversi fluminis,
 break the force of the current,

præbebat tranquillitatem lintribus infra trajicientibus.
 rendered *the water* smooth for the boats, passing below.

Magna pars equorum trahebantur nantes loris
 A great part of the horses were led *across* swimming held by bridles

a puppibus, præter eos, quos imposuerant in naves
 from the stern, except those which they put on board

instratos frenatosque, ut essent
 saddled and bridled, in order that they might be ready

usui equiti extemplo egresso in ripam.
 to be used by the rider immediately after landing on the strand.

XXVIII.—Galli occursant in ripam cum

The Gauls run down to the bank to meet *them* with

variis ululatibus cantuque sui moris, quatientes
 various whoopings and songs according to their custom, shaking

scuta super capita vibrantesque tela
 their shields above their heads, and brandishing their weapons

dexteris, quamquam tanta vis navium
 in their right hands, although such a vast number of ships

ex adverso terrebat cum ingenti sono fluminis
 in front of *them* alarmed *them*, together with the loud roaring of the river,

et vario clamore nautarum et militum, et qui
 and the mingled clamors of the mariners and soldiers, both of *those* who

nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis, et qui
 were struggling to break through the force of the current, and of *those* who

ex altera ripa hortabantur suos trajicientes.
 from the opposite bank, were encouraging their friends on their passage.

Satis paventes tumultu adverso terribilior
 While sufficiently dismayed by *this* tumult in front, a more terrifying

clamor jam adortus ab tergo, castris captis
 shout now assails *them* from behind, their camp having been taken

ab Hannone: mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror
 by Hanno; presently he himself came up, and a two-fold terror

circumstabat, et tanta vi armatorum
 encompassed *them*, both such a multitude of armed men

evadente in terram e navibus et improvisa acie
 landing from the ships, and *this* unexpected army

premente ab tergo. Postquam Galli conati
 pressing on their rear. When the Gauls, having attempted
 facere vim utroque, pellebantur,
 to force the enemy on either side of them, were themselves repulsed,
 perrumpunt, qua iter visum maxime patere,
 they break through where a way seemed most open,
 diffugiuntque trepidi in suos vicos passim. Hannibal,
 and fly in consternation to their villages around. Hannibal,
 jam spernens tumultus Gallicos trajectis
 now despising these tumultuary onsets of the Gauls, having brought over
 ceteris copiis per otium locat castra. Credo
 the rest of his forces at leisure, encamps on the spot. I should suppose
 fuisse varia consilia trajiciendorum elephantorum :
 there were various plans for transporting the elephants,
 certe memoria rei actæ variata.
 at least the accounts of the manner in which it was done are various.
 Quidam tradunt elephantis congregatis
 Some relate, that, after the elephants were all brought together
 ad ripam ferocissimum ex iis irritatum
 to the river-side, the fiercest of them being provoked to anger
 ab suo rectore, cum sequeretur refugientem nantem
 by his keeper, and pursuing him when taking refuge in and swimming
 in aquam, traxisse gregem, ipso impetu
 across the water, drew down the rest of the herd; the mere force
 fluminis rapiente in alteram ripam, ut
 of the stream hurrying them to the opposite bank, when
 vadum destitueret quemque timentem altitudinem.
 the bottom had failed each, fearful of the depth.
 Ceterum magis constat trajectos ratibus :
 But it is more generally agreed that they were conveyed across on rafts;
 ut id foret ante rem tutius consilium, est
 and as this would appear, before execution, the safer method, it is
 pronius ad fidem re ita acta. Unam ratem
 now easier to believe that the business was so effected. One raft,
 ducentos pedes longam, quinquaginta latam
 two hundred feet long and fifty broad,
 porrexerunt a terra in amnem, superiore parte quam
 they extended from the bank into the river, the upper part of it,

religatam ripæ pluribus validis retinaculis,
being firmly fastened to the shore with several strong cables,

ne deferretur secunda aqua, constraverunt
that it might not be carried down by the stream, they covered

injecta humo in modum pontis, ut bellæ
with a layer of earth, like a bridge, so that the beasts

audacter ingrederentur velut per solum. Altera ratas
might without fear walk on it as over solid ground. Another raft

seque lata centum pedes longa, apta ad trajiciendum
equally broad, and a hundred feet long, fit for crossing

flumen, copulata est huic, et, cum elephanti
the river, was joined to this first; and when the elephants,

acti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam, feminis
being driven over the fixed raft as on a road, the females

prægredientibus, transgressi sunt in minorem
going foremost, passed over to the smaller one which

applicatam, vinculis, quibus leviter annexa erat,
was joined to it, the ropes, with which it had been slightly tied,

extemplo resolutis, pertrahitur ab aliquot actuariis
being instantly loosed, it was towed away by several light

navibus ad alteram ripam. Primis ita expositis
vessels to the other bank. The first having been thus landed

alii deinde repetiti sunt ac trajecti. Donec
the rest were then returned for and carried across. As long as

agerentur velut continenti ponte,
they were driven, as it were, on a continuous bridge,

nihil sane trepidabant : primus pavor erat cum
they were not in the least alarmed. The first fear was, when,

rate soluta ab ceteris raperentur in altum :
the raft being detached from the rest, they were hurried into the deep.

ibi urgentes inter se extremis
Then, pressing close to one another as those at the edges

cedentibus ab aqua, edebant aliquantum trepidationis,
drew back from the water, they occasioned a good deal of disorder,

donec ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam fecisset
till mere terror, on their seeing water all around, produced

quietem. Quidam etiam sævientes excidere in flumen,
quiet. Some, indeed, becoming infuriated, fell into the river;

sed, stabiles ipso pondere dejectis rectoribus,
 but, steadied by their own weight, having thrown off their riders,
 quærendis pedetentim vadis evasere in terram.
 and seeking step by step the shallows, they escaped to the shore.

XXIX.—Dum elephanti trajiciuntur, Hannibal

While the elephants were conveyed over, Hannibal,

interim miserat quingentos Numidas equites
 in the mean time, had sent five hundred Numidian horsemen

ad castra Romana speculatum, ubi et quantæ
 towards the camp of the Romans, to discover where and how numerous

copiæ essent et quid pararent. Trecenti
 their forces were, and what they were designing. The three hundred

Romanorum equites missi, ut ante dictum est, ab
 Roman horse, sent, as was before said, from

ostio Rhodani occurrunt huic alæ equitum. Prælium
 the mouth of the Rhone, meet this band of cavalry. An engagement

editur atrocius quam pro numero
 takes place, more furious than was common for such a number

pugnantium : nam præter multa vulnera cædes
 of combatants; for, besides many wounds, the loss of life

utrimque fuit etiam prope par, fugaque et pavor
 on both sides was also nearly equal: and the flight and dismay

Numidarum dedit victoriam Romanis jam
 of the Numidians gave victory to the Romans now

admodum fessis. Victores ceciderunt ad centum
 exceedingly fatigued. Of the conquerors there fell one hundred

sexaginta, nec omnes Romani sed pars Gallorum,
 and sixty, not all Romans, but partly Gauls ;

victi amplius ducenti. Hoc principium
 of the vanquished more than two hundred. This prelude

omenque simul belli, ut portendit Romanis
 and omen likewise of the war, as it portended to the Romans

prosperum eventum summæ rerum, ita victoriam
 a prosperous issue of the whole, so did it also a victory

haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis.
 by no means unbloody, and only at the price of a dangerous struggle

Ut, *re* ita gesta, *sui* redierunt ad
 When, after the action had thus occurred, his own men returned to
 utrumque ducem, nec sententia poterat stare Scipioni
 each general, no fixed plan could be adopted by Scipio
 et, nisi ut ipse caperet conatus ex
 on the one hand, except that he should form his measures from
 consiliis cœptisque hostis. Et Hannibalem
 he designs and undertakings of the enemy; and, on the other, Hannibal,
 incertum, utrum intenderet iter cœptum
 uncertain whether he should pursue the march he had commenced
 in Italiam, an manus consereret cum
 into Italy, or come to an engagement with
 eo, qui primus Romanus exercitus se obtulisset, adventus
 the first Roman army that presented itself, the arrival
 legatorum Boiorum regulique Magali,
 of ambassadors from the Boii, and of a petty prince called Magalus,
 avertit a præsentî certamine, qui affirmantes
 diverted from an immediate encounter; who, declaring
 se fore duces itinerum, socios
 that they would be the guides of his journey, and the companions
 periculi, censent Italiam aggrediendam
 of his dangers, gave it as their opinion, that Italy ought to be attacked
 integro bello, viribus nusquam
 with the entire force of the war, his strength having been nowhere
 ante libatis. Multitudo quidem timebat hostem,
 previously impaired. The troops, indeed, feared the enemy,
 memoria superioris belli nondum oblitterata :
 for the memory of the former war was not yet obliterated ;
 sed magis metuebat immensum iter Alpesque,—
 but much more did they dread the immense journey and the Alps,
 rem horrendam fama utique
 a matter exceedingly formidable by report, particularly
 inexpertis.
 to the inexperienced.

XXX.—Hannibal itaque, postquam ipsi sententia
 Hannibal, therefore, as soon as his own resolution

stetit **pergere ire** **atque petere Italiam,** **advocata**
was fixed *to proceed forward* *and advance on Italy,* *having called*

concione **versat** **animos militum** **varie**
an assembly, *works upon* *the minds of his soldiers* *in various ways,*

castigande **adhortandoque :** **se mirari,** **quinam**
by reproof *and exhortation.* *"He wondered," he said, "what*

repens terror **invaserit** **pectora**
sudden terror *could have taken possession of* *breasts* *hitherto*

semper impavida : **per tot annos** **eos facere**
always undismayed. *During such a number of years* *they had made*

stipendia **vincentes,** **neque excessisse Hispania**
their campaigns *with conquest ;* *nor had left Spain*

ante, quam **omnes gentesque et terræ,** **quas** **duo**
before *all the nations and countries,* *which* *two*

diversa maria amplectantur, **essent Cathaginiensium :**
opposite seas embrace, *were subjected to the Carthaginians.*

deinde **indignatos,** **quod Romanus populus**
Then *seized with indignation,* *that* *the Roman people*

postularet, **quicumque obsidissent** **Saguntum**
demanded *all who had besieged* *Saguntum*

dedi **sibi** **velut ob noxam,** **trajecisse**
to be delivered up *to them, as on account of a crime,* *they had passed*

Iberum **ad delendum nomen** **Romanorum**
the Iberus *to blot out the name* *of the Romans,*

liberandumque **orbem terrarum.** **Nemini**
and to emancipate *the world.* *To none*

iter tum visum **longum,** **cum intenderent id**
did the march then seem *long,* *though they were pursuing it*

ab occasu ad exortus solis : **nunc,** **postquam cernant**
from the setting to the rising of the sun. *Now,* *when they saw*

multo majorem partem **itineris** **emensam,**
by far the greater part *of the journey* *accomplished,*

saltum Pyrenæum superatum **inter ferocissimas**
the passes of the Pyrenees surmounted *in the midst of the fiercest*

gentes, **Rhodanum,** **tantum amnem,** **trajectum**
nations, *the Rhone,* *that mighty river,* *crossed*

tot millibus Gallorum prohibentibus, **etiam vi**
in the face of so many thousands of Gauls opposing them, *even the fury*

fluminis ipsius domita, habeant Alpes
 of the river itself having been overcome; nay, when they had the Alps
 in conspectu, alterum latus quarum sit Italise,
 within view, the other side of which was a part of Italy,
 in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere,—
 just in the gates of the enemy's country, they grew weary and halted.
 credentes Alpes esse quid aliud quam
 imagining the Alps to be— what else than
 altitudines montium? Fingerent altiores jugis
 lofty mountains? Suppose them higher than the summits
 Pyrenæi :— profecto nullas terras contingere cœlum
 of the Pyrenees, surely no part of the earth reached to the heaven,
 nec esse inexsuperabiles humano generi. Alpes
 nor was insurmountable by mankind. These Alps
 quidem habitari, coli, gignere atque alere
 in reality were inhabited, cultivated, produced and supported
 animantes. Pervias esse paucis— et
 living beings. Were they passable by small parties and impassable
 exercitibus? Eos ipsos legatos, quos cernant,
 by armies? Those very ambassadors, whom they saw before them,
 non transgressos Alpes elatos sublime pennis : ne
 had not crossed the Alps by being carried aloft on wings ; nor
 eorum majores quidem indigenas, sed
 had their ancestors, indeed, been natives of the soil, but
 cultores Italise advenas tuto transmisisse
 settling in Italy from foreign countries, had safely crossed
 has ipsas Alpes sæpe ingentibus agminibus cum
 those very Alps, often in vast bodies, with
 conjugibus ac liberis, modo migrantium.
 their wives and children, after the manner of other emigrants.
 Armato militi, portant nihil secum præter
 To the armed soldier, carrying nothing with him but
 instrumenta belli, quid quidem esse invium aut
 the implements of war, what in reality was impassable or
 inexsuperabile? Ut caperetur Saguntum,
 insuperable? In order to gain possession of Saguntum,
 quid laboris, quid periculi esse per octo menses
 what toils, what dangers were for eight months

exhaustum ? Petentibus Romam— caput
 undergone ? Now, when striking for Rome, the capital
 orbis terrarum— quidquam videri adeo asperum
 of the world, could anything appear to them so perilous
 atque arduum, quod moretur inceptum ? Gallos
 or difficult as to retard their enterprise ? The Gauls
 quondam cepisse ea quæ Pœnus
 formerly gained possession of that very country which the Carthaginian
 desperet posse adiri. Aut proinde cederent
 despairs of being able to approach. Either, therefore, they must yield
 animo atque virtute genti per eos dies toties
 in spirit and valor to a nation during those times so frequently
 victæ ab se, aut sperent finem
 vanquished by them ; or they must look for the termination
 itineris campum interjacentem Tiberi ac
 of their march in the field lying between the Tiber and
 mœnibus Romanis.
 the walls of Rome."

XXXI.—Jubet

He orders them,

incitatos his adhortationibus

reanimated by these exhortations,

curare corpora atque parare se ad iter. Postero die
 to refresh themselves and prepare for the journey. On the following day,
 profectus adversa ripa Rhodani petit
 proceeding upward along the bank of the Rhone, he makes for
 mediterranea Galliæ, non quia esset rectior via
 the interior parts of Gaul ; not because it was the more direct route
 ad Alpes, sed credens quantum recessisset a mari,
 to the Alps, but believing that the farther he withdrew from the sea,
 Romanum fore minus obvium, cum quo
 the Romans would be less in his way ; with whom
 non erat in animo conserere manus priusquam
 he had no intention of coming to battle before
 ventum foret in Italiam. Quartis castris pervenit
 he should have arrived in Italy. After four days' march he came
 ad Insulam. Ibi amnes Isara Rhodanusque,
 to the Island. Here the rivers Isara and Rhone,

decurrentes ex diversis Alpibus, amplexi
running down from different *parts of the Alps*, after encompassing

aliquantum agri confluunt in unum : nomen
a pretty large tract of ground, flow into one : the name

Insulæ inditum campis mediis.
of the "Island" is given to the plains *that lie between them*.

Allobroges incolunt prope, gens jam inde
The Allobroges dwell near, a nation even in those times

inferior nulla gente Gallica opibus aut fama. Erat
inferior to none in Gaul in power and reputation. They were

tum discors : [fratres ambigebant certamine
at that time at variance. *Two* brothers were engaged in a struggle

regni. Major, et qui prius imperitarat,
'or the sovereignty. The elder, [and one] who had before been king,

nomine Brancus, pellebatur ab minore fratre et
by name Brancus, was driven out by the younger brother, and

costu juniorum, qui minus jure
a combination of the younger men, who, inferior in right,

poterat plus vi. Cum disceptatio hujus seditionis
had more of power. When the decision of this quarrel

peropportuna delata esset ad Hannibalem, factus
was most opportunely referred to Hannibal, being appointed

arbiter regni, restituit imperium majori,
arbitrator of the kingdom, he restored the government to the elder,

quod ea fuerat sententia senatus principumque.
because such had been the opinion of the senate and of the chief men.

Ob id meritum est adjutus commeatu
In return for this service he was assisted with a *supply* of provisions,

copiæque omnium rerum, maxime vestis, quam
and plenty of all necessities, particularly of clothing which

Alpes infames frigoribus cogeant præparari.
the Alps, notorious for extreme cold, made it necessary to be provided

Sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum, cum
After settling the disputes of the Allobroges, when

jam peteret Alpes, instituit iter non
he now made for the Alps, he directed his course *thither*, not

recta regione, sed flexit ad lævam in
by the straight road, but turned to the left into

Tricastinos ; inde per extremam oram
the country of the Tricastini ; thence through the extreme boundary

Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios, via
of the Vocontian territory he advanced into that of the Tricorii, his way
haud usquam impedita, priusquam pervenit ad flumen
not being anywhere obstructed, until he came to the river

Druentiam. Is et ipse amnis Alpinus
Druentia. This stream also, having its source among the Alps,

est omnium fluminum Galliæ difficillimus transitu :
is, of all the rivers in Gaul the most difficult to pass ;

nam, cum vehat ingentem vim aquæ, tamen
for, though it conveys a vast body of water, yet

non patiens est navium, quia coercitus nullis ripis,
it does not admit of ships ; because, being confined by no banks,

fluens pluribus simul neque iisdem alveis, semper
and flowing in several and not always the same channels, continually

nova vada novosque gurgites— et ob eadem
forming new shallows and new whirlpools, (on which account

via quoque est incerta pediti— ad hoc
the passage is also uncertain to a person on foot,) and besides

volvens glareosa saxa, præbet nihil stabile nec tutum
rolling down loose gritty stones, it affords no firm or safe footing

ingredienti. Et forte tum, auctus imbris,
to such as enter it. Happening too, at that time, to be swelled by rains,

fecit ingentem tumultum transgredientibus, cum
it caused the utmost disorder among the troops on their passage, when,

super cetera ipsi turbarentur
in addition to other difficulties, they were of themselves confused

sua trepidatione atque incertis clamoribus.
by their own hurry and uncertain shouts.

XXXII.—Fere triduo postquam Hannibal movit
About three days after Hannibal moved

a ripa Rhodani, consul P. Cornelius venerat
from the bank of the Rhone, the consul Publius Cornelius had come

agmine quadrato ad castra hostium, facturus
with his forces in order of battle to the camp of the enemy, intending to make

nullam moram dimicandi. Ceterum ubi videt
no delay in fighting. But when he saw

munimenta deserta se nec facile assecuturum
the fortifications deserted, and that he could not easily come up with

tantum progressos, rediit ad mare ac naves,
them so far in advance before him, he returned to the sea and his fleet

ita facilius tutiusque occursurus Hannibali descendenti
in order more easily and safely to encounter Hannibal when descending

ab Alpihus. Tamen Hispania, provinciam quam
from the Alps. However, that Spain, the province which

sortitus erat, ne esset nuda Romanis auxiliis, misit
he had obtained by lot, might not be destitute of Roman auxiliaries, he sent

fratrem Cn. Scipionem cum maxima parte copiarum
his brother Cneius Scipio with the greater part of his forces

adversus Hasdrubalem, non tantummodo ad tuendos
against Hasdrubal, not merely to protect

veteres socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam
the old allies and conciliate new, but also

ad pellendum Hasdrubalem Hispania: ipse
to drive Hasdrubal out of Spain. He himself

cum admodum exiguis copiis repetit Genuam,
with a very small force, repaired to Genoa,

defensurus Italiam eo exercitu, qui erat circa Padum.
intending to defend Italy with the army which was around the Po.

Ab Druentia itinere maxime campestri
From the Druentia, by a road that lay principally through level country,

Hannibal cum bona pace Gallorum incolentium
Hannibal, without any molestation from the Gauls inhabiting

ea loca pervenit ad Alpes. Tum, quamquam res
those regions, arrived at the Alps. And now though the scene

prius præcepta erat fama, qua incerta
had been previously anticipated from report, (by which uncertainties

solent ferri in majus vero, tamen altitudo montium visa
are wont to be exaggerated,) yet the height of the mountains when viewed

ex propinquo nivesque prope immixtæ cœlo,
in close proximity, and the snows almost mingling with the sky,

informia tecta imposita rupibus, pecora jumenta que
the shapeless huts standing on the cliffs, the cattle and beasts of burden

torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti,
shivering with cold, the people squalid and wildly dressed,

omnia animalia inanimaliaque rigentia gelu,
all things, in short, animate and inanimate, stiffened with frost,

cetera foediora visu quam dictu,
besides other circumstances more shocking to be seen than described,

renovarunt terrorem. Erigentibus agmen in primos clivos
renewed their alarm. To them, marching up the first acclivities,

montani apparuerunt insidentes tumulos imminentes,
the mountaineers appeared occupying the heights overhead;

qui, si insedissent occultiores valles,
who, if they had posted themselves in the more concealed valleys,

coorti repente ad pugnam dedissent
might, by rushing out suddenly to the attack, have occasioned

ingentem fugam stragemque. Hannibal jussit
great flight and havoc. Hannibal commanded

signa consistere; præmissisque Gallis ad visenda loca,
the troops to halt, and having sent forward Gauls to examine the ground,

postquam comperit esse non transitum ea,
when he found there was no passage on that side,

locat castra quam extantissima valle potest
he pitches his camp in the widest valley he could find,

inter omnia confragosa præruptaque. Tum
among places all rugged and precipitous. Then,

edoctus per eosdem Gallos cum immiscuissent se
having learned from the same Gauls, when they had mixed

colloquiis montanorum, abhorrentes
in conversation with the mountaineers, (from whom they differed

haud sane multum lingua moribusque, saltum obsideri
but little in language and manners,) that the pass was blocked up

tantum interdiu, nocte quemque dilabi
only during the day, and that at night each withdrew

in sua tecta, subiit prima luce tumulos,
to his own dwelling, he advanced at the first dawn to the eminences,

ut ex aperto atque interdiu facturus vim per angustias.
as if designing openly and by day to force his way through the defile.

Die deinde consumpto simulando aliud,
The day then being spent in feigning a different attempt

quam quod parabatur, cum communissent castra
 from that which was in preparation, when they had fortified the camp
 eodem loco, quo constiterant, ubi primum sensit
 in the same place where they had halted, as soon as he perceived
 montanos digressos tumulis custodiasque
 that the mountaineers had retired from the heights, and that the guards
 laxatas factis in speciem pluribus ignibus
 were withdrawn, having made, for a show, a greater number of fires
 quam pro numero manentium,
 than was proportioned to the number of troops remaining in camp,
 relictisque impedimentis cum equite et
 and leaving behind the baggage, with the cavalry and
 maxima parte peditum, ipse cum expeditis—
 the greatest part of the infantry, he himself with a light-armed band,
 quoque viro acerrimo— raptim evadit angustias,
 every man of them daringly brave, pushed rapidly through the pass,
 conseditque iis ipsis tumulis, quos hostes tenuerant.
 and took post on those very heights which the enemy had occupied.

XXXIII.—Prima luce deinde

At dawn of light the next day castra mota,
 the camp broke up,
 et reliquum agmen coepit incedere. Montani
 and the rest of the army began to move forward. The mountaineers,
 signo dato jam conveniebant ex castellis
 on a signal being given, were now coming together out of their fortresses
 ad solitam stationem, cum repente
 to their usual station, when, on a sudden,
 conspiciunt alios hostes imminentes super caput
 they perceive a part of the enemy over-hanging them from above,
 occupata sua arce, alios transire via.
 in possession of their own strong post, and the rest passing along the road
 Utraque res objecta simul oculis animisque,
 Both these objects, presented at the same time to the eye and the mind,
 defixit eos immobiles parumper : deinde,
 made them stand motionless for a little while ; but afterwards,
 ut videre trepidationem in angustiis agmenque
 when they observed the confusion in the pass, and that the marching body

misceri suo ipsum tumultu, maxime
 was thrown into disorder by its own hurried movement, and particularly
 equis consternatis, rati quidquid terroris ipsi adjecissent
 by the horses taking fright, thinking that whatever terror they added
 satis fore ad perniciem, decurrunt
 would suffice for the destruction of the host, they scramble along
 perversis rupibus, assueti juxta invia ac
 the craggy rocks, as being accustomed alike to pathless and
 devia. Tum vero Pœni oppugnabantur
 circuitous ways. Then indeed the Carthaginians were opposed
 simul ab hostibus simul ab iniquitate locorum,
 at once by the enemy and by the difficulties of the ground;
 eratque plus certaminis inter ipsos quam cum hostibus
 and there was a greater struggle among themselves than with the enemy,
 quoque sibi tendente, ut prius evaderet periculo.
 every one [for himself] striving to get first out of danger.

Et equi maxime faciebant infestum agmen,
 But the horses, in particular, imperilled the ranks,
 qui territi dissonis clamoribus, quos nemora
 which, affrighted at the dissonant clamors which the groves
 etiam repercussæque valles augebant, trepidabant,
 [of course] and the re-echoing valleys multiplied, fell into confusion;
 et forte icti aut vulnerati adeo consternabantur,
 and if by chance struck or wounded, they were so dismayed
 ut facerent ingentem stragem simul hominum
 that they occasioned immense destruction both of men
 ac sarcinarum omnis generis. Cumque angustiae
 and baggage of every description: and, as the pass
 utrimque essent diruptæ præcipientesque, turba
 on both sides was broken and precipitous, this turmoil
 dejecit multos in immensum altitudinis
 cast down many to an immense depth,—
 quosdam et armatos: sed jumenta devolvebantur
 some even of the armed men; but the beasts of burden were rolled down
 cum oneribus modo ruinæ maximæ. Quamquam
 together with their loads like the fall of some vast fabric. Though
 quæ erant fœda visu tamen Hannibal continuit
 these disasters were shocking to view, yet Hannibal kept his place

parumper ac suos, ne augeret tumultum
for a while and restrained his men, lest he should increase the tumult

ac trepidationem : deinde, postquam vidit
and confusion ; but afterwards, when he saw

agmen interrumpi, periculumque esse, ne traduxisset
the line broken, and that there was danger that he would bring over

exercitum incolumem nequidquam
his army safely to no purpose

exutum impedimentis, decurrit ex superiore loco,
when deprived of their baggage, he hastened down from the higher ground

et, cum ipso impetu fudisset hostem,
and while by sheer impetuosity he routed the forces of the enemy,

quoque auxit tumultum suis. Sed
he at the same time increased the disorder among his own : but

is tumultus sedatur momento temporis, postquam
this confusion was composed in a moment, after

itinerata liberata erant fuga montanorum ; mox
the roads were cleared by the flight of the mountaineers ; and presently

omnes traducti nec modo per otium
the whole army was conducted through not only without disturbance

sed prope silentio. Inde capit castellum, quod erat
but almost without noise. He then seized a stronghold which was

caput ejus regionis, viculosque circumjectos,
the capital of that district, and the little villages that lay around it,

et aluit exercitum per triduum pecoribus
and fed his army for three days with the cattle

ac cibo captivo ; et eo triduo, quia
and corn he had taken ; and during these three days, as the soldiers

nec impediabantur montanis percussis
were neither obstructed by the mountaineers, who had been daunted

primo nec magnopere loco, confecit aliquantum viæ.
at the first onset, nor yet much by the ground, he made considerable way.

Inde perventum ad alium populum frequentem
He then came to another state abounding,

ut inter montanos cultoribus. Ibi
for a mountainous country, with inhabitants ; there

est prope circumventus non aperto bello, sed
he was nearly overcome, not by open war but

suis artibus— fraude et insidiis. Magno natu
by his own arts,— treachery and ambush. *Some men of advanced age,*

principes castellorum veniunt ad Pœnum oratores,
governors of their forts, came to the Carthaginian *as deputies,*

memorantes, doctos utili exemplo
professing, “that having learned from the profitable example

malis alienis, malle experiri
of the calamities of others, they wished rather to make trial of

amicitiam quam vim Pœnorum :
the friendship than of the strength of the Carthaginians :

itaque obedienter facturos imperata,
that they would therefore obediently execute his commands; *and begged that*

acciperet commeatum ducesque itineris et obsides
he would accept of provisions and guides on his march, and hostages

ad fidem promissorum. Hannibal, cum respondisset
for the sincerity of their promises.” Hannibal, when he had answered *them*

benigne, ratus nec temere credendum
in a friendly manner, thinking that they should neither be rashly trusted

nec aspernandum, ne repudiati aperte fierent
nor yet rejected, lest if repulsed they might openly become

hostes, acceptis obsidibus, quos dabant et
enemies, having received the hostages whom they proffered, and

usus commeatu, quem ipsi detulerant
made use of the provisions which they had, of their own accord, brought down

in viam, sequitur eorum duces, nequaquam ut
to the road, follows their guides, by no means as

inter pacatos agmine composito.
among a friendly people but with his line of march in close order.

Elephanti et equites erant primum agmen, ipse
The elephants and cavalry formed the van, and he himself

incedebat cum robore peditum
followed with the main body of the infantry,

sollicitus circumspectansque omnia. Ubi
carefully inspecting every particular. When

ventum est in viam angustiorem et
they came into a road narrower than the rest and

subjectam altera parte insuper imminenti jugo,
lying on one side beneath an overhanging eminence,

barbari coorti undique ex insidiis petunt
 the barbarians, rising up on all sides from their ambush, assail them
 a fronte, ab tergo, comminus eminus, devolvunt
 in front and rear, at close quarters and from a distance, and roll down
 ingentia saxa in agmen. Maxima vis hominum
 huge stones on the army. The most numerous body of men
 urgebat ab tergo: in eos acies peditum versa
 pressed on the rear; against whom the array of infantry, facing about
 fecit haud dubium, quin, nisi extrema agminis
 for the attack, made it very obvious, that, had not the rear of the army
 fuissent firmata, ingens clades accipienda fuerit
 been well supported, a heavy loss must have been sustained
 in eo saltu. Tunc quoque ventum est ad extremum
 in that pass. Even as it was, they came to the extremity
 periculi ac prope perniciem: nam dum Hannibal
 of danger, and almost to destruction: for whilst Hannibal
 cunctatur dimittere agmen in angustias
 hesitates to lead down his division into the defile,
 quia, ut ipse erat præsidio equitibus
 because, though he himself was a protection to the cavalry,
 non ita reliquerat quidquam auxilii peditibus
 he had not in the same way left any aid to the infantry
 ab tergo, montani occursantes per obliqua
 in the rear, the mountaineers, charging obliquely,
 interrupto medio agmine insedere
 and on having broken through the middle of the army, took possession of
 viam, unaque nox acta est Hannibali sine equitibus
 the road; and one night was spent by Hannibal without his cavalry
 atque impedimentis.
 and baggage.

XXXV.—Postero die barbaris jam intercurantibus

Next day the barbarians [now] rushing on the centre

segnius copiae junctæ, saltusque superatus
 less vigorously, the forces were reunited, and the defile passed.
 haud sine clade, tamen majore perniciæ
 not without loss, but yet with a greater destruction

jumentorum quam hominum. Inde jam montani
of beasts of burden than of men. Thenceforward the mountaineers

concursabant pauciores et magis more latrocinii
fell upon them in smaller parties [and] more like an attack of robbers

quam belli, modo in primum modo
than war, sometimes on the van, sometim

in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus daret
on the rear, according as the ground afforded them

opportunitatem aut progressi
advantage or stragglers advancing before the rest,

morative fecissent aliquam occasionem. Sicut elephanti
or staying behind, gave them an opportunity. Though the elephants

agebantur per præcipites artas vias magna mora,
were driven through the steep and narrow roads with great loss of time,

ita, quacumque incederent præbebant agmen tutum
yet, wherever they went they rendered the army safe

ab hostibus, quia insuetis metus erat
from the enemy, because unaccustomed to such creatures they were afraid

adeundi propius. Nono die perventum est in jugum
of approaching too nearly. On the ninth day they arrived at the summit

Alpium, pleraque per invia et errores,
of the Alps, mostly through pathless tracts, and after many stray-goings

quos aut fraus ducentium faciebant, aut, ubi
which either the treachery of their guides occasioned, or, when

iis non esset fides, temere initæ valles
these were not trusted, their rashly entering the valleys,

a conjectantibus iter. Biduum stativa habita
on their own conjectures of the route. For two days they remained encamped

in jugo, quiesque data militibus fessis labore
on the summit; and rest was given to the soldiers, exhausted with toil

ac pugnando: aliquotque jumenta, quæ
and fighting; and several beasts of burden, which

prolapsa erant in rupibus, sequendo vestigia agminis
had fallen among the rocks, following the track of the army,

pervenere in castra. Fessis tædio
came into the camp. Already worn out with weariness

tot malorum casus nivis etiam,
of so many hardships, a fall of snow [also,]

jam occidente sidere Vergiliarum,
(it being now the season of the setting of the constellation of the Pleiades,)

adjecit ingentem terrorem Signis
added very much to the consternation of the troops. On the standards

motis prima luce, cum agmen incederet segniter
being moved forward at day-break, when the army marched slowly

per omnia oppleta nive, pigritiaque et desperatio
over ground entirely covered with snow, and languor and despair

emineret in vultu omnium, Hannibal
strongly appeared in the countenances of all, Hannibal,

prægressus signa, jussis militibus consistere
having advanced before the standards, and ordered the soldiers to halt

in quodam promontorio, unde erat prospectus
on a certain eminence, from which there was a prospect

longe ac late, ostentat Italiam camposque
far and wide, points out to them Italy, and the plains

Circumpadanos subjectos Alpinis montibus :
about the Po, stretching along the foot of the Alpine mountains ;

que eos tum transcendere moenia non modo
and told them "they were now scaling the walls not only

Italise, sed etiam urbis Romanæ. Cetera
of Italy, but also of the city of Rome ; that the rest of the

fore plana, proclivia, uno aut summum
journey would be smooth and down-hill ; and after one or, at most,

altero prælio habituros arcem et caput Italise
a second battle, they would have the bulwark and capital of Italy

in manu ac potestate. Agmen inde cœpit procedere,
in their power and disposal." The army then began to advance,

hostibus jam nihil ne quidem tentantibus præter
the enemy now making no further attempts beyond

parva furta per occasionem. Ceterum iter fuit
petty thefts, as opportunity offered. But the journey was

multo difficilius quam fuerat in ascensu, ut
much more difficult than it had been in the ascent, since the declivity

Alpium sicut pleraque breviora ab Italia sunt
of the Alps, as being generally shorter on the side of Italy, is

ita arrectiora. Enim ferme omnis via erat
consequently more perpendicular ; for nearly all the road was

præceps, angusta, lubrica, ut possent neque
 precipitous, narrow and slippery, so that they could neither
 sustinere se a lapsu, nec, qui paulum titubassent,
 keep themselves from sliding; nor could those, who made the least stumble,
 afflicti hæerere suo vestigio, occiderentque,
 on having fallen, hold themselves to their footing, but tumbled,
 et homines et jumenta, alii super alios.
 both men and beasts, promiscuously over one another.

XXXVI.—Deinde ventum ad rupem
 They then came to a ridge

multo angustiore[m] atque saxis ita rectis, ut
 much more narrow, and composed of rock so upright, that
 expeditus miles tentabundus retinensque manibus
 a light-armed soldier, making the trial, and clinging with his hands to
 virgulta ac stirpes eminentes circa
 the bushes and roots which appeared here and there,
 posset sægre demittere sese. Locus jam ante
 could with difficulty lower himself down. The ground, even before
 præceps natura recenti lapsu terræ
 very steep by nature, had, by a recent falling away of the earth,
 abruptus erat in altitudinem admodum mille pedum.
 been broken off to the depth of at least one thousand feet.
 Ibi cum equites constitissent velut ad finem viæ,
 Here when the cavalry had halted, as if at the end of their journey,
 nuntiatur Hannibali miranti, quæ res moraretur
 it is announced to Hannibal, wondering what obstructed
 agmen, rupem esse inviam. Deinde digressus ipse
 the march, that the cliff was impassable. Then, going up himself
 ad visendum locum: res visa haud dubia quin
 to view the place, it seemed clear to him that
 circumduceret agmen, quamvis longo ambitu, per
 he must lead his army round it, by however great a circuit, through
 invia, nec antea trita circa. Ea vero via
 the pathless and never-before-trodden regions around. But this route also
 fuit insuperabilis: nam, cum nova modicæ altitudinis
 proved impracticable; for, while the new snow of a moderate depth

cassel super veterem nivem intactam pedes
remained on the old, that had not been removed, their footsteps

insistebant facile ingredientium molli
were planted with ease as they walked upon the first, which was soft

nec peraltæ : ut vero dilapsa est incessu
and not too deep; but when that was dissolved by the treading

tot hominum jumentorumque, ingrediebantur per
of so many men and beasts, they then walked on

nudam glaciem infra, tabemque fluentem
the naked ice below, and through the dirty fluid formed

liquescentis nivis. Ibi erat tetra luctatio,
by the melting snow. Here there was a wretched struggle,

ut a lubrica glacie non recipiente vestigium, et
because of the slippery ice not admitting a firm foothold, and

pede se fallente citius in prono; et, seu
the foot slipping more readily by reason of the slope; and, whether

se adjuvissent in assurgendo manibus seu genu,
they assisted themselves in rising by their hands or knees,

ipsis adminiculis prolapsis, iterum corruerent: nec
these props themselves giving way, they would tumble again; nor

erant stirpes radicesve circa, ad quas quisqua
were there any stumps or roots near, on which one

posset manu aut pede eniti; ita
might with hand or foot support himself; so that

tantum volutabantur in levi glacie tabidaque nive.
they only floundered on the smooth ice and amid the melted snow.

Tamen jumenta interdum etiam secabant infimam
However, the beasts of burden sometimes even cut into this lower

nivem ingredientia, et
bed of snow by merely treading upon it, and sometimes, when

prolapsa jactandis gravius ungulis in
they lost their footing, by striking more strongly with their hoofs in

connitendo penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque,
their struggling, they broke it entirely through; so that most of them,

velut capta pedica, hærerent in dura et alta concreta
as if taken in a trap, stuck fast in the hard and deeply-frozen

glacie.
ice.

XXXVII.—Tandem hominibus atque jumentis
At length, after men and beasts

fatigatis nequidquam castra posita in jugo,
were fatigued to no purpose, a camp was fixed on the summit,

loco purgato ad id ipsum ægerrime
the ground being cleared for that purpose with very great difficulty.

tantum nivis fuit fodiendum atque egerendum.
so much snow was there to be dug out and carried away.

Milites inde ducti ad muniendam rupem,
The soldiers were then employed to make a way down the steep,

per quam unam via poterat esse,
through which alone a passage could be effected ;

cum esset cædendum saxum dejectis
and as it was necessary to cut through the rocky mass, having felled

detruncatisque immanibus arboribus circa,
and lopped a number of huge trees which stood near,

faciunt ingentem struem lignorum, que, cum et
they make of them a vast pile of timber, and as soon as

vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset,
a strong wind fit for exciting the flames arose,

eam succendunt, infusoque aceto ardentia saxa
they set fire to it, and, pouring vinegar on the heated stones,

putrefaciunt. Rupem ita torridam
they made them crumble to pieces. Through the rock, thus heated

incendio pandunt ferro, molliuntque clivos
by the fire, they open a way with iron instruments, and soften its declivities

modicis anfractibus, ut non solum jumenta, sed
by gentle windings, so that not only the beasts of burden, but

etiam elephanti possent deduci. Quadriduum
even the elephants could be brought down. Four days

consumptum circa rupem, jumentis
were spent about this rock, the cattle

prope absumptis fame : enim cacumina sunt fere nuda,
nearly perishing through hunger : for the summits are for the most part bare,

et, si est quid pabuli, nives ohruunt. Inferiora
and if there is any pasture the snows bury it. The lower parts

habent valles et quosdam apricos colles,
contain valleys and some sunny hills,

rivosque prope silvas et jam loca
and rivulets at the side of the woods, and [presently] sooner

digniora culta humano. Ibi jumenta
more worthy of the abode of man. There the beasts of burden

missa in pabulum, et quies data triduo hominibus
were sent out to pasture, and rest given for three days to the men,

fessis muniendo. Inde descensum ad planum,
fatigued with forming the passage. They then descended into the plains,

et locis et ingeniis accolarum
both the country and the dispositions of the inhabitants

jam mollioribus.
being now less rugged.

XXXVIII.—Hoc modo maxime perventum est
In this manner chiefly they came

in Italiam, quinto mense, ut quidam auctores sunt
to Italy, in the fifth month (as some authors relate)

a nova Carthagine, superatis Alpibus quinto decimo die.
after leaving New Carthage, having crossed the Alps in fifteen days.

Quantæ copiæ Hannibali fuerint transgresso in Italiam
What number of forces Hannibal had on arriving in Italy,

nequaquam constat inter auctores. Qui scribunt
is by no means agreed upon by authors. Those who state them

plurimum, fuisse centum millia peditum,
at the highest make them amount to one hundred thousand foot

viginti equitum : qui minimum,
and twenty thousand horse ; those who state them at the lowest, say

viginti millia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius
twenty thousand foot and six of horse. Lucius Cincius

Alimentus, qui scribit se captum ab Hannibale,
Alimentus, who writes that he was taken prisoner by Hannibal.

moveret maxime auctor, nisi confunderet numerum
would influence us most as an authority, did he not confound the number

additis Gallis Liguribusque : cum his— est magis
by adding the Gauls and Ligurians. Including these, (who, it is more

verisimile affluxisse, et ita quidam auctores sunt—
probable, flocked to him afterwards, and so some authors assert.)

octoginta millia peditum, decem equitum adducta
he says that eighty thousand foot and ten thousand horse were brought

in Italiam : autem audisse ex ipso Hannibale,
into Italy ; and that he had heard from Hannibal himself,

postquam transierit Rhodanum, amisisse
that, after crossing the Rhone, he had lost

triginta sex millia hominum, ingentemque numerum
thirty six thousand men, and an immense number

equorum et aliorum jumentorum. Cum constet
of horses and other beasts of burden. As it is agreed on

inter omnes digressum in Italiam e Taurinis,
by all, that he descended into Italy from the country of the Taurini,

quæ erat proxima gens Galliæ, eo magis miror
[which was] the next nation to the Gauls, I am the more surprised

ambigi, quam transierit Alpes, et
that it should be doubtful by what road he crossed the Alps ; and

vulgo credere transgressum Penino,—
that it should commonly be believed that he passed over the Pennine

atque inde nomen inditum ei jugo Alpium.
mountain, and that thence the name was given to that ridge of the Alps.

Coelius dicit transisse per jugum Cremonis :
Coelius says that he passed over the top of Mount Cremona :

ambo qui saltus deduxerint eum non in Taurinos,
both which passes would have brought him, not to the Taurini,

sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos. Nec
but through the Salassian mountaineers to the Libuan Gauls. Neither

est verisimile ea itinera ad Galliam tum patuisse,
is it probable that these roads into Gaul were then open, since those

utique quæ ferunt ad Peninum fuissent obsepta
especially, which lead to the Pennine hill would have been blocked up

gentibus semigermanis : neque hercule,
by nations half German ; nor indeed,

si id forte movet quem, Veragri,
(If this argument should have weight with any one,) do the Veragri,

incolæ ejus jugi, norunt nomen inditum
the inhabitants of this ridge, know of the name being given

his montibus ab ullo transitu Pœnorum,
these mountains from any passage over them by the Carthaginians.

sed ab eo, quem montani appellant Peninum,
 but from the divinity, whom the mountaineers style Penninus,
 sacratum in summo vertice.
 worshipped on the highest summit.

XXXIX.—Peropportune

Very opportunely

ad principia

for the commencement

rerum bellum motum erat Taurinis,
 of his operations, a war had broken out with the Taurini.
 proximæ genti, adversus Insubres. Sed Hannibal
 the nearest nation, against the Insubrians. But Hannibal

non poterat armare exercitum, ut esset auxilio
 could not put his troops under arms so as to be of service

alteri parti, sentientem maxime in reficiendo
 to either party, because they now felt most sensibly, in remedying them,

mala ante contracta : enim otium ex labore,
 the maladies they had before contracted : for rest after toil,

copia ex inopia cultus ex illuvie
 plenty after scarcity, and care of their persons after a course of filth

tabeque, varie movebat squalida et prope efferata
 and nastiness, had variously affected their squalid and almost savage-looking

corpora. Ea fuit causa P. Cornelio consuli,
 bodies. This was the reason that Publius Cornelius, the consul,

cum venisset Pisas navibus, festinandi ad Padum
 when he had arrived at Pisa with his fleet, hastened to the Po,

exercitu accepto a Manlio Atilioque trione
 though the troops he had received from Manlius and Atilius were raw

et trepido in novis ignominiis, ut
 and disheartened by their late disgraces, in order that

manus consereret cum hoste nondum reffecto.
 he might come to battle with the enemy when not yet recruited.

Sed cum consul venit Placentiam, Hannibal
 But when the consul came to Placentia, Hannibal

jam moverat ex stativis, que expugnarat vi
 had already moved from his quarters, and taken by storm

unam urbem Taurinorum, caput ejus gentis,
 one city of the Taurini, the metropolis of that nation

quia non veniebat volentis in amicitiam : et
because they did not come willingly into his alliance; and

junxisset sibi, non solum metu sed etiam
he would have gained over to him, not only from fear, but also

voluntate, Gallos accolas Padi, ni adventus
from inclination, all the Gauls dwelling near the Po, had not the arrival

consulis subito oppressisset circumspectantes tempus
of the consul suddenly checked them while watching for an opportunity

defectionis. Hannibal et movit ex
of revolt. Hannibal likewise advanced towards them from

Taurinis, ratus Gallos incertos,
the country of the Taurini, thinking that the Gauls still uncertain

quæ pars sequenda esset secuturos præsentem.
what party they should join, would follow him if present among them.

Exercitus erant jam prope in conspectu, ducesque
The armies were now almost in sight of each other, and the leaders,

sicuti nondum satis noti inter se ita convenerant,
though not yet thoroughly acquainted, were yet come together

uterque jam imbutus quadam admiratione alterius.
when each was already imbued with a certain admiration of the other.

Nam et nomen Hannibalis jam ante excidium Sagunti
For the name of Hannibal, even before the destruction of Saguntum,

erat celeberrimum apud Romanos, et Hannibal
was highly famed among the Romans; and Hannibal

credebat Scipionem præstantem virum eo ipso, quod
believed Scipio to be a superior man, from the very fact that

potissimum lectus esset dux adversus se.
he was particularly chosen to act as commander against himself.

Et auxerant opinionem inter se, Scipio, quod
They had increased, too, their estimation of each other: Scipio, because,

relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat Hannibali
though left behind in Gaul, he had met Hannibal

transgresso in Italiam, Hannibal, et tam audaci conatu
at his coming down into Italy; Hannibal, by his daring attempt

trajiciendarum Alpium et effectu. Scipio tamen
of passing the Alps, and by its accomplishment. Scipio, however,

occupavit trajicere Padum, et motis castris
was the first to cross the Po, and having removed his camp

ad amnem Ticinum, exorsus est talem orationem
 to the river Ticinus, he delivered the following oration
 causa adhortandorum militum, priusquam
 for the sake of encouraging his soldiers before
 educeret in aciem :
 he led them out to battle :

XL.—"Milites, si educerem eum exercitum
 "Soldiers, if I were conducting that army
 in aciem, quem habui mecum in Gallia,
 to the battle-field, which I had with me in Gaul,
 supersedissem loqui apud vos : enim quid referret
 I should have refrained from addressing you ; for of what use would it be
 adhortari aut eos equites, qui egregie vicissent
 to exhort either those horsemen who so gloriously vanquished
 hostium equitatum ad flumen Rhodanum, aut eas
 the enemy's cavalry at the river Rhone, or those
 legiones, cum quibus secutus hunc ipsum hostem
 legions with whom, pursuing this very enemy
 fugientem habui pro victoria confessionem
 flying before us, I obtained in lieu of victory, a confession
 cedentis ac detractantis certamen ? Nunc,
 of superiority, shown by his retreat and refusal to fight ? Now,
 quia ille exercitus scriptus provinciæ Hispaniæ
 because that army, enlisted for the province of Spain,
 gerit rem cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis
 is employed with my brother Cneius Scipio under my auspices,
 ibi, ubi senatus populusque Romanus voluit
 in the place where the senate and people of Rome, wished
 eum gerere, ego, ut haberetis consulem
 him to serve ; and since I, that you might have a consul for your
 ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Pœnos, ipse obtuli me
 leader against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, have offered myself
 voluntario huic certamini, pauca verba
 voluntarily for this contest, a few words
 facienda sunt novo imperatori apud milites
 are required to be addressed from a new commander to soldiers

novos. Ne ignoretis genus
 unacquainted with him. That you may not be ignorant of the nature
 belli neve hostem, milites, vobis pugnandum est
 of the war nor of the enemy, know, soldiers, that you are to fight
 cum iis, quos priore bello vicistis terra
 with those whom, in the former war, you conquered both on land
 marique, a quibus exegistis stipendium
 and sea; from whom you have exacted tribute
 per viginti annos, a quibus habetis Siciliam
 for twenty years past; from whom you hold Sicily
 ac Sardiniam capta præmia belli. In hoc certamine
 and Sardinia, taken as the prizes of victory. In the present contest,
 igitur vobis illisque erit is animus, qui solet esse
 therefore, you and they will have those feelings, which are wont to belong
 victoribus et victis. Nec illi nunc pugnaturi sunt,
 to the victors and the vanquished. Nor will they now go to battle
 quia audent, sed quia necesse est,
 because they are confident, but because it is unavoidable;
 nisi creditis eos, qui detractavere pugnam
 unless you suppose that those who declined the engagement
 exercitu incolumi, nactos esse plus spei
 when their forces were entire, have acquired greater confidence
 amissis duabus partibus peditum equitumque
 after the loss of two-thirds of their infantry and cavalry
 in transitu Alpium, cum pæne plures perierint
 in the passage over the Alps; after almost greater numbers have perished
 quam supersint. At enim sunt pauci quidem,
 than survive. But, you will say, they are few indeed,
 sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora
 but vigorous in mind and body; men whose power
 ac vires vix ulla vis possit sustinere. Immo
 and strength scarce any force may withstand. On the contrary
 effigies, umbræ hominum enecti
 they are but the resemblances, mere shadows of men, rendered lifeless
 fame, frigore, illuvie, squalore, contusi ac
 by hunger, cold, filth and nastiness; battered and
 debilitati inter saxa rupesque. Ad hoc artus
 disabled among the rocks and precipices. Add to this, their joints

præusti, nervi rigentes nive, membra torrida
benumbed, their sinews stiffened with the snow, their limbs shrivelled

gelu, arma quassata fractaque, equi claudi
by the frost, their armor shattered and broken, their horses lamed

ac debiles. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc peditæ
and enfeebled. With such cavalry, with such infantry,

pugnaturi estis, non hostes, extremas reliquias hostium
you are to fight; not enemies, but only the last remains of enemies,

habebitis. Ac vereor nihil magis quam ne, cum
you will have to face. And I fear nothing more than that, when

vos pugnaveritis Hannibalem, Alpes videantur vicisse.
you have fought Hannibal, the Alps may appear to have conquered

sed forsitan decuit ita, deos ipsos,
Am. But perhaps it was fitting so to be,— that the gods themselves,

sine ulla humana ope, committere ac profligare bellum
without any human aid, should commence and carry forward the war

cum populo ac duce ruptore foederum,
against a nation and commander guilty of a breach of treaties;

nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus,
and that we, who, next to the gods, have been injured,

conficere commissum ac profligatum.
should then finish the contest thus commenced and nearly completed.

Non vereor, ne quis existimet me loqui hæc
I am not afraid that any of you will think I say this

magnifice causa vestri adhortandi animo ipsum
ostentatiously for the sake of encouraging you, while in my own mind

aliter affectum esse: licuit ire cum meo exercitu
I am differently affected. I was at liberty to go with my army

in Hispaniam meam provinciam, quo jam profectus eram,
into Spain, my own province, whither I had already set out;

ubi haberem et fratrem participem consilii
where I should have had a brother as the sharer of my councils

ac socium periculi, et Hasdrubalem potius quam
and companion of my dangers, and Hasdrubal, instead of

Hannibalem hostem, et haud dubie
Hannibal, for my antagonist, and without question

minorem molem belli: tamen, cum præterveherer navibus
a less laborious war: nevertheless, as I sailed along

oram Galliae, egressus in terram ad famam hujus hostis,
the coast of Gaul, having landed on hearing of this enemy,

præmisso equitatu, movi castra ad Rhodanum.
and having sent forward the cavalry, I moved my camp to the Rhone.

Prælio equestri, qua parte copiarum
In a battle of cavalry, with which part of my forces alone

fortuna conserendi manum data est,
the opportunity of coming to an engagement was afforded,

fudi hostem : quia non poteram assequi terra
I routed the enemy ; and because I could not overtake by land

agmen peditum, quod raptim agebatur
his army of infantry, which was rapidly hurried away

in modum fugientium, regressus ad naves,
as if retreating, I returned to my ships ; and,

quanta maxima celeritate potui, tanto circuitu
with the utmost expedition I could make, through such a long circuit

maris terrarumque obviui fui huic timendo hosti
by sea and land, I have met this formidable enemy

in radicibus Alpium. Utrum videor, cum declinarem
at the foot of the Alps. Whether do I appear while declining

certamen incidisse improvisus, an occurrere
an engagement, to have fallen in unawares with him or to encounter him

in ejus vestigiis, lacescere ac trahere ad decernendum ?
in his route, to challenge and drag him out to decide the contest ?

Juvat experiri, utrum per viginti annos terra
I am anxious to try whether, in these twenty years past, the earth

repente ediderit alios Carthaginienses, an
has all at once produced a new breed of Carthaginians, or whether

sint iidem, qui pugnauerunt ad insulas
they are the same with those who fought at the islands

Ægates, et quos emisistis ab Eryce æstimatos
Ægates, and whom you permitted to depart from Eryx, valued

duodevicensis denariis : et utrum hic Hannibal sit,
at eighteen denarii a head ; and whether this Hannibal be,

ut ipse fert, æmulus itinerum Herculis, an
as he himself gives out, the rival of the expeditions of Hercules, or

relictus a patre vectigalis stipendiariusque
one left by his father the tributary and taxed subject.

et servus Romani populi : nisi scelus Saguntinum
and slave of the Roman people; *who*, did not his guilt at Saguntum

quem agigaret, profecto respiceret, si non
drive him to frenzy, would certainly reflect, if not

victam patriam, certe domum patremque
upon his conquered country, at least on his family, and his father,

et foedera scripta manu Hamilcaris, qui
and the treaties written by the hand of Hamilcar; who

jussus ab nostro consule deduxit præsidium ab Eryce;
upon orders from our consul, withdrew the garrison from Eryx;

qui fremens mœrensque accepit graves leges
who, indignant and grieving, accepted the burdensome conditions

impositas victis Carthaginiensibus; qui pactus est
imposed on the conquered Carthaginians; who agreed

decedens Sicilia dare stipendium Romano populo.
to depart from Sicily and pay tribute to the Roman people.

Itaque, milites, ego velim vos pugnare non solum
Wherefore, soldiers, I wish that you may fight, not only

eo animo quo soletis adversus
with that spirit, with which you are wont to take the field against

alios hostes, sed cum quidam indignatione atque ira,
other foes, but with a degree of indignation and resentment,

velut si videatis vestros servos repente ferentes arma
as if you saw your own slaves suddenly taking arms

contra vos. Licuit interficere clausos ad Erycem
against you. We might have killed them when shut up at Eryx,

fame, ultimo humanorum supplicio, licuit trajicere
by hunger, the severest of human tortures; we might have carried over

victricem classem in Africam atque intra paucos dies
our victorious fleet to Africa, and in a few days,

sine ullo certamine delere Carthaginem. Precantibus
without opposition, have demolished Carthage. At their supplications

dedimus veniam, emisimus ex obsidione,
we granted pardon; we released them from the blockade;

fecimus pacem cum victis, deinde, cum
we made peace with them *when* conquered; afterward, when

urgerentur cum bello Africo, duximus
they were distressed by a war in Africa, we considered them

nostræ tutelæ. Pro his impertitis, veniunt,
 under our protection. *In return* for these favors, they come,
 sequentes furiosum juvenem, oppugnatum
 following the lead of a hot-brained youth, to invade
 nostram patriam. Atque utinam vobis hoc certamen
 our country. And I wish that on your side this contest
 esset tantum pro decore et non pro salute!
 was merely for glory, and not for safety.
 Non vobis est pugnandum de possessione Siciliæ
 You are not to fight about the possession of Sicily
 ac Sardiniaë de quibus agebatur quondam, sed
 and Sardinia, concerning which the dispute was formerly, but
 pro Italia: nec est alius exercitus ab tergo, qui,
 in defence of Italy: neither is there another army behind, which,
 nisi nos vincimus, obsistat hosti, nec sunt aliæ Alpes,
 if we should not conquer, can resist the enemy; nor are there other Alps,
 dum quas superant nova præsidia possint comparari.
 during their passage over which new forces might be procured.
 Hic, milites, est obstandum, velut si pugnemus
 Here, soldiers, we must make a stand, as if we were fighting
 ante mœnia Romana. Unusquisque putet se protegere
 before the walls of Rome. Let every one consider that he is protecting
 armis non suum corpus, sed conjugem ac
 with his arms, not only his own person, but his wife and
 parvos liberos; nec agitet solum domesticas curas,
 infant children; nor let him entertain solely his own domestic concerns,
 sed identidem reputet hoc animo, senatum populumque
 but frequently revolve [this] in his mind, that the senate and people
 Romanum nunc intueri nostras manus; qualis
 of Rome now anxiously regard our efforts; that according as
 nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fore
 our strength and valor shall be, such henceforward will be
 fortunam illius urbis ac Romanis imperii."
 the fortune of that city and of the Roman empire."

XLII.—Hæc consul apud Romanos. Hannibal,
 Such words the consul addressed to the Romans. Hannibal,

ratus **militēs adhortandos rebus** **prius quam**
 considering that his soldiers ought to be roused by deeds rather than
verbis, **circumdato exercitu** **ad spectaculum,**
 by words, having drawn his army around for the spectacle,
statuit **in medio** **captivos montanos** **vinctos,**
 placed in their midst the captive mountaineers bound in fetters :
Gallicisque armis projectis **ante eorum pedes,**
 and after Gallic arms had been thrown at their feet,
jussit interpretem **interrogare,** **ecquis**
 he ordered an interpreter to ask, " whether any among them
vellet **si levaretur** **vinculis** **que acciperet**
 was willing, provided he be released from chains— and receive,
victor **equum** **et arma,** **decertare ferro.**
 if victorious, a horse and armor— to combat with the sword ? "
Cum omnes ad unum **poscerent ferrum** **pugnamque,**
 When they all to a man called for the sword and combat,
et sors dejecta esset **in id,** **quisque**
 and lots were cast into the urn for that purpose, every one
optabat se eum, **quem fortuna legeret in id certamen :**
 wished himself the person whom fortune might select for the contest ;
et, cujusque sors exciderat, **cum tripudiis sui moris**
 while each one, whose lot came out, dancing according to their custom,
raptim capiebat arma, **alacer,** **exsultans gaudio**
 eagerly snatched up the arms, full of spirit, and exulting with joy
inter gratulantes. **Ubi vero dimicarent,**
 amid the congratulations of his comrades. But when they were fighting,
is erat habitus animorum non modo inter homines
 such was the state of feeling, not only among their companions
eiusdem conditionis, **sed etiam inter spectantes vulgo,**
 in the same circumstances, but [even] among the spectators in general,
ut fortuna vincentium **non magis laudaretur,**
 that the fortune of those who conquered was not praised more
quam bene morientium.
 than that of those who died bravely.

XLIII.—Cum dimisisset
 When he had dismissed

sic affectos
 the soldiers, thus affected

spectatis aliquot paribus, inde advocata
after viewing several pairs of combatants, having then summoned

concione, fertur locutus apud eos ita :
an assembly, he is said to have spoken to them in the following manner :

“ si, milites, mox in æstimanda vestra fortuna
“ If, soldiers, you shall by and by, in judging of your own fortune,

habueritis eundem animum, quem habuistis paulo ante
preserve the same feelings which you experienced a moment ago

in exemplo sortis alienæ, vicimus.
in the example of the fate of others, we have already conquered ;

Enim illud erat neque modo spectaculum, sed
for that was not merely a spectacle, but,

veluti quædam imago vestræ conditionis. Ac nescio
as it were, a certain representation of your own condition. And I know not

an fortuna circumdederit vobis majora vincula
whether fortune has not thrown around you still stronger bonds

maioresque necessitates quam vestris captivis.
and more urgent necessities than around your prisoners.

Dextra lævaque duo maria claudunt, ne habentibus
On the right and left two seas enclose you, without your possessing

nullam navem quidem ad effugium ; amnis Padus
a single ship even for escape : the river Po

contra— Padus major ac violentior Rhodano,—
in front, the Po larger and more impetuous than the Rhone,

Alpes ab tergo, vix transitæ vobis integris ac vigentibus,
the Alps behind, scarcely passed by you when fresh and vigorous,

urgent. Hic, milites, ubi primum occurristis
hem you in. Here, soldiers, where you have first met

hosti, est vincendum aut moriendum : et eadem
the enemy, you must conquer or die : and the same

fortuna, quæ imposuit necessitatem pugnandi,
fortune which has imposed the necessity of fighting,

proponit vobis victoribus ea præmia, quibus
holds out to you, if victorious, rewards, than which

nomines ne solent optare ampliora quidem ab
men are not wont to desire greater, even from

immortalibus diis. Si nostra virtute recuperaturi essemus
the immortal gods. Were we, by our bravery, to recover

tantum Siciliam ac Sardiniam, ereptas nostris parentibus,
only Sicily and Sardinia, wrested from our fathers,

pretia tamen essent satis ampla : quidquid
the recompense would [still] be sufficiently ample : but whatever,

partum congestumque tot triumphis Romani possident
acquired and amassed by so many triumphs, the Romans possess,—

id omne cum ipsis dominis vestrum futurum est
all, with its masters themselves, will become yours.

In hanc tam opimam mercedem agite, capite arma
To gain this very excellent reward, hasten, then, and seize your arms

cum bene juvantibus diis. Satis adhuc consecrando
with the favorable assistance of the gods. Long enough in pursuing

pecora in vastis montibus Lusitanæ Celtiberiæque
cattle among the desert mountains of Lusitania and Celtiberia,

vidistis nullum emolumentum tot laborum
you have seen no emolument from so many toils

periculorumque : tempus est jam vos facere ditia
and dangers : the time is now come for you to make rich

ac opulenta stipendia, et emensos tantum itineris
and profitable campaigns, and, after measuring such a length of way

per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes,
through so many mountains and rivers, and so many armed nations,

mereri magna pretia operæ. Hic fortuna
to reap abundant reward for your labor. Here fortune

dedit vobis terminum laborum, hic
has granted you the termination of your toils ; here,

emeritis stipendiis dabit dignam mercedem.
on your finishing your course of service, will she give you due retribution.

Nec existimaritis victoriam fore tam difficilem, quam
And do not imagine that the victory will be as difficult as

nominis bellum magni est : Sæpe et contemptus
the character of the war is important. Often has a despised

hostis edidit cruentum certamen, et inclyti populi
enemy maintained a bloody contest, and renowned nations

regesque victi sunt perlevi momento. Nam,
and kings been vanquished by a very slight effort ; for,

dempto uno hoc fulgore Romani nominis,
setting aside singly the present splendor of the Roman name,

quid est, cur illi comparandi sint vobis ?
 what remains in which they can be compared to us ?

Ut taceam vestram militiam viginti annorum
 To pass over in silence your service, for the last twenty years,

cum illa virtute, cum illa fortuna,
 performed with so great bravery and so great success,

pervenistis huc ab columnis Herculis,
 you have made your way to this place from the pillars of Hercules,

ab Oceano ultimisque terminis terrarum, vincentes
 from the ocean, and the remotest limits of the world, advancing victorious

per tot ferocissimos populos Hispaniæ et Galliæ :
 through so many of the fiercest nations of Spain and Gaul.

pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone,
 You will now fight with an army of raw troops, which

hac ipsa æstate cæso, victo, circumsesto
 during this very summer was beaten, routed, and besieged

a Gallis, adhuc ignoto suo duci ignorantique
 by the Gauls,— an army as yet unknown to its general, and itself ignorant

ducem. An prope natum, certe eductum,
 of the commander. Shall I, if not born, at least educated,

in prætorio clarissimi imperatoris patris,
 in the very tent of that most illustrious general my father ;

domitorem Hispaniæ Galliæque, victorem eundem
 I the subjugator of Spain and Gaul ; the conqueror, likewise,

non modo Alpinarum gentium sed— quod est
 not only of the Alpine tribes, but, what is

multo majus— Alpium ipsarum me conferam
 much more, of the Alps themselves ; shall I compare myself

cum hoc semestri duce, desertore sui exercitus ? cui
 with this six-months' general, a deserter from his own army ? to whom,

si quis demptis signis ostendat hodie
 if anyone, taking away the ensigns from both, should show this day

Pœnos Romanosque, habeo certum ignoraturum,
 the Carthaginians and Romans, I am sure that he would not know

utrius exercitus sit consul. Ipse, milites,
 of which army he was consul. As for myself, soldiers,

ego non æstimo illud parvi, quod est nemo vestrum,
 I do not regard it as of small account, that there is not one of you

ante cujus oculos non sæpe ediderim aliquod
 before whose eyes I have not often achieved some

militare facinus, cui idem ego non possum
 military exploit; and to whom, on the other hand, I cannot,

 spectator ac testis virtutis referre
 as having been a spectator and witness of his bravery, recount

sua decora notata temporibus locisque.
 his own honorable acts with the marks of time and place.

Cum millies laudatis a me
 With soldiers who have a thousand times been honored by me with praises

donatique, alumnus vestrum omnium prius quam
 and presents, I, who was a pupil to you all before

 imperator, procedam in aciem adversus
 I became your commander, will enter the field against men

ignorantes ignotosque inter se.
 unknowing and unknown to each other.

XLIV.—“ Quocumque circumtuli oculos, video
 “ On whatever side I turn my eyes, I observe

omnia plena animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem,
 that every thing is full of spirit and firmness; a veteran infantry;

equites frenatos infrenatosque generosissimarum
 cavalry, both with and without the bridle, composed of the most gallant

gentium, vos fidelissimos fortissimosque socios,
 nations; you, our most faithful and valiant allies,

vos Carthaginienses pugnatueros cum ob patriam
 and you, Carthaginians, ready to fight as well for the sake of your country

tum ob justissimam iram. Inferimus bellum,
 as from the justest resentment. We are the assailants in the war,

descendimusque in Italiam infestis signis, pugnaturi
 and descend in Italy with hostile standards; and we shall fight

tanto audacius fortiusque, quanto major spes, animus
 so much more boldly and bravely, as the confidence and courage

inferentis major est quam arcentis.
 of the attacking party are greater than those of the defensive.

Præterea dolor, injuria, indignitas accendit
 Besides, suffering, injury and indignity inflame

et stimulat animos : primum depoposcerunt me
and stimulate our spirits ; for, first, they demanded me

ducem ad supplicium, deinde omnes vos
your leader for punishment ; and then, all of you

qui oppugnassetis Saguntum : deditos
who had laid siege to Saguntum. *Had we been given up,*

affecturi fuerunt ultimis cruciatibus. Crudelissima
they would have visited us with the severest tortures. *That supremely cruel*

ac superbissima gens facit omnia sua
and arrogant nation considers everything its own,

suique arbitrii : censet æquum se imponere modum
and at its own disposal ; thinks it right that it should prescribe

cum quibus habeamus bellum, cum quibus pacem :
with whom we are to have war, with whom, peace :

circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium
circumscribes and shuts us up by the boundaries of mountains

fluminumque, quos non excedamus, neque observat
and rivers, which we must not pass ; yet observes not itself

eos terminos quos statuit. ' Ne transieris Iberum ;
the limits which it establishes. ' Pass not the Iberus, they say :

tibi sit ne quid rei cum Saguntinis.' Saguntum est
have nothing to do with the Saguntines.' But Saguntum is

ad Iberum : ' te moveris vestigio nusquam !'
on (not across) the Iberus : ' you must not move a step in any direction.'

Parum est quod adimis meas veterrimas provincias
Is it a small thing that you take away my most ancient provinces

Siciliam ac Sardiniam ? Etiam Hispanias ?
Sicily and Sardinia ? Will you take Spain also ?

et inde cessero : transcendes in Africam :
and should I withdraw thence, you will cross over into Africa—

Transcendes autem dico ? miserunt duos consules
will cross, did I say ? they have sent the two consuls

hujus anni unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam.
of this year one to Africa, the other to Spain.

Nihil relictum est nobis unquam, nisi quod
There is nothing left to us any where, except what

vindicaremus armis. Illis licet esse timidus
we can assert to ourselves by arms. Those may be cowards

et ignavis, qui habent respectum, quos
 and dastards who have *something* to look back upon; whom,
 fugientes per tuta ac pacata itinera suus ager,
 flying through safe and unmolested roads, their own lands
 sua terra accipient: necesse est vobis esse
 and their own country will receive: there is a necessity for you to be
 fortibus viris, et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve
 brave [men]; and *since* all between victory and death
 abruptis certa desperatione, aut vincere aut,
 is broken off *from you* by inevitable despair, either to conquer or,
 si fortuna dubitabit, oppetere mortem in proelio
 if fortune should waver, to meet death in battle
 potius quam in fuga. Si hoc bene fixum est
 rather than in flight. If this be well fixed
 destinatumque in animo omnibus, dicam iterum,
 and determined in the minds of you all, I affirm again,
 vicistis: enim nullum acrius telum datum est
 you are conquerors. For never keener weapon was given
 ab immortalibus diis homini ad vincendum."
 by the immortal gods to man for the achievement of victory."

XLV.—Animi militum utrimque cum accensi essent

The courage of the soldiers on both sides being animated

ad certamen iis adhortationibus, Romani
 to the contest by these exhortations, the Romans
 jungunt ponte Ticinum, causaque tutandi pontis
 throw a bridge over the Ticinus, and, for the sake of defending the bridge,
 imponunt castellum insuper; hostibus occupatis
 erect a fort on it. While the enemy was employed
 opere Pœnus mittit Maharbalem cum
 in this work, the Carthaginian sends Maharbal with
 ala, quingentis Numidarum equitibus, ad
 a squadron of five hundred Numidian horse, to
 depopulandos agros sociorum Romani populi:
 ravage the lands of the allies of the Roman people.
 jubet Gallis parci quam maxime,
 He gives orders that the Gauls should be spared as much as possible,

animosque principum **sollicitari** **ad defectionem.**
and the minds of their chiefs be instigated to a revolt.

Ponte perfecto **Romanus exercitus** **traductus**
The bridge completed, the Roman army was led across

in agrum Insubrium, **consedit quinque millia passuum**
into the country of the Insubrians, and took up its station five miles

a Victumulis. **Ibi** **Hannibal** **habebat castra;**
from Vietumulæ. At this place Hannibal lay encamped ;

propereque revocato **Maharbali** **atque equitibus,**
and having quickly recalled Maharbal and the horsemen,

cum cerneret **certamen instare,** **ratus**
when he perceived that a battle was approaching, thinking that,

ad cohortandos milites **satis nihil unquam dictum**
for encouraging the soldiers, enough could never be spoken

præmonitumque, **pronuntiat vocatis**
or addressed by way of admonition, he announces to them when summoned

ad concionem **certa præmia,** **in spem quorum**
to an assembly, stated rewards, in expectation of which

pugnarent : **sese daturum agrum** **in Italia,**
they might fight : "he would give them land," he told them, "in Italy,

Africa, **Hispania,** **ubi** **quisque** **velit,**
Africa, or Spain, where-ever each one should choose,

immunem ipsi **qui** **accepiisset**
exempt from all charges to the person who should receive it,

liberisque : **qui maluisset pecuniam** **quam agrum,**
and to his children : should any prefer money to land,

se satisfacturum ei **argento ;** **qui sociorum**
he would satisfy him in silver ; to those of the allies who

vellent fieri cives Carthaginienses, **facturum potestatem ;**
wished to become citizens of Carthage, he would grant that privilege ;

qui mallent **redire domos** **se daturum operam,**
as to those who chose rather to return home, he would take care

ne vellent **fortunam cujus suorum popularium**
that they should not wish the situation of any one of their countrymen

mutatam esse secum. **Servis quoque** **prosecutis**
exchanged for their own." To the slaves also who attended

dominos **proponit libertatem,** **que se redditurum**
their masters he promised freedom, and that he would give

dominis bina mancipia pro his. Utque scirent
 the owners two slaves in the room of *each* of these. And that they might know
 ea fore rata, retinens læva manu agnum,
 that these *promises* were certain, holding in his left hand a lamb,
 dextera silicem, precatus Jovem ceterosque deos
 and in his right a flint-stone, he prayed to Jupiter and the other gods, that,
 si falleret, se mactarent ita, quemadmodum
 if he was false to his word, they would slay him in like manner as
 ipse mactasset agnum, et secundum precationem
 he slew the lamb; and after *this* imprecation
 elisit pecudis caput saxo. Tum vero omnes—
 he broke the animal's head with the stone. Then in truth all,
 acceptis velut diis auctoribus quisque
 receiving, as it were, the gods as sureties, each
 in suam spem— rati id moræ
 for the fulfilment of his own hopes, and thinking that the only delay
 ad potiendâ sperata, quod
 in obtaining the object of their wishes arose because
 nondum pugnarent, uno animo et una voce
 of their not yet being engaged, with one mind and one voice
 poscunt proelium.
 demanded the battle.

XLVI.—Haudquaquam tanta alacritas
 By no means so great an alacrity

erat apud Romanos, super cetera
 prevailed among the Romans, who, besides other matters, were
 etiam territos recentibus prodigiis: nam et lupus
 also alarmed by recent prodigies; for [both] a wolf
 intraverat castra, laniatisque obviis ipse evaserat
 had entered the camp, and after tearing those he met made his escape
 intactus, et examen apum consederat in arbore
 unhurt; and a swarm of bees had pitched on a tree
 imminente prætorio. Procuratis quibus,
 overhanging the general's tent. After expiating these *prodigies*,
 Scipio profectus cum equitatu expeditisque jaculatoribus
 Scipio, having set out with his cavalry and light-armed spearmen

ad castra hostium ad speculandasque ex propinquo
towards the camp of the enemy, to observe from a near point

copias, quantæ et cujus generis essent,
their forces, how numerous, and of what description they were,

fit obvius Hannibali et ipsi progresso cum
was met by Hannibal who had himself also advanced with

equitibus ad exploranda circa loca. Neutri primo
his cavalry to reconnoitre the adjacent grounds. Neither at first

cernebant alteros; deinde pulvis oriens densior
descried the other: but afterwards the dust, arising in thicker

incessu tot hominum equorumque fuit signum
clouds by the moving of so many men and horses, gave notice

propinquantium hostium. Utrumque agmen consistit
of approaching enemies. Both detachments halted,

et sese expediebant ad prælium: Scipio locat
and were preparing themselves for battle. Scipio places

jaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte, Romanos
his spearmen and Gallic cavalry in front; the Romans

quodque roboris sociorum fuit in subsidiis:
and what force of allies was at hand, in reserve.

Hannibal accipit frenatos equites in medium,
Hannibal draws the bridled cavalry into the centre,

firmat cornua Numidis. Clamore
and strengthens his wings with Numidians. When the shout

vixdum sublato jaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia
was scarcely raised, the spearmen fled among the reserve

ad secundam aciem: inde erat certamen equitum
to the second line: then there was a conflict of the cavalry,

aliquamdiu anceps: dein, quia pedites
for some time doubtful; but afterward, on account of the footmen,

intermixti equos turbabant, multis
intermixed with them, throwing the horses into confusion, many

labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus,
of the riders falling from their horses, or dismounting

ubi vidissent suos circumventos premi, pugna
where they saw their friends surrounded and hard pressed, the battle

ex magna parte jam venerat ad pedes, donec
for the most part now came to be fought on foot; until

Numidæ, qui erant in cornibus paulum circumvecti
 the Numidians, who were in the wings, having made a small circuit,
 se ostenderunt ab tergo. Is pavor perculit Romanos,
 showed themselves on the rear. That alarm dismayed the Romans,

vulnusque consulis periculumque propulsatum
 and the wound of the consul, and the danger to his life, warded off

intercursu filii tum primum pubescentis
 by the interposition of his son, then just arriving at the age of maturity

auxit pavorem. Hic erat juvenis quem laus
 augmented their fears. This is the same youth to whom the renown

perfecti hujusce belli penes est appellatus Africanus
 of terminating this war belongs, and who was styled Africanus,

ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Pœnisque.
 on account of his glorious victory over Hannibal and the Carthaginians.

Fuga tamen jaculatorum, quos Numidæ invaserunt
 The flight, however, of the spearmen, whom the Numidians attacked

primos, fuit maxime effusa. Alius equitatus
 first, was the most disorderly. The rest of the cavalry,

confertus, protegens non modo armis sed etiam
 in a close body, protecting, not only with their arms, but also

suis corporibus consulem acceptum in medium,
 with their bodies, the consul whom they had taken into the centre,

reduxit in castra nusquam cedendo
 brought him back to the camp without anywhere giving way

trepide neque effuse. Cœlius delegat decus
 in disorder or precipitation. Cœlius attributes the honor

servati consulis ad servum natione Ligurem :
 of saving the consul to a slave, by nation a Ligurian.

equidem malim de filio esse verum,
 For my part I should rather wish that the account about the son was true,

quod et plures auctores tradidere et fama
 which also most authors have transmitted, and the report of which

obtinuit.
 has obtained general credit.

XLVII.—Hoc fuit primum prælium cum
 This was the first battle with

Hannibale; quo facile apparuit et Pœnum
 Hannibal; in which it clearly appeared that the Carthaginians
 esse meliorem equitatu, et ob id patentes campos,
 was superior in cavalry; and, consequently, that open plains,
 quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, esse non aptos
 such as lie between the Po and the Alps, were not suited,
 Romanis gerendo bello. Proxima nocte
 to the Romans for carrying on the war. On the following night
 itaque, militibus jussis colligere vasa silentio,
 therefore, the soldiers being ordered to prepare their baggage in silence,
 castra mota ab Ticino festinatumque est ad Padum,
 the camp broke up from the Ticinus, and they hastened to the Po,
 ut ratibus, quibus junxerat
 in order that, the rafts, by which the consul had formed a bridge over
 flumen, nondum resolutis, trajiceret copias
 the river, being not yet loosened, he might carry over his forces
 sine tumultu atque insectatione hostis. Pervenere
 without tumult or pursuit of the enemy. They arrived
 Placentiam prius quam Hannibal satis sciret
 at Placentia before Hannibal had certain information of
 profectos ab Ticino. Tamen cepit
 their departure from the Ticinus. Nevertheless he made prisoners
 ad sexcentos moratorum in citiore ripa,
 six hundred men, who delayed on the hither bank,
 segniter solventes ratem. Non potuit transire
 and were slowly unbinding the raft. He could not pass over
 pontem ut extrema resoluta erant,
 the bridge, however, for, as soon as the extremities were untied
 tota rate labente in secundam aquam. Cœlius
 the whole collection of rafts floated down the stream. Cœlius
 auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis
 relates that Mago, with the cavalry and the Spanish
 peditibus extemplo transnasse flumen, Hannibalem
 infantry, immediately swam over the river; and that Hannibal
 ipsum traduxisse exercitum per vada superiora Padi,
 himself led over the rest of the army, through fords higher up the Po,
 elephantis oppositis in ordinem ad sustinendum
 the elephants being opposed to the stream in a line to break

impetum fluminis. **Ea** **vix fecerint fidem**
 the force of the current. *These accounts* can hardly gain credit
 peritis ejus amnis; nam est neque verisimile
 with *people* acquainted with that river; for it is not probable
 equites superasse tantam vim fluminis
 that the cavalry could bear up against the great violence of the stream,
 salvis armis equisque, ut jam
 without losing their arms and horses, even allowing
 utres inflati transvexerint omnes Hispanos;
 that leathern bags inflated had transported all the Spaniards;
 et vada Padi, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis
 and the fords of the Po, by which an army encumbered with baggage
 posset traduci, fuerint petenda circuitu
 could make a passage, must have been sought by a circuit
 multorum dierum. Auctores sunt potiores apud me,
 of many days' march. *Those* authors are more credited by me,
 qui tradunt vix biduo locum inventum
 who relate that, with difficulty, after two days' search, a place was found
 rate jungendo flumini; ea
where a bridge of rafts could be thrown across the river; and that over this
 expeditos Hispanorum equites præmissos
 the light-armed Spanish cavalry was sent forward
 cum Magone. Dum Hannibal moratus circa flumen
 under Mago. Whilst Hannibal delaying beside the river,
 audiendis legationibus Gallorum, trajicit
 to give audience to the embassies of the Gauls, was bringing over
 gravius agmen peditum, interim Mago
 the heavy-armed forces of infantry, in the mean time Mago
 equitesque contendunt ad hostes Placentiam
 and his horsemen proceed towards the enemy at Placentia
 unius diei itinere ab transitu fluminis. Hannibal
 one day's journey after passing the river. Hannibal
 paucis diebus post communivit castra sex millia
 a few days after fortified a camp six miles
 a Placentia, et postero die, directa acie
 from Placentia, and next day, drawing up his forces
 in hostium conspectu, fecit potestatem pugnae.
 in the enemy's view, gave them an opportunity of fighting.

XLVIII.—Nocte insequenti cædes facta est
 On the night following a slaughter was made
 in Romanis castris ab auxiliariis Gallis, tamen
 in the Roman camp by the auxiliary Gauls, which however
 major tumultu quam re. Ad
 appeared greater from the tumult than it proved in reality. [About]
 duo millia peditum et ducenti equites, trucidatis
 two thousand infantry and two hundred horse having killed
 vigilibus ad portas, transfugiunt ad Hannibalem;
 the guards at the gates, desert to Hannibal;
 quos Pœnus allocutus benigne, et accensos
 whom the Carthaginian, having addressed kindly, and animated
 spe ingentium donorum, dimisit quemque
 by the prospect of vast rewards, dismissed each
 in suas civitates ad sollicitandos animos popularium.
 to their respective states to gain over the minds of their countrymen.
 Scipio, ratus eam cædem esse signum defectionis
 Scipio, thinking that this outrage was a signal for the revolt
 omnium Gallorum, contactosque eo scelere
 of all the Gauls, and that, contaminated by that foul deed,
 ituros ad arma velut rabie injecta,
 they would rush to arms as if a frenzy had been sent among them,
 quamquam erat adhuc gravis vulnere,— tamen
 though he was still much distressed by reason of his wound, yet
 profectus ad fluvium Trebiam quarta vigilia
 setting out for the river Trebia at the fourth watch
 insequentis noctis agmine tacito, jam movet
 of the following night with his army in silence, [now] removes
 castra in altiora loca collesque impeditiores equiti.
 his camp to higher ground and to hills more embarrassing to the cavalry
 Fefellit minus quam ad Ticinum; Hannibalque
 He escaped observation less than at the Ticinus; and Hannibal,
 missis primum Numidis deinde omni equitatu
 sending on first the Numidians, and then all the cavalry,
 turbasset utique novissimum agmen,
 would have thrown into confusion at least the rear of the army,
 ni Numidæ aviditate prædæ devertissent
 had not the Numidians, out of their greediness for plunder, turned aside

in vacua castra Romana. Ibi dum, perscrutantes
into the forsaken camp of the Romans. There whilst, closely examining

omnia loca castrorum, terunt tempus,
every part of the camp, they waste time,

nullo satis digno pretio moræ, hostis
with no adequate recompense for the delay, the enemy

emissus est de manibus ; et cum conspexissent Romanos
slipped out of their hands ; and when they saw the Romans

jam transgressos Trebiam metantesque castra,
already across the Trebia, and measuring out their camp.

occiderunt paucos moratorum interceptos citra flumen.
they kill a few of the loiterers intercepted on that side of the river.

Scipio nec patiens ultra vexationem vulneris
Scipio unable to endure any longer the irritation of his wound

in jactanti via, et ratus expectandum
in travelling over the jolting road, and thinking that he ought to wait for

collegam— enim et jam audierat revocatum
his colleague, (for he had now heard that he was recalled

ex Sicilia— communiit locum delectum, qui
from Sicily,) fortified a space of chosen ground which,

prope flumen visus est tutissimus stativis. Cum
being near the river, seemed safest for a fixed station. When

Hannibal consedisset nec procul inde, quantum elatus
Hannibal had taken post not far from thence, being as much elated

victoria equestri, tantum anxius inopia,
with the victory of his cavalry, as he was full of anxiety about the scarcity

quæ in dies excipiebat major, euntem
which every day assailed him more severely, marching as he did

per hostium agros, commeatibus nusquam præparatis,
through an enemy's country, and supplies being nowhere provided,

mittit ad vicum Clastidium, quo Romani
he sends to the village of Clastidium, where the Romans

cogesserant magnum numerum frumenti. Ibi
had collected a large store of corn. There,

cum pararent vim spes prodicionis
whilst they were preparing for an assault, the hope of a betrayal of the town

facta ; Dasio Brundisino præfecto præsidii
was held out to them : Dasius, a Brundisian, the governor of the garrison,

corrupto having been corrupted	quadringentis nummis aureis for four hundred pieces of gold,	
nec magno pretio sane, (not a large bribe by any means,)	Clastidium Clastidium	traditur is surrendered
Hannibali. to Hannibal.	Id fuit horreum This served as a granary	Pœnis for the Carthaginians
sedentibus while encamped	ad Trebiam. on the Trebia.	In captivos Towards the prisoners
ex tradito præsidio of the surrendered garrison,	nihil sævitum no harsh treatment	est, was observed,
ut in order that	fama clementiæ a character for clemency	colligeretur might be acquired
in principio at the commencement	rerum. of his proceedings.	

XLIX.—Cum bellum terrestre constitisset
While the war by land was at a stand

ad Trebiam, interim res gestæ terra marique
beside the Trebia, in the mean time operations went on by land and sea

circa Siciliam insulasque imminentes Italiæ,
in and around Sicily and the other islands adjacent to Italy,

et a Sempronio consule, et ante ejus adventum.
both under Sempronius the consul, and before his arrival.

Viginti quinqueremes missæ a Carthaginiensibus cum
Of twenty quinqueremes, sent by the Carthaginians with

mille armatis ad depopulandam oram Italiæ,
one thousand soldiers, to ravage the coast of Italy,

novem tenuerunt Liparas, octo ad insulam Vulcani,
nine arrived at Liparæ, eight at the island of Vulcan,

tres æstus avertit in fretum. Ad eas conspectas
and three the tide drove into the strait. On these being seen

a Messana duodecim naves missæ ab Hierone rege
from Messana, twelve ships were despatched by Hiero king

Syracusanorum, qui forte erat tum Messanæ,
of Syracuse, who happened to be then at Messana,

opperiens Romanum consulem, deduxerunt naves
waiting for the Roman consul, and they brought the vessels

in portum Messanam captas nullo repugnante.
into port to Messina, having captured them without any resistance.

Cognitum ex captivis, præter viginti naves,
It was discovered from the prisoners, that, besides the twenty ships,

cujus classis ipsi essent missas in Italiam,
to which fleet they belonged, and which had been despatched against Italy,

quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes petere Siciliam
thirty-five other quinqueremes were on their way to Sicily

ad sollicitandos veteres socios: præcipuam curam esse
to gain over their ancient allies: that their main object was

occupandi Lilybæi; credere quoque eam classem
the getting possession of Lilybæum, and they believed that that fleet

dejectam ad insulas Ægates eadem tempestate,
had been driven to the islands Ægates by the same storm

qua ipsi disjecti forent. Hæc, sicut
by which they themselves had been dispersed. These tidings, just as

audita erant, rex præscribit M. Æmilio
they had been received, the king communicates to Marcus Æmilius

prætori cujus provincia Sicilia erat, monetque,
the prætor, whose province Sicily was, and advises him

ut teneret Lilybæum firmo præsidio. Extemplo et
to occupy Lilybæum with a strong garrison. Immediately [too]

legati tribunique circa prætorem
the lieutenant-generals and tribunes, who were with the prætor,

missi ad civitates: intenderent suos
were sent off to the several states, with orders to keep their men

ad curam custodiæ; ante omnia Lilybæum
on vigilant guard; that, above all things, Lilybæum

teneri; edicto proposito, ut,
should be secured: a proclamation having been published that

ad paratum belli, socii navales deferrent
in addition to such preparation for war, the crews should carry down

ad naves cocta cibaria decem dierum; ne quis, ubi
to their ships dressed provisions for ten days, so that no one, when

signum datum esset, faceret moram conscendendi;
the signal was given, might delay in embarking;

perque omnem oram, qui
and that, along the whole coast, those stationed

ex speculis prospicerent adventantem classem
at the watch-towers should look out for the approaching fleet

hostium. Simul itaque Carthaginienses, quamquam
of the enemy. As soon, therefore, as the Carthaginians, (though

de industria morati erant cursum navium, ut
they had purposely slackened the course of their ships, so that

accederent Lilybæum ante lucem,
they might reach Lilybæum just before daybreak,)

præsensum est tamen, quia et luna erat pernox,
were desured notwithstanding; because both the moon shone all night,

et veniebant armamentis sublati, signum
and they came with their sails set up, the signal

extemplo datum ex speculis, et ad arma
was instantly given from the watch towers, and the summons to arms

conclamatum est in oppido, et consensum in naves.
was shouted through the town, and they embarked in the ships:

Pars militum in muris inque stationibus
one half of the soldiers were left on the walls and at the stations

portarum, pars erant in navibus. Et
of the gates, the other were on board the fleet. On the other hand

Carthaginienses, quia cernebant rem
the Carthaginians, because they perceived that the encounter

haud fore cum imparatis, se abstinerunt
would not be with an unprepared enemy, kept back

portu usque ad lucem, eo tempore absumpto
from the harbor until daylight, that interval being spent

demendis armamentis aptandaque classe ad pugnam.
In taking down their rigging and getting ready the fleet for action.

Ubi illuxit, recepere classem in altum, ut
When day came, they drew back their fleet into the open sea, that

esset spatium pugnae, navesque hostium
there might be room for the battle, and that the ships of the enemy

habèrent liberum exitum e portu. Nec Romani
might have a free egress from the harbor. Nor did the Romans

detractavere pugnam, freti et memoria
decline an engagement, being emboldened both by the recollection

gestarum rerum circa ea ipsa loca et multitudine
of their former successes near that very spot, and by the numbers
 ac virtute militum.
and valor of their soldiers.

L.—Ubi evecti sunt in altum, Romanis
When they got into the open sea, the Romans
 velle conserere pugnam et conferre vires
showed a desire to come to close fight, and to make a trial of strength
 ex propinquo: Pœnus contra
hand to hand. The Carthaginians, on the other hand,
 malle eludere, et gerere rem arte, non vi,
wished to elude them, and to effect the business by skill, not by force,
 facereque certamen navium quam virorum
and to make it a contest of ships rather than of men
 aut armorum. Nam ut habebant classem
or arms: for though they had their fleet
 affatim instructam sociis navalibus, ita inopem
abundantly supplied with mariners, yet it was deficient
 milite; et, sicubi navis conserta esset
in soldiers; and when a ship was grappled,
 haudquaquam par numerus armatorum pugnabat
a very unequal number of armed men fought
 ex ea. Ubi quod animadversum est et sua
on board of it. When this was observed, [both] their
 multitudo auxit animum Romanis, et
fulness of number increased the courage of the Romans, and
 paucitas minuit illis: septem Punicæ naves
their fewness diminished that of the others. Seven Carthaginian ships
 extemplo circumventæ, ceteræ ceperunt fugam. In
were immediately surrounded; the rest took to flight. In
 captis navibus milites nautæque
the captured ships, there were of soldiers and mariners
 mille et septingenti, in his tres nobiles
one thousand seven hundred, among them three noble
 Carthaginiensium. Romana classis rediit incolumis
Carthaginians The Roman fleet returned without loss

in portum una navi tantum perforata, sed ea ipsa
to the harbor, one ship only being pierced, and even that

quoque reduce. Secundam hanc pugnam—
also brought into port. After this engagement,

qui Messanæ erant nondum gnaris ejus—
while those at Messana were still uninformed of it,

Tib. Sempronius consul venit Messanam. Ei intranti
Tiberius Sempronius the consul arrived at Messana. On his entering

fretum rex Hiero classem armatam ornatamque
the strait, King Hiero, with a fleet completely equipped,

duxit obviam, transgressusque
sailed out to meet him, and having passed

ex regia in navem prætoriam, gratulatus
from the royal ship into that of the general, he congratulated him

advenisse sospitem cum navibus et exercitu,
on having arrived safe with his ships and army,

precatusque transitum in Siciliam prosperum ac
and prayed that his expedition to Sicily might be prosperous and

felicem : deinde exposuit statum insulæ et
happy : he then represented to him the state of the island and

conata Carthaginiensium, pollicitusque est,
the designs of the Carthaginians, and promised that,

eo animo, quo juvenis adjuvisset
with the same spirit with which he had in his youth supported

Romanum populum priore bello, adjuturum
the Roman people during the former war, he would now assist them

senem, sese gratis præbiturum frumentum
in his old age ; that he would gratuitously furnish supplies of corn

vestimentaquoque legionibus navalibusque sociis
and clothing to the legions and naval crews

consulis : grande periculum esse Lilybæo
of the consul ; adding that great danger was threatening Lilybæum

maritimisque civitatibus, et novas res fore
and the maritime states, and that a revolution would be

volentibus quibusdam. Ob hæc visum consuli
acceptable to some of them. For these reasons it appeared to the consul

nihil cunctandum, quin peteret Lilybæum
that he ought to make no delay but to repair to Lilybæum

classe : et rex regiaque classis profecti una.
 with his fleet : [and] the king and royal squadron set out along with him.
 Inde navigantes accipere pugnatum
 After being on the sail they learned that there had been a battle
 ad Lilybæum hostiumque naves fusas et captas.
 at Lilybæum, and that the enemy's ships had been scattered and taken.

LI.—A Lilybæo consul, dimisso Hierone
 From Lilybæum the consul, after dismissing Hiero
 eum regia classe, relictoque prætore ad tuendam oram
 with the royal fleet, and leaving the prætor to defend the coast
 Siciliæ, ipse trajecit in insulam Melitam, quæ
 of Sicily, himself passed over to the island of Melita, which
 tenebatur a Carthaginiensibus : advenienti
 was held in possession by the Carthaginians. On his arrival,
 Hamilcar filius Gisgonis, præfectus præsidii,
 Hamilcar, the son of Gisgo, commander of the garrison,
 cum paulo minus duobus millibus militum,
 with little less than two thousand soldiers,

oppidumque cum insula traditur.
 and the town together with the island, are delivered up to him.

Inde reditum post paucos dies Lilybæum,
 From thence he returned, after a few days, to Lilybæum,
 captivique et a consule et a prætore,
 and the prisoners taken, both by the consul and by the prætor,
 præter viros insignes nobilitate, venierunt sub corona.
 except persons illustrious for their rank, were sold at auction.

Postquam consul censebat Siciliam satis tutam
 When the consul considered that Sicily was sufficiently secured
 ab ea parte, trajecit ad insulas Vulcani, quia
 on that side, he crossed over to the islands of Vulcan, because

erat fama Punicam classem stare ibi,
 there was a report that the Carthaginian fleet was stationed there ;
 nec quisquam hostium inventus circa eas insulas.
 but not one of the enemy was discovered about those islands.

Forte jam transmiserant ad vastandam oram
 As it happened, they had already passed over to ravage the coast
 Italiæ, depopulatoque agro Viboniensi,
 of Italy, and having laid waste the territory of Vibo

etiam terrebant urbem. **Exscensio** facta hostium
 were also threatening the city. *This* descent made by the enemy
 in Viboniensem agrum nuntiatur consuli
 on the Vibonensian territory was announced to the consul
 repetenti Siciliam; litteræque traduntur
 as he was returning to Sicily; and letters were delivered to him,
 missæ ab senatu de transitu Hannibalis
 that had been forwarded by the senate, about the passage of Hannibal
 in Italiam, et ut ferret auxilium
 into Italy, and containing orders that he should bring assistance
 collegæ primo quoque tempore. **Anxius**
 to his colleague at his very earliest opportunity. Perplexed
 multis curis simul, extemplo misit exercitum
 with having so many anxieties at once, he instantly sent his army,
 impositum in naves supero mari **Ariminum,**
 embarked in the fleet, by the upper sea to Ariminum:
 attribuit tuendam agrum **Viboniensem**
 assigned the defence of the territory of Vibo
 maritimamque oram Italiæ **Sexto Pomponio**
 and the sea-coast of Italy, to Sextus Pomponius,
 legato cum viginti quinque navibus longis,
 his lieutenant-general, with twenty-five ships of war;
 explevit classem quinquaginta navium prætori
 made up a fleet of fifty sail for the prætor
M. Æmilio: ipse compositis rebus Siciliæ
 Marcus Æmilius; and he himself after settling the affairs of Sicily,
 legens oram Italiæ decem navibus, pervenit
 coasting along the shore of Italy with ten ships, arrived
Ariminum; inde profectus cum suo exercitu
 at Ariminum, whence he set out with his army
 ad flumen Trebiam conjungitur collegæ.
 for the river Trebia, and formed a junction with his colleague.

LII.—Jam ambo consules, et quidquid erat
And now both the consuls and the whole

Romanarum virium oppositum **Hannibali**
 of the Roman strength being opposed to Hannibal,

satis declarabat aut Romanum imperium
 made it sufficiently obvious either that the Roman empire
 posse defendi illis copiis aut nullam aliam spem
 could be defended by those forces, or that no other hope
 esse. Tamen alter consul minutus
 was left. Nevertheless the one consul being dispirited
 uno prælio equestri et suo vulnere, malebat
 by the late battle of the cavalry, and his own wound, wished
 rem trahi : alter recentis animi
 operations to be deferred ; while the other, still unsubdued of spirit
 eoque ferocior patiebatur nullam dilationem.
 and on that account the more impetuous, was impatient of any delay.
 Galli tum incolebant quod agri
 Gallic tribes at that time inhabited the tract of country that
 est inter Trebiam Padumque, in certamine
 lies between the Trebia and the Po, who in this contest
 duorum præpotentium populorum per ambiguum
 of two such potent nations, by a doubtful
 favorem haud dubie spectantes gratiam victoris.
 neutrality, were evidently looking forward to the favor of the conqueror.
 Romani id æquo satis, modo
 The Romans regarded this conduct composedly enough, provided
 ne quid moverint, Pœnus ferebat
 they took no active part at all ; but the Carthaginian bore it
 periniquo animo dictitans se venisse accitum
 with great discontent, giving out that he had come invited
 ab Gallis ad eos liberandos. Ob eam iram
 by the Gauls to set them at liberty. On account of that resentment,
 ut simul aleret militem
 and in order that he might at the same time maintain his troops,
 præda, jussit duo millia peditum et
 with plunder, he ordered two thousand foot and
 mille equites plerosque Numidas, quosdam et Gallos
 one thousand horse mostly Numidians, with some Gauls
 mixtos, populari omnem agrum deinceps usque
 intermixed, to ravage the whole country from thence onward
 ad ripas Padi. Galli egentes ope,
 to the banks of the Po. The Gauls, destitute of support,

cum ad id servassent animos dubios,
 though they had hitherto kept their inclinations doubtful,
 coacti ab auctoribus injuriæ declinant
 being now compelled by the authors of the injury, turn
 ad futuros vindices, missisque legatis
 to those who would be their avengers; and having sent ambassadors
 ad consulem orant auxilium Romanorum terræ
 to the consul, they implore the protection of the Romans for a country
 laboranti ob nimiam fidem cultorum
 which was suffering for the too great fidelity of its inhabitants
 in Romanos. Nec causa nec tempus agendæ rei
 towards the Romans. Neither the cause nor the time of pleading it
 placebat Cornelio; gensque erat suspecta ei
 was satisfactory to Cornelius; and the nation was suspected by him
 cum ob multa infida facinora, tum, ut alia
 both on account of many treacherous actions, and, though others
 abolevisent vetustate, ob
 might have been forgotten through length of time, on account of
 recentem perfidiam Boiorum: Sempronius contra
 the recent perfidy of the Boii. Sempronius, on the contrary,
 censebat esse maximum vinculum continendis
 was of opinion that it would be the strongest bond for holding
 sociis in fide, quosque primos, qui
 the allies to their allegiance, if the very first who
 eguissent ope defensos. Tum collega
 stood in need of aid had found protection. Then, while his colleague
 cunctante mittit suum equitatum, admixtis
 hesitated, he sends his own cavalry, in company
 ferme mille jaculatoribus peditum, ad defendendum
 with about a thousand spearmen on foot, to protect
 Gallicum agrum trans Trebiam. Cum
 the Gallie territory beyond the Trebia. These, when
 inopinatos invasissent sparsos et incompósitos,
 they had unexpectedly attacked the enemy while scattered and disordered
 plerosque ad hoc graves præda, fecere
 and most of them also encumbered with spoil, caused
 ingentem terrorem cædemque ac fugam usque ad
 great consternation, slaughter, and flight even as far as

astra stationesque hostium ; unde pulsi
 the camp and outposts of the enemy ; whence being repulsed
 multitudine effusa rursus restituere prœlium
 by the numbers *that* poured out, they again renewed the fight
 subsidio suorum : inde sequentes
 upon reinforcement from their own *party*. Then pursuing
 cedentesque varia pugna, cum ad extremum
 and retreating in doubtful battle, though they at last
 æquassent certamen, tamen fama victoriæ fuit
 left the contest equal, yet the fame of the victory was
 major Romanorum quam hostium.
 more with the Romans than the enemy.

LIII.—Ceterum nemini omnium videri
 But to no one [of all] did it appear
 major justiorque quam consuli ipsi :
 more important and just than to the consul himself.
 efferri gaudio se vicisse ea parte
 He was transported with joy “ that he had conquered with that part
 copiarum, qua alter consul foret victus :
 of the forces, with which the other consul had been defeated ;
 animos militibus restitutos ac refectos,
 the spirits of the soldiers,” *he said*, “ were restored and revived ;
 esse nec quemquam præter collegam, qui vellet
 there was no one except his colleague, who would wish
 dimicationem dilatam : eum magis ægrum animo
 an engagement delayed ; that he, more disordered in mind
 quam corpore horrere memoria vulneris
 than in body, shuddered, through recollection of his wound,
 tela ac aciem : sed non esse senescendum
 at arms and battle. But *others* ought not to sink into feebleness
 cum ægro : enim quid ultra differri
 along with a sick man : for to what *purpose* was farther delay
 aut teri tempus ? Quem tertium consulem, quem alium
 or waste of time ? What third consul, what other
 exercitum expectari ? Castra Carthaginiensium
 army was to be waited for ? The camp of the Carthaginians

esse in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis : non
 was in Italy, and almost in sight of the city. *It was not*

Siciliam ac Sardiniam ademptas victis,
 Sicily and Sardinia, which were taken from them when vanquished,

nec Hispaniam cis Iberum peti, sed
 nor Spain on this side of the Iberus, that were aimed at, but

Romanos pelli solo patrio
 that the Romans should be driven from the land of their fathers

terraque, in qua geniti forent : " quantum " inquit
 and the soil in which they were born. How deeply," he continued,

" nostri patres ingemiscant soliti bellare
 " would our fathers groan, who were wont to wage war

circa mœnia Carthaginis, si videant nos,
 around the very walls of Carthage, if they were to see us,

suam progeniem, duos consules consularesque exercitus
 their offspring, two consuls and two consular armies,

pavescentes intra castra in media Italia ; Pœnum
 skulking within our camp in the heart of Italy, and a Carthaginian

fecisse suæ ditionis quod sit agri inter
 holding under his dominion the whole extent of country between

Alpes Apenninumque ! " Hæc agere
 the Alps and the Apennines ! " In this manner did he argue,

assidens ægro collegæ, hæc in prætorio
 sitting beside his sick colleague, and likewise at the headquarters,

prope concionabundus. Et propinquum tempus
 almost in the style of a harangue. Besides, the approaching period

comitiorum stimulabat, ne bellum differretur
 of the elections stimulated him, lest the war should be protracted

in novos consules, et occasio vertendæ
 till the new consuls were chosen ; as well as the opportunity of turning

gloriæ in se unum, dum collega erat æger : jubet
 all the glory to himself, while his colleague lay sick. He orders

milites itaque, Cornelio dissentiente nequidquam,
 the soldiers, therefore, (Cornelius remonstrating to no purpose,)

parari ad propinquum certamen. Hannibal,
 to get ready for an immediate engagement. Hannibal,

cum cerneret quid foret optimum hosti,
 as he clearly saw what conduct would be best for the enemy,

vix habebat ullam spem consules acturos quidquam
scarcely entertained any hope that the consuls would do anything

temere atque improvide. Cum sciret ingenium
without caution and foresight; but when he discovered that the disposition

alterius, prius cognitum fama deinde re,
of the one, first known from report, and afterwards from experience,

esse percitum ac ferox, crederetque factum
was fiery and presumptuous, and believed that it was rendered

ferocius prospero certamine cum
still more presumptuous by the successful engagement with

suis prædatoribus. haud diffidebat fortunam
his predatory troop he did not doubt that an opportunity

gerendæ reⁱ adesse: tempus cujus
of coming to action was near at hand,— an occasion which

erat intentus sollicitusque, ne quod prætermittet,
he was earnestly solicitous not to leave unimproved,

dum miles hostium esset tiro, dum vulnus faceret
while the troops of the enemy were raw, while his wound rendered

meliozem ex ducibus inutilem, dum animi Gallorum
the better of the two commanders useless, and while the spirits of the Gauls

vigerent; quorum sciebat ingentem multitudinem
were fresh; of whom he knew that a great number

secuturam segnius, quanto longius
would follow him with the less zeal the farther

traherentur ab domo. Cum ob hæc taliaque,
they were drawn away from home. When for these and similar reasons,

speraret certamen propinquum, et cuperet,
he hoped that an engagement was near, and desired,

si cessaretur, facere, Gallique—
if there should be any delay, to bring it about himself; and when the Gauls,

tutiores speculatores ad exploranda ea, quæ vellet,
who were the safer spies to ascertain what he wished,

quia militabant in utrisque castris— retulissent
as they served in both camps, had brought intelligence

Romanos paratos esse pugnae, Pœnus
that the Romans were prepared for battle, the Carthaginian

cœpit circumspectare locum insidiis.
began to look about for a place for an ambuscade.

LIV.—In medio

erat rivus

In the middle *between the camps*

was a rivulet,

clausus utrimque
bordered on each sideperaltis ripis,
with very high banks,et circa obsitus
and covered aroundpalustribus herbis
with marshy plants,et virgultis vepribusque,
and with the bushes and bramblesquibus
with which

inculta

uncultivated *grounds*

ferme vestiuntur :

are usually overspread ;

ubi

and when,

quem circumvectus

riding around it,

ipse oculis perlustravit

he had, with his *own* eyes, thoroughly examinedlocum satis latebrosum
the place, sufficiently coverttegendo
for concealingquoque equites,
even horsemen,ait Magoni fratri,
he said to Mago his brother :“hic erit locus,
“This is the spotquem
whichteneas :
you must occupy.delige
Choose outex omni pedite atque equite
from the whole *number* of horse and footcentenos viros,
a hundred men of *each*,cum quibus
with whomvenias ad me
come to meprima vigilia : nunc est tempus
at the first watch. Now is the timecurare corpora.”
to refresh their bodies.”

Prætorium ita missum.

The council was thus dismissed ; and presently

Mox

Mago aderat

Mago came forward

cum delectis.

with his chosen *band*.

“Cerno”

“I see,”

inquit

said

Hannibal

Hannibal,

“robora virorum : sed uti valeatis non modo animis,
“the efficiency of the men ; but that you may be strong, not only in spirit,sed etiam numero,
but also in number,eligite
pick outsingulis vobis ex turmis
each of you from the troopsmanipulisque novenos similes vestri : Mago monstrabit
and companies nine men like yourselves : Mago will show *you*locum
the place,quem insideatis :
where you are to lie in wait.

habetis hostem

You will have an enemy

cæcum
*who is blind*ad has artes belli.”
to these stratagems of war.”

Ita dimissis

Having thus sent off

mille equitibus,
a thousand horsemille peditibus
and a thousand footMagoni, Hannibal
under Mago, Hannibaljubet
*orders*Numidas equites
the Numidian cavalryobequitare
to ride up,transgressos
after crossing

flumen Trebiam **prima luce** **portis hostium,**
the river Trebia at the first light, to the gates of the enemy,
elicereque hostem **ad pugnam** **jaculando**
and to draw them out to battle by discharging *their weapons*
in stationes, **deinde,** **certamine injecto,**
against the guards; and then, on the fight being commenced,
cedendo sensim pertrahere citra flumen. **Hæc mandata**
y retreating leisurely to decoy *them* across the river. These *were* his orders
Numidis : **ceteris ducibus** **peditum equitumque**
to the Numidians : to the other leaders of the infantry and cavalry
præceptum, **ut juberent** **omnes**
instructions were given that they should order all *their men*
prandere, deinde **armatos** **equisque instratis**
to dine; and then, under arms and with their horses accoutred,
expectare signum. **Sempronius,** **avidus certaminis,**
to await the signal. Sempronius, eager for the contest,
eduxit **ad primum tumultum** **Numidarum**
led out, on the first tumult raised by the Numidians,
omnem equitatum— **ferox ea parte virium—**
all the cavalry, being full of confidence in that part of his forces ;
deinde sex millia peditum, postremo omnes copias
then six thousand foot; and, at last, the entire *body* of troops,
ad jam ante destinatum **concilio.** **Forte erat**
to the *place* previously determined in his plan. It happened to be
brumæ tempus **et nivalis dies** **in locis interjectis**
the winter season and a snowy day in those places which lie between
Alpibus **Apenninoque,** **etiam prægelidis**
the Alps and the Apennines, and are excessively cold
propinquitate **fluminum ac paludium.** **Ad hoc**
by the proximity of rivers and marshes. Besides this,
hominibus atque equis **eductis** **raptim,**
both men and horses being drawn out in a hurry,
non ante capto cibo, **non adhibita ulla ope**
without having first taken food, or employed any means
ad arcendum frigus, **inerat nihil caloris,**
to keep off the cold, there was want of warmth in *their bodies*,
et quidquid appropinquabant **auræ fluminis,**
and the nearer they approached to the blasts from the river,

acrior vis frigoris afflabat: ut vero insequentes
 a keener degree of cold blew upon *them*. But when, in pursuit of
 refugientes Numidas ingressi sunt aquam—
 the flying Numidians, they entered the water,
 et erat aucta imbri nocturno tenus pectoribus
 (and it was swollen by rain in the night as high as their breasts,)
 tum utique corpora omnibus egressis rigere,
 then in truth the bodies of all, on landing, were so benumbed
 ut vix esset potentia tenendorum armorum,
 that they were scarcely capable of holding their arms;
 et jam die procedente etiam deficere fame
 and, as the day advanced, they also grew faint through hunger,
 simul lassitudine.
 as well as from fatigue.

LV.—Interim miles Hannibalis ignibus factis
 Meanwhile the soldiers of Hannibal, fires having been kindled
 ante tentoria, oleoque misso per manipulos,
 before their tents, and oil sent through the companies
 ut mollirent artus, et cibo capto per otium,
 to soften their limbs, and their food having been taken at leisure,
 ubi nuntiatum est hostes transgressos flumen,
 as soon as it was announced that the enemy had passed the river,
 capit arma alacer animis corporibusque, atque
 seized their arms with vigor of mind and body, and
 procedit in aciem. Locat ante signa Baleares,
 advanced to the battle. *Hannibal* placed before the standards the Balearians
 levem armaturam ferme octo millia hominum;
 and light-armed troops to the amount of nearly eight thousand men;
 dein graviorem armis peditem, quod erat
 then the heavier-armed infantry, [which was]
 virium, quod roboris. In cornibus circumfudit
 the main part of his power and strength. On the wings he posted
 decem millia equitum, et ab cornibus statuit
 ten thousand horse, and on their extremities stationed
 elephantos divisos partem in utramque.
 the elephants having apportioned half for each wing.

Consul, cum equites sequentes
 The consul, seeing that his cavalry, by pursuing the enemy
 effusos exciperentur incauti
 in a disorderly manner, had been checked, while unprepared,
 ab Numidis subito resistentibus, revocatos
 by the Numidians suddenly turning upon them, on their being recalled
 signo dato receptui, circumdedit peditibus.
 by the signal [given] for retreat, posted them on the flanks of the foot.
 Erant duodeviginti millia Romani,
 There were in his army eighteen thousand Romans,
 viginti socium Latini nominis; præterea auxilia
 twenty thousand allies of the Latin name, besides the auxiliary forces
 Cenomanorum; sola Gallica gens ea manserat
 of the Cenomani, the only Gallic nation that had persevered
 in fide. His copiis concursus est.
 in its fidelity. With these forces they came to the engagement.
 Proelium ortum est a Balearibus: quibus cum
 The battle was begun by the Balearians. Whom when
 legiones obsisterent majore robore, leves armaturæ
 the legions resisted with superior force, the light-armed troops
 propere deductæ sunt in cornua; quæ res effecit,
 were hastily drawn off to the wings; and the consequence was
 ut Romanus equitatus extemplo urgeretur: nam cum
 that the Roman cavalry were quickly overpowered; for when
 quattuor millia jam vix resisterent per se
 their four thousand already with difficulty maintained their ground
 decem millibus equitum, plerisque integris
 against ten thousand of the enemy's cavalry for the most part fresh,
 et fessi, obruti sunt insuper
 while they were exhausted, they were overwhelmed in addition
 nube velut jaculorum conjecta a Balearibus:
 by a cloud, as it were, of javelins, discharged by the Balearians.
 ad hoc elephantī eminentes ab extremis cornibus,
 Besides this, the elephants, looming up in the extremities of the wings,
 equis maxime territis non modo visu,
 (the horses being greatly terrified not only at their appearance,
 sed insolito odore, faciebant late fugam.
 but their unusual smell,) occasioned a general rout

Pugna pedestris erat par magis animis quam viribus,
 The fight between the infantry was equal rather in courage than strength ;

quas Poenus attulerat recentes in prœlium
for as to the latter the Carthaginians brought theirs fresh into the battle,

paulo ante curatis corporibus : **contra**
having a little before recruited themselves ; *while, on the contrary*

corpora Romanis jejuna fessaque et rigentia geli
 the bodies of the Romans enfeebled by fasting and fatigue, and stiff with cold,

torpebant. **Restitissent** **tamen**
were quite benumbed. *They would have made a stand,* *however,*

animis, si foret solum pugnatum cum pedite :
by dint of courage, if *they had only had to fight with the infantry.*

sed et Baleares pulso equite jaculabantur
 But both the Balearians, having beaten off the cavalry, poured darts

in latera, et elephanti jam sese tulerant
on their flanks, *and the elephants* *had now made their way*

in mediam aciem peditum, et Mago Numidæque,
to the centre of the line *of infantry ;* *while Mago and the Numidians,*

simul acies præterlata est eorum latebras
as soon as *the army* *had passed by* *their lurking-place*

improvida, exorti fecere
without observing them, *started up at once,* *and caused*

ingentem tumultum ac terrorem ab tergo. Tamen
dreadful confusion and terror *in the rear.* *Nevertheless*

in tot circumstantibus malis, acies aliquamdiu
amid so many surrounding dangers, *the line* *for some time*

mansit immota, maxime præter spem omnium
remained unbroken, *and, most contrary to the expectation of all,*

adversus elefantos : eos velites locati
against the elephants. *These* *the light-infantry, stationed*

ad id ipsum et avertere conjectis verrutis,
for that purpose, *turned back* *by plying them with iron javelins ;*

et insecuti aversos fodiebant sub caudis, qua
and, following them behind, *pierced them* *under the tails, where*

accipiunt vulnera maxime molli cute.
they received the wounds *in the softest skin.*

LVI.—Trepidantes jam propeque consternatos
The elephants, thus put into disorder, and now almost driven in terror
 in suos Hannibal jussit agi
 against their own party, Hannibal ordered to be led away
 media acie in extremam, adversus auxiliares
 from the centre of the line to its extremity, against the auxiliary
 Gallos ad sinistrum cornu: extemplo ii fecere
 Gauls on the left wing. In an instant they occasioned
 haud dubiam fugam, novusque terror additus
 unequivocal flight; and a new alarm was added
 Romanis, ut viderunt sua auxilia fusa. Cum
 to the Romans when they saw their auxiliaries routed. As
 jam pugnarent in orbem, cum alii nequissent
 they were now fighting in a circle, and the others were unable
 evadere, ferme decem millia hominum itaque,
 to escape, about ten thousand men, in consequence,
 perrupere media acie Afrorum, quas
 broke through the middle of the line of the Africans, which
 firmata erat Gallicis auxiliis, cum ingenti cæde
 was supported by the Gallic auxiliaries, with immense slaughter
 hostium: et cum neque reditus esset in castra
 of the enemy: and since they neither could return to the camp,
 interclusis flumine, neque possent præ imbri
 being shut out by the river, nor were able, by reason of the heavy rain,
 satis decernere qua ferrent opem
 satisfactorily to determine in what part they should lend succor
 suis, perrexere recto itinere Placentiam.
 to their friends, they proceeded by the direct road to Placentia.
 Deinde plures eruptiones factæ in omnes partes;
 After this several irruptions were made in all directions;
 et qui petiere flumen, aut absumpti sunt
 and those who pushed towards the river were either drowned
 gurgitibus, aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi,
 in the eddies, or, in the midst of their indecision about entering,
 oppressi ab hostibus: qui sparsi erant passim
 were cut off by the enemy. Some who had been scattered abroad
 per agros fuga sequentes vestigia
 through the country in their flight, by following the traces

cedentis agminis, contendere Placentiam : aliis
of the retreating army, made their way to Placentia, others
timor hostium fecit audaciam ingrediendi flumen,
the fear of the enemy inspired with boldness to enter the stream,
transgressique pervenerunt in castra. Imber
and these, having crossed it, arrived at the camp. The rain
mixtus nive et intoleranda vis frigoris absumpsit
mixed with snow, and the intolerable severity of the cold, destroyed
et multos homines et jumenta et prope omnes
many men and beasts of burden and almost all
elephantos. Flumen Trebia fuit finis
the elephants. The river Trebia was the termination
Pœnis insequendi hostis ; et rediere
of the Carthaginians' pursuit of the enemy ; and they returned
in castra ita torpentes gelu, ut vix sentirent
to the camp so benumbed with cold, that they could scarcely feel
lætitiâ victoriæ : Insequenti nocte itaque, cum
joy for the victory. On the following night, therefore, though
præsidium castrorum, et ex magna parte militum
the guard of the Roman camp and a great part at least of the soldiers
quod erat reliquum, trajicerent Trebiam ratibus,
that remained passed the Trebia on rafts,
aut sensere nihil, obstrepente pluvia,
they either perceived nothing of the matter through the noise made by the rain,
aut, quia præ lassitudine ac vulneribus
or, being that from their weariness and wounds
jam nequabant moveri, dissimularunt
they were now unable to bestir themselves, pretended
sese sentire ; Pœnisque quietis
that they did not perceive it ; and the Carthaginians lying quiet,
exercitus perductus est ab consule Scipione tacito
the army was led by the consul Scipio in silence
agmine Placentiam, inde trajectus Pado
march to Placentia, thence transported across the Po
Cremonam, ne una colonia premeretur
to Cremona, lest one colony should be too much burdened
hibernis duorum exercituum.
by the winter-quarters of two armies.

LVII.—Tantus terror

ex hac clade

Such consternation

on account of this disaster

perlat⁹ est Roman⁹,
had spread to Rome,ut crederent
that people supposedhostem
the enemyjam venturum
would come directlyad urbem
to the cityinfestis signis,
with hostile standards,esse
and that there wasnec quidquam spei
neither hopeaut ope,
nor aidquo
by whicharcerent vim
they might repel his attackportis mœnibusque : uno consule
from the gates and walls. One consulvicto
having been defeatedad Ticinum,
at the Ticinus,altero revocato, ex
the other recalled fromSicilia,
Sicily,duobus consulibus,
and now both consulsduobus consularibus
and their two consularexercitibus
armiesvictis,
having been vanquished,quos alios duces,
what other commanders,quas alias legiones
what other legionsesse,
were there,quæ arcessantur? Consul
that could be sent for? The consulSempronius advenit
Sempronius came to themita territis,
whilst thus dismayed,transgressus
having passedingenti periculo
with the utmost hazardper equites hostium
through the cavalry of the enemy,effusos
scatteredpassim
in every directionad prædandum,
in search of plunder,audacia magis quam
with boldness rather thanconsilio
with any planaut spe fallendi
or hope of escaping observation,resistendive,
or of making resistancesi non falleret.
if he should not escape it.Habitis comitiis consularibus,
After holding the election of consuls,id unum quod
the only thing whichmaxime desiderabatur
was particularly wantingin præsentia,
at present,rediit
he returnedin hiberna :
to the winter-quarters.consules creati
The consuls elected wereCn. Servilius et C. Flaminius.
Cneius Servilius and Caius Flaminius.Ceterum ne quidem
But not evenhiberna Romanis quieta erant, Numidis equitibus
the winter-quarters of the Romans were undisturbed, the Numidian horsevagantibus passim et,
ranging at large, andquæque erant impeditiora
and wherever the ground was impracticable

iis, Celtiberis Lusitanisque: omnes commeatus
for these, the Celtiberians and Lusitanians. All supplies,

igitur undique clausi erant, nisi quos naves
therefore, from every quarter were cut off, except such as the ships

subveherent Pado. Fuit emporium prope
conveyed by the Po. There was a magazine near

Placentiam et munitam magno opere et firmatum
Placentia both fortified with great care, and secured

valido præsidio: spe expugnandi ejus castelli
by a strong garrison. In the hope of taking this stronghold,

Hannibal profectus cum equitibus ac levi armatura,
Hannibal, having set out with the cavalry and light-infantry,

adortus nocte, cum habuisset plurimum spei
and having attacked it by night, as he rested his main hope

ad effectum incepto in celando,
of effecting his enterprise on keeping it concealed,

non fefellit vigiles: tantus clamor
did not escape the notice of the guards; for such a clamor

repente sublatus est, ut audiretur quoque Placentiam.
was instantly raised, that it was heard even at Placentia.

Consul itaque aderat cum equitatu sub lucem,
The consul, therefore, came up with the cavalry about day-break,

jussis legionibus sequi quadrato agmine. Interim
having ordered the legions to follow in a square band. Meanwhile

proelium equestre commissum, in quo, pavore
an engagement of cavalry commenced, in which, a panic

injecto hostibus, quia Hannibal excessit saucius
falling upon the enemy because Hannibal retired wounded

pugna, præsidium egregie defensum est. Inde
from the fight, the fortress was admirably defended. After th'

sumpta quiete paucorum dierum, et vulnere
having taken rest for a few days, and before his wound

vixdum satis percurato, pergit ire ad oppugnandas
was hardly as yet sufficiently healed, he sets out to lay siege to

Victumvias. Id fuerat munitum Romanis
Victumvias. This had been fortified by the Romans

emporium Gallico bello; inde
for a magazine during the Gallic war: afterwards

mixti accolæ
a mixture of inhabitants

ex finitimis populis undique
from the neighboring states around

locum frequentaverant ;
had made the place populous ;

et tum terror
and at this time fear

populationum
of the *enemy's* depredations

compulerat eo
had driven into it

plerosque
the greater part

ex agris.
of the country-people.

Multitudo hujus generis, accensa
A multitude of this description, excited

fama impigre defensi
by the report of the brave defence

præsidii
of the fortress

ad Placentiam,
near Placentia,

arreptis armis
having snatched up their arms,

procedit obviam
went out to meet

Hannibali.
Hannibal.

Concurrerunt in via
The parties engaged on the road

agmina
in the order of march

magis quam
rather than

acies ; et, cum
of battle ; and since

ex altera parte
on the one side

esset nihil præter
there was nothing but

inconditam turbam,
a disorderly crowd,

et in altera
and on the other

dux fidens militi
a leader confident in his soldiers,

et miles
and a soldiery

duci,
confident in their leader,

ad triginta quinque
as many as thirty-five

millia hominum
thousand men

fusa a paucis.
were routed by a few.

Postero die,
On the following day,

deditione facta,
a surrender having been made,

accepere
they received

præsidium intra
a garrison within

mœnia ;
their walls ; and being ordered

jussique tradere arma,
to deliver up their arms,

cum
as soon as

paruissent dicto,
they had obeyed the command,

signum repente datur
a signal is suddenly given

victoribus,
to the conquerors,

ut diriperent urbem
to sack the city

tamquam captam
as if it had been taken

vi : neque est ulla clades,
by storm ; nor was any outrage,

quæ in tali re solet
which in such cases is wont

videri
to appear

scribentibus
to writers

memorabilis,
worthy of relation,

prætermissa ;
left unperpetrated ;

adeo exemplum
such a specimen

omnis libidinis
of every kind of lust,

crudelitatisque et
barbarity, and

inhumanæ superbis editum est in miseros.
 inhuman insolence was exhibited towards those wretched people
 Hæ fuere Hannibalis expeditiones hibernæ.
 Such were Hannibal's enterprises during the winter.

LVIII.—Haud longi temporis inde, dum frigora
 For a short time after, while the cold
 erant intolerabilia, quies data est militi, et
 continued intolerable, rest was given to the soldiers; and
 profectus ex hibernis ad prima ac dubia signa
 having marched out of winter-quarters on the first and uncertain indications
 veris ducit in Etruriam, adjuncturus
 of spring, he leads them into Etruria, intending to gain to his side
 eam gentem quoque, sicut Gallos Liguresque,
 that nation also, as he had done the Gauls and Ligurians,
 aut vi aut voluntate. Transeuntem Apenninum
 either by force or favor. As he was crossing the Apennines,
 adeo atrox tempestas adorta est, ut prope superaverit
 so furious a storm attacked him, that it almost surpassed
 fœditatem Alpium. Imber mixtus vento
 the horrors of the Alps. The rain, which was attended with a high wind,
 cum ferretur ipsa in ora, primo constitere, quia
 being driven directly into their faces, they at first halted, because
 arma aut omittenda erant, aut enitentes contra
 their arms must either be cast away, or struggling forward
 intorti vertice affligebantur;
 they would be whirled round by the hurricane, and thrown on the ground:
 dein, cum jam includeret spiritum nec sineret
 afterwards, when it now stopped their breath, nor suffered them
 reciprocare animam consedere parumper
 to respire, they sat down for a little
 aversi a vento. Tum vero cœlum strepere
 with their backs to the wind. But now the sky resounded
 ingenti sono, et ignes micare inter horrendos
 with loud thunder, and the lightnings flashed between its terrific
 fragores omnes captis oculis et auribus, torpere
 peals; all, bereft of sight and hearing, stood torpid

metu : tandem, imbre effuso, cum vis
 with fear. At length, when the rain had spent itself, and the fury
 venti eo magis accensa esset visum est
 of the wind was on that account more increased, it was deemed
 necessarium ponere castra ipso illo loco, quo
 necessary to pitch the camp on the very spot where
 deprehensi erant. Vero id fuit initium
 hey had been overtaken by the storm. But this was the beginning
 laboris velut de integro : nam nec poterant
 of their labors, as it were, afresh ; for neither could they
 explicare nec statuere quidquam, nec
 spread out nor fix any tent, nor
 quod statutum esset manebat, vento
 did that which perchance had been put up remain, the wind
 perscindente et rapiente omnia. Et mox cum
 tearing through and sweeping everything away : and soon after, when
 aqua levata vento concreta esset super
 the water raised aloft by the wind had been frozen above
 gelida juga montium, dejecit tantum
 the cold summits of the mountains, it poured down such a torrent
 nivossæ grandinis, ut homines, omissis omnibus,
 of snowy hail, that the men, casting away everything,
 procumberent magis obruti quam tecti
 fell flat upon their faces, rather buried under than protected
 suis tegminibus : tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est.
 by their coverings ; and so extreme an intensity of cold succeeded,
 ut cum quisque vellet extollere ac levare se
 that when each wished to raise and lift himself.
 ex illa miserabili strage hominum jumentorumque
 from that wretched heap of men and cattle,
 diu nequiret, quia nervis torrentibus
 he was for a long time unable, because, their sinews being stiffened
 rigore vix poterant flectere artus : deinde
 by the cold, they were scarcely able to bend their joints. Afterwards
 ut agitando sese tandem
 when, by briskly moving themselves to and fro, they at length
 movere ac recipere animos, et ignis
 re-gained the power of motion, and recovered their spirits, and fires

coeptus est fieri raris locis, quisque inops tendere
 began to be kindled in a few places, every helpless man had recourse
 ad opem alienam. Mansere velut obsessi biduum
 to the aid of others. They remained, as if blockaded, for two days
 eo loco : multi homines, multa jumenta absumpti,
 in that place. Many men and beasts of burden perished,
 quoque septem elephanti ex iis, qui superfuerant
 and likewise seven elephants, of those which had survived
 prælio facto ad Trebiam.
 the battle fought at the Trebia.

LIX.—Digressus Apennino movit castra retro
 Having descended from the Apennines, he moved his camp back
 ad Placentiam, et progressus ad decem millia
 towards Placentia, and, having proceeded as far as ten miles,
 consedit : postero die ducit adversus hostem
 took up his station. Next day he leads out against the enemy
 duodecim millia peditum, quinque equitum. Nec
 twelve thousand foot and five thousand horse. Nor
 consul Sempronius— enim jam redierat ab Roma—
 did the consul Sempronius (for he had now returned from Rome)
 detractavit certamen : atque eo die tria
 decline the engagement ; and, during that day, three
 millia passuum fuere inter bina castra. Postero die
 miles intervened between the two camps. On the following day
 pugnatum est ingentibus animis, vario eventu.
 they fought with the utmost bravery and with variable success.
 Primo concursu Romana res fuit adeo superior,
 At the first onset the Roman power was so superior,
 ut non solum vincerent hostes acie, sed
 that they not only conquered the enemy in the regular battle, but
 persequerentur pulsos in castra, mox
 pursued them when driven back quite into their camp, and soon after
 quoque oppugnarent castra. Hannibal, positis paucis
 also assaulted it. Hannibal, after posting a few
 propugnatoribus in vallo portisque, recepit ceteros
 as defenders of the rampart and gates, collected the rest

confertos in **media castra**, **jubetque**
 in close order in the middle of the camp, and ordered them
spectare intentos signum ad erumpendum. **Erat**
 to watch attentively the signal for sallying out. It was
jam ferme nona hora diei, **cum Romanus,**
 now near the ninth hour of the day, when the Roman,
fatigato milite nequidquam, postquam erat nulla
 having fatigued his troops without effect, after there was no
spes potiundi castris, dedit signum receptui.
 hope of gaining possession of the camp, gave the signal for retreat;
Quod ubi Hannibal accepit, viditque
 which when Hannibal heard, and saw
pugnam laxatam et recessum a castris,
 that the attack was slackened, and that they were retiring from the camp,
extemplo emissis equitibus dextra lævaque
 instantly having sent out the cavalry on the right and left
in hostem, ipse cum robore peditum
 against the enemy, he himself, with the main force of the infantry,
erupit mediis castris. **Raro pugna**
 rushed out in the middle [camp]. Seldom has there been a combat
magis sæva, et fuisset clarior
 more furious, and few would have been more remarkable
perniciæ utriusque partis, si dies sivilisset eam extendi
 for the loss on both sides, if the day had suffered it to continue
in longum spatium: nox diremit prælium accensum
 for a longer time. Night broke off the battle when raging most
ingentibus animis. **Concursus itaque**
 from the amazing courage of the combatants. The conflict therefore
fuit acrior quam cædes; et sicut erat ferme
 was more severe than the slaughter: and as it was pretty much
sequata pugna, ita discessum est pari clade.
 a drawn battle, [so] they separated with equal loss.
Ab neutra parte cecidit plus sexcentis peditibus,
 On neither side fell more than six hundred infantry,
et dimidium ejus equitum: sed jactura Romanis
 and half that number of cavalry. But the loss of the Romans
fuit major quam pro numero,
 was more severe than proportionate to the number that fell,

quia aliquot equestris ordinis et quinque tribuni
because several of equestrian rank, and five tribunes

militum et tres præfecti sociorum interfecti sunt.
of the soldiers, and three prefects of the allies were slain.

Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal concessit
After this battle Hannibal removed

in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam.
to the territory of the Ligurians, and Sempronius to Luca.

Hannibali venienti in Ligures duo Romani
On Hannibal's arrival among the Ligurians, two Roman

quæstores per insidias intercepti cum duobus
quæstors, who had been treacherously intercepted, with two

militum tribunis et quinque equestris ordinis
military tribunes and five of the equestrian order,

ferme liberis senatorum traduntur, quo
mostly the sons of senators, were delivered up to him, in order that

magis crederet pacem societatemque cum iis
he might feel more convinced that the peace and alliance with them

fore ratam.
would be binding.

LX.—Dum hæc geruntur in Italia,
While these things are transacting in Italy,

Cn. Cornelius Scipio missus cum classe et exercitu
Cneius Cornelius Scipio, who was sent with the fleet and army

in Hispaniam, cum, profectus ab ostio Rhodani
into Spain, when, setting out from the mouth of the Rhone,

circumvectusque Pyrenæos montes, appulisset classem
and sailing past the Pyrenæan mountains, he had moored his fleet

Emporiis, ibi exposito exercitu, orsus a Lacetanis,
at Emporiæ, having there landed his army, and beginning with the Lacetani,

partim renovandis societatibus partim instituendis novis,
partly by renewing old treaties, partly by forming new ones,

fecit ditionis Romanæ omnem oram
he brought under the dominion of the Romans the whole coast,

usque flumen Iberum. Fama clementiæ conciliatis
as far as the river Iberus The reputation for clemency, acquired

inde valuit non modo ad maritimos populos,
 by these means, had *its* effect not only on the maritime states,
 sed jam quoque ad ferociores gentes in mediterraneis
 but now also on the more barbarous nations in the interior
 ac montanis; nec pax modo parata est apud vos,
 and mountainous parts; nor was peace only effected with them,
 sed etiam societas armorum, aliquotque validæ cohortes,
 but also an alliance of arms, and several strong cohorts
 auxiliorum conscriptæ sunt ex iis. Cis Iberum
 of auxiliaries were raised among them. The country on this side the Iberus
 erat provincia Hannonis: eum Hannibal reliquerat
 was the province of Hanno, whom Hannibal had left behind
 ad præsidium ejus regionis: ratus itaque
 for the defence of that tract. Judging, therefore,
 eundum obviam, priusquam omnia alienarentur,
 that he ought to make opposition, before everything was alienated
 positis castris in conspectu hostium,
 from him, having pitched his camp in sight of the enemy,
 eduxit in aciem. Nec visum Romano
 he led out *his* forces in battle-array; nor did it appear to the Roman
 certamen differendum, quippe qui sciret
 that the engagement ought to be deferred, as he knew
 sibi dimicandum esse cum Hannone et Hasdrubale,
 that he must fight with Hanno and Hasdrubal,
 malletque gerere rem adversus singulos separatim
 and wished rather to sustain the battle against each of them separately,
 quam adversus duos simul. Ea dimicatio nec fuit
 than against both together. The conflict did not prove one
 magni certaminis: sex millia hostium cæsa,
 of great difficulty; six thousand of the enemy were slain,
 duo capta cum præsidio castrorum:
 and two thousand made prisoners, together with the guard of the camp;
 nam et castra expugnata sunt, atque dux ipse
 for both the camp was stormed, and the general himself,
 cum aliquot principibus capiuntur; et Scissis
 with several of the chief officers, taken; and Scissis
 oppidum propinquum castris expugnatur.
 a town near the camp, was also carried by assault.

Ceterum præda oppidi fuit rerum parvi pretii,
 But the spoil of this town consisted of articles of trifling value,
 supellex barbarica ac mancipiorum vilium :
 the furniture suiting barbarians, and the slaves of little price.
 castra ditavere militem, fere omnibus caris rebus
 But the camp enriched the soldiers, almost all the valuable effects,
 non modo ejus exercitus qui victus erat, sed et ejus,
 not only of that army which was conquered, but also of the one
 qui militabat cum Hannibale in Italia, relictis
 which was serving with Hannibal in Italy, having been left
 citra Pyrenæum, ne impedimenta essent gravia
 on this side the Pyrenees, that the baggage might not be cumbrous
 ferentibus.
 to those who conveyed it.

LXI.—Priusquam certa fama hujus cladis
 Before any certain account of this disaster
 accideret, Hasdrubal transgressus Iberum cum
 arrived, Hasdrubal, having passed the Iberus with
 octo millibus peditum, mille equitum, tamquam
 eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, as
 occursurus Romanorum ad primum adventum,
 intending to meet the Romans on their first approach,
 postquam accepit perditas res ad Scissim
 after he heard of the ruin of affairs at Scissis,
 amissaque castra, convertit iter ad mare.
 and the loss of the camp, turned his route towards the sea.
 Haud procul Tarracone, dimisso equite
 Not far from Tarraco, having despatched his cavalry
 passim, compellit ad naves cum magna cæde,
 in several directions, he drove to their ships, with great slaughter,
 majore fuga, milites classicos navalesque socios,
 and greater rout, the soldiers belonging to the fleet and the mariners,
 vagos palantesque per agros, quod ferme fit,
 while scattered and wandering through the fields (for it is usually the case,
 ut secundæ res creent negligentiam. Nec ausus
 that success produces negligence). But not daring

morari diutius circa ea loca ne opprimeretur
to remain longer in that quarter, lest he might be surprised

ab Scipione, recepit sese trans Iberum. Et Scipio,
by Scipio, he withdrew to the other side of the Iberus. And Scipio,

raptim acto agmine ad famam novorum hostium,
having quickly brought up his army on the report of fresh enemies,

cum animadvertisset in paucos præfectos navium,
after punishing a few of the commanders of ships,

relicto modico præsidio Tarracone, rediit
and leaving a moderate garrison at Tarraco, returned

cum classe Emporias. Vixdum eo digresso,
with his fleet to Emporiæ. Scarcely had he departed,

Hasdrubal aderat; et, impulso ad defectionem
when Hasdrubal came up; and having instigated to a revolt

populo Ilergetum, qui dederat obsides Scipioni,
the state of the Ilergetes, which had given hostages to Scipio,

vastat cum juventute eorum ipsorum agros
he lays waste, with the youth of that very people, the lands

fidelium sociorum Romanis: Scipione deinde excito
of the faithful allies of the Romans. Scipio being thereupon roused

hibernis, rursus cedit hostico agro
from his winter-quarters, Hasdrubal again retires from the enemy's country

cis Iberum. Scipio, cum infesto exercitu
on this side the Iberus. Scipio, when with a hostile army

invasisset gentem Ilergetum relictam ab auctore
he had invaded the state of the Ilergetes, forsaken by the author

defectionis, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum,
of their revolt, and having driven them all to Athanagia,

quæ erat caput ejus populi, circumsedidit urbem,
which was the capital of that nation, laid siege to the city;

intraque paucos dies, imperatis pluribus obsidibus
and within a few days having imposed the delivery of more hostages

quam ante, etiam multatos Ilergetes pecunia,
than before, and also fined the Ilergetes in a sum of money,

recepit in jus ditionemque. Inde
he received them back into his authority and dominion. From thence

procedit in Ausetanos prope Iberum
he proceeded against the Ausetanians near the Iberus,

ipsos et socios Pœnorum, atque, obsessa
 who were also the allies of the Carthaginians; and having laid siege
 eorum urbe, excepit insidiis Lacetanos
 to their city, he cut off by an ambuscade the Lacetani, while
 ferentes auxilium nocte finitimis
 bringing assistance by night to their neighbors, having attacked them
 haud procul jam urbe, cum vellent intrare :
 at a small distance from the city, as they were designing to enter it.
 ad duodecim millia cæsa, prope omnes
 As many as twelve thousand were slain; the rest nearly all
 exuti armis palantes per agros
 without their arms, dispersing up and down through the country,
 diffugere domos passim. Nec ulla alia res quam hiems
 fled to their homes by different ways. Nor did anything else but the winter,
 iniqua oppugnantibus tutabatur obsessos :
 which was unfavorable to the besiegers, secure the besieged.
 obsidio fuit triginta dies, per quos nix jacuit
 The blockade continued for thirty days, during which the snow lay
 raro unquam minus quattuor pedes alta : operueratque
 seldom less than four feet deep; and it had covered
 adeo pluteos ac vineas Romanorum, ut ea sola
 to such a degree the sheds and mantelets of the Romans, that it alone
 fuerit etiam tutamentum ignibus aliquoties coniectis
 served as a defence against the fires which were often thrown on them
 ab hoste. Postremo, cum Amusitus eorum princeps
 by the enemy. At last, when Amusitus, their chieftain,
 profugisset ad Hasdrubalem, deduntur pacti
 had fled to Hasdrubal, they are surrendered upon stipulating
 viginti talentis argenti. Reditum est in hiberna
 to pay twenty talents of silver. They then returned into winter-quarters
 Tarraconem.
 at Tarraco.

LXII.—Ea hieme Romæ ac circa urbem
 During this winter, at Rome and about the city,

multa prodigia facta, aut, quod solet evenire
 many prodigies either occurred, or, as us ally happen

animis semel motis in religionem,
when people's minds have once taken a turn towards superstition,
 multa nuntiata sunt et temere credita: in quis
many were reported and readily believed; among which,
 infantem ingenuam semestrem
it was said, that an infant of good family, and only six months old
 in olitorio foro clamasse triumphum; et boario foro
had, in the herb-market, called out "Io, triumphe;" that in the cattle-market
 bovem sua sponte escendisse in tertiam contignationem,
an ox had of his own accord mounted up to the third story of a house,
 atque inde territum tumultu habitatorum
whence, being affrighted by the noise of the inhabitants,
 sese dejecisse; et speciem navium affulsisse
he threw himself down; that the appearance of ships had been brightly visible
 de cœlo; et ædem Spei, quæ est in olitorio foro
in the sky; that the temple of hope, [which is] in the herb-market,
 ictam fulmine; et hastam Lanuvii
had been struck by lightning; that the spear at Lanuvium
 se commovisse, et corvum devolasse in ædem
had shaken of itself, and that a crow had flown down into the temple
 Junonis atque consedissee in ipso pulvinario;
of Juno, and alighted on the very couch;
 et in agro Amiternino multis locis specie hominum
that in the district of Amiternum, in many places, apparitions of men
 candida veste visos procul, nec congressos
in white garments had been seen at a distance, but had not come close
 cum ullo; et in Piceno pluvisse lapidibus; et Cære
to any body; that in Picenum it had rained stones; at Cære
 sortes extenuatas; et in Gallia lupum
the divining tickets had diminished in size; and in Gaul a wolf
 raptum gladium vigili ex vagina
snatched the sword of a soldier on guard out of the scabbard,
 abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia decemviri
and ran away with it. With respect to the other prodigies the decemvirs
 jussi adire libros; quod autem pluvisset
were ordered to consult the books; but on account of its having rained
 lapidibus in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum,
stones in Picenum, the nine days' festival was proclaimed,

et prope tota civitas operata fuit procurandis aliis
 and almost all the state was occupied in expiating the rest,
 subinde. Jam primum omnium urbs lustrata est,
 one after another. [Now] first of all the city was purified,
 hostiæque majores cæsæ diis,
 and victims of the greater kind were sacrificed to those gods
 quibus editum est, et donum ex quadraginta pondo
 to whom they were directed to be offered; and a gift of forty pounds' weight
 auri portatum est ad Junonis Lanuvium; et
 of gold was carried to the temple of Juno at Lanuvium; and
 matronæ dedicaverunt æneum signum Junoni
 the matrons dedicated a brazen statue to Juno
 in Aventino; et lectisternium imperatum Cære, ubi
 on the Aventine; and a lectisternium was ordered at Cære where
 sortes attenuatæ erant; et supplicatio Fortunæ
 the tickets for divination had diminished; also a supplication to Fortune
 in Algidio; Romæ quoque et lectisternium indicta
 at Algidum; at Rome, likewise, a lectisternium was ordered
 Juventati et supplicatio nominatim
 to Youth, and a supplication to be performed by individuals
 ad ædem Herculis, deinde universo populo
 at the temple of Hercules, and then by the whole body of the people
 circa omnia pulvinaria; et Genio quinque majores
 at all the several shrines; to Genius five of the greater
 hostiæ cæsæ; et prætor C. Atilius Serranus
 victims were offered; and the prætor Caius Atilius Serranus
 jussus suscipere vota, si res publica
 was instructed to make certain vows in case the commonwealth
 stetisset in decem annos eodem statu. Hæc
 should continue for ten years in its present state. These things,
 procurata vota ex Sibyllinis libris
 thus expiated and vowed according to the Sibylline books,
 levaverant ex magna parte animos religione.
 relieved, in a great degree, the public mind from superstitious fears

LXIII.—Flaminius alter consulum designatorum
 Flaminius, one of the consuls elect,

cui evenerant sorte eæ legiones, quæ hibernabant
to whom had fallen by lot the legions which were wintering

Placentiæ, misit edictum et litteras ad consulem,
at Placentia, sent an edict and letter to the consul,

ut is exercitus adesset in castris Arimini
desirin, that those troops should be ready in camp at Ariminum

idibus Martiis. Huic consilium erat inire consulatum
on the ides of March. His design was to enter on the consulship

in provincia, memori veterum certaminum
in his province, recollecting his old contests

cum patribus, quæ habuerat
with the patricians, which he had maintained with them

tribunus plebis et quæ postea consul, prius
when tribune of the commons, and afterwards when consul, first

de consulatu qui abrogabatur,
about the consulship, his election to which was sought to be annulled,

dein de triumpho: etiam invisus patribus
and then about a triumph. He was besides hated by the patricians

ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius
on account of a new law, which Quintus Claudius,

plebis tribunus tulerat adversus senatum atque
a plebeian tribune, had carried against the senate, [and]

C. Flaminio uno patrum adjuvante,
Caius Flaminius alone of all the patricians supporting it,

ne quis senator cuive pater fuisset senator haberet
"that no senator, or one whose father was a senator, should possess

navem maritimam, quæ esset plus quam
a ship, fit for sea-service, which contained more than

trecentarum amphorarum. Id habitum satis
three hundred amphoræ." This size was thought sufficient

ad vectandos fructus ex agris: omnis quæstus
for conveying the produce of their lands: all traffic

visus indecorus patribus. Res acta
appeared unbecoming a senator. This contest, maintained

per summam contentionem peperit Flaminio
with the warmest opposition procured to Flaminius,

suasori legis invidiam apud nobilitatem,
the advocate for the law, great hatred among the nobility, but as great

favorem apud plebem indeque alterum consulatum.
popularity among the commons, and afterwards a second consulship.

Ob hæc ratus se retenturos in urbe
For these reasons, thinking that they would detain him in the city

ementiendis auspiciis moraque Latinarum feriarum
by falsifying the auspices, by the delay of the Latin festival

et aliis impedimentis consularibus, simulat
and other hindrances to which a consul was liable, he pretended

itinere, privatus abiit clam
a journey, and, while yet in a private capacity, departed secretly

in provinciam. Ea res ubi palam facta est,
to his province. This proceeding, when it was made public,

movit novam insuper iram patribus jam ante infestis:
excited new and additional anger in the senators, who were before irritated

C. Flaminium gerere bellum
against him. They exclaimed, "that Caius Flaminius waged war

non modo cum senatu, sed jam cum immortalibus diis:
not only with the senate, but now with the immortal gods;

ante factum consulem inauspicato
that having been formerly made consul without the proper auspices,

non paruisse diis atque hominibus revocantibus
he had disobeyed both gods and men recalling him

ex ipsa acie, nunc conscientia spreto
from the very field; and now, from a consciousness of having despised

fugisse et Capitolium et sollemnem nuncupationem
them, he had shunned the Capitol and the customary offering

votorum, ne die initi magistratus adiret
of vows, that he might not, on the day of entering his office, approach

templum Jovis optimi maximi; ne videret
the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great; that he might not see

consuleretque senatum ipse invisus et invisum
and consult the senate, himself hated by it, as it was hateful

sibi uni; ne indiceret Latinas, faceretque
to him alone; that he might not proclaim the Latin festival, or perform

in monte sollemne sacrum Jovi Latari;
on the Alban mount the customary sacrifices to Jupiter Latiaris;

ne profectus in Capitolium auspicato
that he might not go up to the Capitol, under direction of the auspices

ad nuncupanda vota, inde cum lictoribus
to offer his vows, and thence, attended by the lictors,

iret in provinciam paludatis : profectum
proceed to his province in the garb of a general ; but that he had gone off

sine insignibus, sine lictoribus, modo laxæ
without his insignia, without the lictors, like a soldier's servant,

clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si vertisset solum
privately and by stealth ; just as if he were quitting his country

causa exsilii : videlicet initurum magistratum
to go into exile ; as if forsooth he would assume his office

magis pro majestate imperii Arimini
more consistently with the dignity of supreme magistrate at Ariminum

quam Romæ, et sumpturum prætextam
than at Rome, and put on the consular robe

in hospitali deversorio quam apud suos penates.
in a public inn better than before his own household gods."

Universi censuerunt revocandum retrahendumque,
They unanimously resolved that he should be recalled and brought back,

et cogendum fungi præsentem omnibus officiis
and be compelled to perform in person all duties

in deos hominesque prius, quam iret ad exercitum
both to gods and men before he went to the army

et in provinciam. Q. Terentius et M. Antistius
and the province. Quintus Terentius and Marcus Antistius

profecti in eam legationem— enim placuit
having set out on this embassy, (for it was resolved

legatos mitti— moverunt eum nihilo magis
that ambassadors should be sent,) prevailed with him in no degree more

quam moverant litteræ missæ ab senatu
than had the letter sent by the senate

priore consulatu : paucos dies post iniit magistratum,
in his former consulship. A few days after he entered on his office,

que ei immolanti vitulus jam ictus cum sese proripuisset
and as he was sacrificing, a calf, after being struck, having made its escape

e manibus sacrificantium, respersit multos circumstantes
out of the hands of the ministers, sprinkled many of the bystanders

cruore : fuga et concursatio fuit etiam major
with its blood. Flight and disorder ensued, to a still greater degree

procul apud ignaros, quid trepidaretur:
at a distance among those who knew not what was the cause of the alarm.

Id acceptum a plerisque in omen magni terroris.
This was regarded by most persons as an omen of great terror.

Inde acceptis duabus legionibus a Sempronio consule
Having then received two legions from Sempronius the consul

prioris anni, duabus a C. Atilio prætore, exercitus
of the former year, and two from Caius Atilius, the prætor, the army

coepit est duci in Etruriam per tramites Apennini.
began to be led into Etruria, through the passes of the Apennines.

CONTENTS OF BOOK XXII.

I, II. *Hannibal*, after an uninterrupted march of four days and three nights, without repose, through the marshes, in which he lost an eye, arrives in *Etruria*. III, IV, etc. *Caius Flaminius* the consul, a man of impetuous temper, orders the military standards, which could not otherwise be raised, to be dug up; in mounting his horse, is thrown forward over the animal's head; but sets out in defiance of the unfavorable auspices; is involved by the artifice of *Hannibal*, in a dangerous defile near lake *Thrasymene*, and cut off with the greatest part of his army. VI. Six thousand, who had escaped, are placed in chains by *Hannibal*, in violation of pledges given. VII. The news of the disaster puts *Rome* in mourning; two mothers, upon the safe and unexpected return of their sons, die for joy. X. The *Sibylline* books consulted, and a sacred spring decreed. XII. *Fabius Maximus* created dictator, and sent against *Hannibal*; avoids fighting, and baffles *Hannibal's* efforts. XIV-XXVI. The master of the horse, *Marcus Minucius*, a rash and inconsiderate man, excites general dissatisfaction against the dictator's dilatory conduct; is made equal to him in authority. XXVII. The army divided between them; *Minucius*, with his half of the forces, hazards a battle in an unfavorable position, XXIX, and is saved from utter destruction by *Fabius* coming opportunely to his relief with the other half of the Roman army; acknowledges his misconduct, and puts himself again under the command of the dictator. *Hannibal*, after ravaging *Campania*, is shut up by *Fabius*, in a valley at *Casilinum*; but extricates himself by a stratagem, of tying firebrands to the horns of oxen; attempts to excite a suspicion of the fidelity of *Fabius* by sparing his farm, while ravaging with fire the whole country around it. XLVII. *Æmilius Paulus* and *Terentius Varo* utterly defeated at *Cannæ*, XLIX, the former being slain, with forty-five thousand men, of whom were eighty senators, and thirty who had served the office of consul, prætor or ædile. LIII. A design, projected by some noble youths of quitting *Italy* in despair after this disaster

is intrepidly quashed by Publius Cornelius Scipio, a military tribune, who afterwards acquired the surname of "Africanus." Prosperous events in Spain. LVII. Two vestals, Opimia and Floronia, sentenced to death for incontinence. The Romans enlist slaves; LX, LXI, refuse to ransom the prisoners; go out in a body to meet Varro, and thank him for not despairing of the commonwealth. [v. c. 535-536. B. C. 217-216.]

LIBER VICESIMUS SECONDUS

BOOK TWENTY-SECOND.

I.—Ver jam appetebat, cum Hannibal movit
 Spring was now at hand, when Hannibal moved
 ex hibernis, et ante conatus nequidquam
 out of his winter-station, [both] having previously attempted in vain
 transcendere Apenninum intolerandis frigoribus, et
 to pass over the Apennines, from the intolerable cold, and
 moratus cum ingenti periculo ac metu.
 having remained in his quarters with the utmost danger and alarm.
 Gallis, quos spes prædæ populationumque conciverat,
 The Gauls, whom the hope of spoil and pillage had collected,
 postquam pro eo, ut ipsi raperent agerentque
 when, instead of themselves carrying and driving away booty
 ex agro alieno, viderent suas terras esse
 from the fields of others, they saw that their own lands were made
 sedem belli premique hibernis exercituum
 the seat of war, and were burdened by the wintering of the armies
 utriusque partis, verterunt odia retro ab Romanis
 of both parties, turned their hatred back again from the Romans
 in Hannibalem; que sæpe petitus insidiis
 upon Hannibal. But though frequently set upon by the plots
 principum, servatus erat ipsorum fraude
 of their chieftains, he was preserved by their treacherous betrayal
 inter se, indicantium consensum eadem levitate
 of one another, disclosing their conspiracy with the same inconstancy

qua consenserant, et mutando nunc vestem
with which they had conspired; and by changing, sometimes his dress

nunc tegumenta capitis, sese munierat
at other times the covering of his head, he protected himself

ab insidiis errore etiam. Ceterum
against their plots by deception [also]. However,

hic quoque timor fuit causa maturius ei movendi
this very fear was the cause of his more speedily quitting

ex hibernis. Per idem tempus Romæ
his winter-quarters. In the mean time, at Rome,

Cn. Servilius consul iniit magistratum idibus
Cneius Servilius, the consul, entered upon his office on the ides

Martiis. Ibi cum retulisset de
of March. There, when he had consulted the senate concerning

republica invidia in C. Flaminium
the state of the commonwealth, the indignation against Flaminius

redintegrata est: se creasse duos consules,
was rekindled. "They created," they said, "two consuls,

habere unum:— enim quod justum imperium,
yet had but one: for what legal authority,

quod auspiciis illi esse? Id magistratus
what auspices did the other possess? These the magistrates

ferre secum a domo— privatis penatibus
carried with them from home, from their own tutelary gods,

publicisque— Latinis feriis actis,
and also those of the public, the Latin festival being celebrated,

sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis
the sacrifices on the Alban mount performed, and vows

rite nuncupatis in Capitolio: nec posse privatum
duly offered in the Capitol: neither could an unofficial individual

sequi auspicia, nec profectum
take the auspices with him, nor could one, who had gone from home

sine auspiciis concipere ea nova atque integra
without them take them new, and for the first time,

in externo solo. Prodigia nuntiata ex pluribus locis
in a foreign soil." Prodigious, announced from many places

simul augebant metum: in Sicilia
at once, augmented the terror: in Sicily,

sudasse, et Capus fuisse speciem
sweat. At Capua, there was the appearance

coeli ardentis lunæque cadentis inter imbrem.
of the heavens being on fire, and of the moon as falling amidst rain.

Inde fides habita etiam prodigiis
After these, credit was given [also] to prodigies

minoribus dictu: capras quibusdam factas lanatas,
of lesser note: that the goats of certain persons were turned into sheep;

● gallinam sese vertisse in marem, gallum
that a hen was changed into a male, and a cock

in feminam. Iis expositis,
into a female. These matters having been laid before the senate

sicut erant nuntiata, auctoribusque introductis in
as reported, and the authors conducted into

curiam, consul consuluit patres
the senate-house, the consul took the sense of the fathers

de religione: decretum, ut ea prodigia
on religious affairs. It was decreed that those prodigies

procurarentur partim majoribus partim lactentibus
should be expiated, partly with full-grown, partly with sucking

hostiis, et uti supplicatio per triduum haberetur
victims; and that a supplication for three days should be performed

ad omnia pulvinaria: ut, cum decemviri
at all the shrines; that, when the decemvirs

inspexissent libros, cetera
should have inspected the books, all other particulars

fierent ita, quemadmodum dii præfarentur
should be conducted in such manner as the gods should declare

divinis carminibus esse cordi. Monitu
in their oracles to be agreeable to them. By the advice

decemvirorum decretum est primum aureum fulmen
of the decemvirs it was decreed that, first a golden thunderbolt

quingenta pondo fieret donum Jovi,
of fifty pounds' weight should be made as an offering to Jupiter,

donaque ex argento darentur Junoni Minervæque,
and that offerings of silver should be presented to Juno and Minerva.

et Junoni reginæ in Aventino Junonique Sospitæ
that to Juno Regina on the Aventine, and Juno Sospita

Lanuvii **sacrificaretur** **majoribus hostiis;**
 at Lanuvium, sacrifices should be made of full-grown victims;
matronæque **collata quantum pecunia** **esset**
 that the matrons, contributing as much money as might be
commodum cuique conferre, **ferrent in Aventinum**
 convenient to each [to give,] should carry it to the Aventine,
donum Junoni reginæ, **lectisterniumque**
 as a present to Juno Regina; and that a lectisternium
 fieret; **quin et** **ut ipsæ et libertinæ**
 should be celebrated to her; nay even that the very freed-women
pro suis facultatibus conferrent **pecuniam— unde**
 should, according to their means, contribute money from which
donum daretur **Feroniæ.** **Ubi hæc facta,**
 a present might be made to Feronia. When these things were done,
decemviri sacrificarunt **majoribus hostiis** **in foro**
 the decemvirs sacrificed, with the greater victims, in the forum
Ardæ: **postremo** **jam mense Decembri,**
 at Ardea. Lastly, it being now the month of December
immolatum est **ad ædem Saturni** **Romæ,**
 sacrifices were offered at the temple of Saturn in Rome,
lectisterniumque imperatum— **et eum** **senatores**
 and a lectisternium ordered, (in which senators
straverunt lectum— **et publicum convivium,**
 prepared the couch,) and also a public banquet.
 ac clamata **per urbem** **Saturnalia**
 Proclamation was likewise made through the city of a feast of Saturn,
 diem ac noctem, **populusque** **jussus**
 to be kept for a day and a night; and the people were commanded
habere eum diem festum **ac servare in perpetuum.**
 to account that day as a festival, and to observe it for ever.

II.—Dum consul dat operam **Romæ** **placandis**
 While the consul employs himself at Rome in appeasing

dis **habendoque dilectu,** **Hannibal** **profectus**
 the gods and holding the levy, Hannibal, setting out

ex hibernis, **quia erat fama** **consulem**
 from his winter-quarters, because it was reported that the consul

Flaminium jam prævenisse Arretium, cum
 Flaminius had now arrived at Arretium, although

aliud iter commodius, ceterum longius ostenderetur.
 another route more commodious, but longer, was pointed out to him,

petit propiorem viam per paludem, qua fluvius
 takes the nearer road through a marsh, where the river

Arnus per eos dies magis solito inundaverat.
 Arnus had, at that time more than usual, overflowed its banks.

Iussit Hispanos et Afros et omne robur
 He ordered the Spaniards and Africans, the main strength

veterani exercitus ire primos, ipsorum impedimentis
 of his veteran troops, to march in the van, their own baggage

admixtis, necubi coactis consistere
 being intermixed with them, lest, being compelled to halt anywhere,

deessent necessaria ad usus; Gallos
 they should want what might be necessary for their use; then the Gauls

sequi, ut id esset medium agminis; equites
 to follow, so that they might form the centre of the line; the cavalry

ire novissimos; inde Magonem cum expeditis
 to march in the rear: and after them Mago, with the light-armed

Numidis cogere agmen, maxime cohibentem
 Numidians, to keep the army together, particularly coercing

Gallos, si tædio laboris longæque viæ— ut
 the Gauls, if, weary of the labor or of the length of the journey, as

gens est mollis ad talia—
 that nation is not vigorous enough for such exertions,

dilaberentur aut subsisterent. Primi
 they should fall away or stay behind. The troops in the van,

pæne hausti limo immergentesque se tamen
 though almost swallowed in mud and plunging themselves in, yet

sequebantur signa, qua duces modo præirent,
 followed the standards, wherever their guides did but lead them,

per præaltas ac profundas voragines fluvii:
 through the exceeding deep and almost fathomless eddies of the river.

Galli poterant neque sustinere se prolapsi neque
 But the Gauls could neither support themselves, when fallen, nor

assurgere ex voraginibus, aut sustinebant corpora
 raise themselves from the gulfs; nor did they sustain their bodies

animis aut animos spe, alii ægre trahentes
 with spirit, nor their minds with hope; some scarce dragging on
 fessa membra, alii, animis victis tædio,
 their wearied limbs; others, their spirits being subdued with fatigue,
 morientes, ubi semel procubuissent, inter jumenta
 dying where they had once fallen, among the beasts
 ipsa et jacentia passim. Vigilæque
 which themselves also lay prostrate in every place. But want of sleep,
 oleratæ jam, per quadriduum et tres noctes
 endured now for four days and three nights,
 conficiebant maxime omnium. Cum, aquis
 exhausted them most of all, When, the water
 obtinentibus omnia, nihil posset inveniri, ubi
 covering every place, not a spot could be found where
 sternerent fessa corpora in sicco,
 they might stretch their enfeebled bodies on dry ground,
 incumbabant insuper sarcinis cumulatis in
 they laid themselves down upon their baggage, thrown in heaps into
 aquas: acervi jumentorum prostratorum passim
 the waters. Piles of beasts, which lay everywhere
 toto itinere dabant necessarium cubile
 through the whole route, afforded a necessary bed
 ad parvi temporis quietem. Hannibal ipse
 for temporary repose. Hannibal himself, becoming
 æger oculis primum ex intemperie
 diseased in his eyes, at first from the unwholesomeness of the
 verna variante calores frigoraque, vectus
 vernal air, fraught with the changes of heat and cold, rode
 elephanto unus qui superfuerat quo exstaret
 on the only elephant which he had remaining, in order to keep himself
 altius ab aqua—tamen, vigiliis et
 the higher above the water; and yet from want of sleep and
 nocturno humore palustrique cœlo gravante caput,
 nocturnal damp, and the marshy atmosphere disordering his head,
 et quia erat nec locus nec tempus medendi,
 and because he had neither place nor time to make use of remedie
 capitur altero oculo.
 he lost one of his eyes.

III.—Multis hominibus jumentisque amissis
 Many men. and cattle having been lost
 foede, cum tandem emersisset de paludibus,
thus wretchedly, when at length he had emerged from the marshes,
 locat castra, ubi primum potuit in sicco: que
he pitches his camp as soon as he could on dry ground. And
 habuit certum per exploratores præmissos
here he received information, through the scouts sent in advance,
 Romanum exercitum esse circa mœnia Arretii.
 that the Roman army was round the walls of Arretium.
 Deinde exsequebatur inquirendo cum summa cura
 He then set about inquiring with the utmost diligence
 animum atque consilia consulis et situm regionum
into the disposition and designs of the consul, the situation of the country,
 itineraque et copias ad expediendos commeatus,
 the roads, the facilities for procuring provisions,
 et omnia cetera, quæ erant in rem cognosse.
 and every other circumstance which it was expedient to know.
 Regio erat in primis Italise fertilis, Etrusci
The country was among the first of Italy in fertility; the Etrurian
 campi, qui jacent inter Fæsulæ Arretiumque,
 plains, which lie between Fæsulæ and Arretium,
 opulenti frumenti ac pecoris et copia omnium rerum.
 abounding with corn and cattle, and plenty of every thing *useful*.
 Consul ferox ab priore consulatu, et
The consul was haughty from his former consulship, and
 ne satis metuens non modo legum aut majestatis
 too regardless, not only of the laws and the dignity
 patrum, sed quidem deorum: hanc temeritatem
of the senate, but even of the gods. This temerity,
 insitam ejus ingenio fortuna aluerat prospero
 inherent in his nature, fortune had fostered by a prosperous
 successu civilibus bellicisque rebus: itaque
 source of success in civil and military affairs. Thus
 satis apparebat, nec consulentem deos nec homines
it was sufficiently evident that, heedless of gods and men,
 acturum omnia ferociter ac præpropere.
 he would act in all cases with presumption and precipitancy:

Quoque esset pronior in sua vitia Pœnus
 and that he might be the more liable to his weaknesses, the Carthaginian
 parat agitare atque irritare eum ; et, relicto hoste
 begins to fret and irritate him ; and, leaving the enemy
 læva petens Fæsulas profectus
 on his left, pointing his route towards Fæsulæ, he marched
 medio agro Etruriæ prædatum, ostendit
 through the centre of Etruria, with intent to plunder, and exhibits
 consuli procul quantam maximam vastitatem
 to the consul, in the distance, the greatest devastation
 potest incendiis cædibusque. Flaminius,
 he could with conflagrations and carnage. Flaminius,
 qui ipse nec quieturus erat quidem hoste quieto,
 who would not have rested even if the enemy had lain quiet,
 tum vero, postquam vidit res sociorum
 then indeed, when he saw the property of the allies
 agi ferrique prope ante suos oculos, ratus id
 driven and carried away almost before his eyes, thinking it
 dedecus suum, Pœnum jam vagari
 a disgrace to himself that the Carthaginian was now roaming at large
 per mediam Italiam, atque ire, nullo obsistente,
 through the heart of Italy, and marching, without resistance,
 ad oppugnanda ipsa mœnia Romana,
 to storm the very walls of Rome, though
 omnibus ceteris in consilio suadentibus salutaria
 every other person in the council recommended safe
 magis quam speciosa, exspectandum
 rather than specious measures, urging that he should wait for
 collegam, ut, conjunctis exercitibus
 his colleague, in order that, joining their armies,
 gererent rem communi animo consilioque ;
 they might enter on the business with united spirit and judgment ;
 interim hostem cohibendum ab
 and that meanwhile the enemy should be restrained from
 effusa licentia prædandi equitatu
 his unbounded licence in plundering by the cavalry
 leviumque armorum auxiliis ; iratus se proripuit
 and light-armed auxiliaries ; in a fury broke away

ex consilio que cum dedisset simul
from the council, and having displayed at once

signum itineris pugnæque, inquit "immo
the signal both for marching and fighting, says, "Aye,

sedeamus ante mœnia Arretii, enim nunc sunt
let us sit down before the walls of Arretium, for here is

patria et penates : Hannibal emissus
our native city, and our household gods ; let Hannibal, slipping

e manibus perpopuletur Italiam, vastandoque
out of our hands, waste Italy through and through ; and after ravaging

et urendo omnia perveniat ad mœnia Romana ; nec
and burning all the rest arrive at the walls of Rome ; nor

nos moverimus hinc ante quam patres acciverint
let us move hence till the fathers shall have summoned

C. Flaminium ab Arretio, sicut olim Camillum
Flaminius from Arretium, as formerly Camillus

ab Veiiis." Simul increpans hæc, cum juberet
from Veii." While upbraiding them thus, just as he was ordering

signa ocius convelli et ipse insiluisse
the standards to be speedily pulled up, and himself sprung

in equum equus repente corruit effuditque
upon his horse, the animal suddenly plunged and threw

lapsum consulem super caput. Omnibus, qui
the unseated consul over his head. All who

erant circa, territis velut fœdo omine
were present being alarmed at this as an unhappy omen

incipiendæ rei, insuper nuntiatur,
at the opening of the campaign, in addition word is brought,

signum nequire convelli signifero moliente
that the standard could not be pulled up, though the standard-bearer strove

omni vi. Conversus ad nuntium inquit
with all his force. The consul, turning to the messenger, says,

"num quoque affers litteras ab senatu, quæ
"Do you also bring a letter from the senate, which perchance

vetent me gerere rem ? Abi nuntia, effodiant
forbids me to act ? Go, tell them to dig up

signum, si præ metu manus obtorpuerit
the standard if, through fear, their hands are too much benumbed

ad convellendum." Inde agmen cœpit incedere
to pull it out." Then the army began to march,
primoribus— superquam quod dissenserant ab
the chief officers, besides that they dissented from
consilio— territis etiam duplici prodigio,
the plan, being greatly dismayed [also] by the two-fold prodigy,
milite in vulgus læto ferocia ducis,
while the soldiery in general were elated by the confidence of their leader,
cum intueretur magis ipsam spem quam
since they regarded rather the hope he entertained than
causam spei.
the reasons of the hope.

IV.—Hannibal, quo magis acuat iram hosti
Hannibal, the more to exasperate the enemy
ad vindicandas injurias sociorum, pervastat
to revenge the injuries inflicted on his allies, desolated,
omni clade belli quod est agri inter
with every calamity of war, the whole tract of country between
urbem Cortonam lacumque Trasimenum. Et jam
the city Cortona and the lake Trasymenus. And now
pervenerant ad loca nata insidiis,
the army had arrived at a spot formed by nature for an ambushade,
ubi Trasimenus subit maxime Cortonenses montes :
where the Trasymenus comes nearest to the Cortonian mountains.
interest tantum perangusta via, velut spatio
Between them is only a very narrow road, as if room had been
de industria relicto ad id ipsum : deinde paulo latior
designedly left for that very purpose ; farther on a somewhat wider
campus patescit ; inde assurgunt colles.
plain opens itself, and beyond that rises a range of hills.
Ibi locat castra in aperto, ubi ipse
On these he pitches his camp in open view, where himself,
cum Hispanis Afrisque modo consideret : Baleares
with his Spaniards and Africans, only was to take post. The Balearians,
æteramque levem armaturam circumducit
and other light-armed troops, he drew round

post montes ; equites locat ad ipsas fauces
 behind the mountains ; the cavalry he posted at the very entrance

saltus tumulis apte tegentibus, ut,
 of the defile, some eminences conveniently concealing them ; in order that,

ubi Romani intrassent, equitatu objecto,
 when the Romans had entered the pass, the cavalry interposing,

omnia essent clausa lacu ac montibus.
 the whole space might be shut up between the lake and the mountains.)

Flaminius, cum pervenisset ad lacum pridie
 Flaminius, though he had arrived at the lake on the previous day

solis occasu, superatis angustiis postero die
 about sunset, passing the defiles the next morning,

vixdum satis certa luce, inexplorato, postquam
 before it was quite daylight, without reconnoitering, when

agmen cœpit pandi in patentiorem campum,
 the troops began to be spread into the wider plain,

conspexit id tantum hostium, quod erat ex adverso :
 saw that part only of the enemy which was opposite to him ;

insidiæ ab tergo ac super caput decipere.
 the ambuscade in his rear and over head escaped his notice.

Ubi Pœnus habuit hostem clausum
 And when the Carthaginian had his enemy pent up

montibus ac lacu et circumfusum suis copiis,
 between the mountains and the lake, and surrounded by his troops,

dat signum omnibus invadendi simul. Ubi qui
 he gives the signal for the whole to charge at once : and as they

decucurrerunt, cuique qua fuit proximum, res
 poured down each by the way that was nearest, the event

fuit eo magis subita atque improvisa Romanis,
 was the more sudden and unexpected to the Romans,

quod nebula orta ex lacu sederat densior campo
 because a mist, rising from the lake, lay thicker on the lower grounds

quam montibus, agminaque hostium conspecta
 than on the mountains ; while the parties of the enemy saw

ipsa inter se satis ex pluribus collibus
 each other distinctly enough from the several eminences

eoque decucurrerant magis pariter.
 and consequently ran down together with the greater regularity

Clamore orto undique Romanus sensit se
 A shout being raised on all sides, the Roman found himself
 circumventum esse prius, quam satis cerneret,
 surrounded before he could well see *the enemy*;
 et pugnari coeptum est in frontem lateraque ante, quam
 and the attack began on the front and flank ere
 acies satis instrueretur, aut arma possent expediri
 his line could be properly formed, or his arms be gotten ready
 gladiique stringi.
 and his swords unsheathed.

V.—Consul, omnibus percussis, ipse
 The consul, while all were panic-struck, himself
 satis impavidus, ut in trepida re, instruit
 sufficiently undaunted, though in so perilous a case, marshals, as well
 ut tempus locusque patitur ordines turbatos—
 as the time and place would allow, the ranks which were disordered
 quoque vertente se ad dissonos clamores; et,
 by each man's turning himself towards the various shouts; and
 quacumque potest adire audirique, adhortatur
 wherever he could approach or be heard, exhorts them
 ac jubet stare ac pugnare: enim nec evadendum esse
 and bids them stand and fight: for that they could not escape
 inde votis aut imploratione deum, sed vi ac virtute:
 thence by vows and prayers to the gods, but by strength and courage;
 viam fieri ferro per
 that a way was sometimes opened by the sword through
 medias acies, et ferme, quo minus timoris
 the midst of marshaled armies, and that generally the less fear
 sit, eo minus periculi esse. Ceterum præstreposito
 there was, the less danger was there. However, from the noise
 ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium poterat accipi:
 and tumult, neither his counsel nor commands could be caught;
 tantumque aberat miles, ut nosceret sua signa
 and so far were the soldiers from knowing each his own standard,
 atque ordinem et locum, ut animus vix competere
 and rank and post, that their courage scarce sufficed

ad capienda arma **aptandaque** **pugnæ,**
 to take up their arms, and get them ready for fighting;

quidamque **magis onerati** **quam tecti his**
 and thus many, while they were rather incumbered than defended by them,

opprimerentur. **Et in tanta calligine erat major usus**
 were overpowered by the enemy; while in so great darkness there was more use

aurium **quam oculorum :** **circumferebant**
 of ears than of eyes. Now here, now there, they turned

oculos oraque **ad gemitus vulnerum**
 their eyes and faces towards the groans of the wounded, the sound of

ictusque corporum **aut armorum,** **et mixtos clamores**
 blows on the men's bodies or armor, and the mingled clamors

strepentium paventiumque : **alii** **fugientes**
 of the menacing and the affrighted. Some, attempting to fly,

hærebant **illati globo pugnantium ;** **alios**
 were stopped by running against a party of combatants ; others,

redeuntes in pugnam **agmen fugientium** **avertebat.**
 returning to the fight, a band of runaways drove back.

Deinde, **ubi impetus capti** **nequidquam**
 At length, after charges had been attempted unsuccessfully

in omnes partes, **et ab lateribus** **montes ac lacus**
 in every quarter, and on the sides the mountains and the lake,

a fronte et ab tergo **acies hostium** **claudebant,**
 on the front and rear the lines of the enemy enclosed them,

apparuitque **esse** **nullam spem salutis,**
 and when it was evident that there was no hope of safety

nisi in dextera ferroque, **tum quisque factus sibi**
 but in the right hand and the sword ; then each man became to himself

dux **adhortatorque** **ad rem gerendam,** **et**
 a leader and encourager to exertion ; and

de integro nova pugna exorta est, **illa non ordinata**
 an entirely new contest arose : but the line was not marshalled

per principes **hastatosque** **ac triarios,** **nec**
 in the order of principes, hastati, and triarii ; nor

ut **antesignani** **pugnaret** **pro signis,**
 so disposed that the vanguard should fight before the standards,

alia acies post signa, **nec ut miles esset**
 and the rest of the troops behind them ; or that each soldier was

in sua legione aut cohorte aut manipulo :
 in his own legion, or cohort or company :

fors conglobat, et suus animus dabat cuique
 chance formed *their* bands, and his own choice assigned to each

ordinem pugnandi ante aut post ;
 his post in the battle either before or behind *the standards* ;

tantusque fuit ardor armorum, adeo intentus animus
 and so great was the ardor of the conflict, so intent *were* their minds

pugnæ, ut nemo pugnantium senserit eum terræ motum,
 upon the battle, that not one of the combatants felt the earthquake,

qui prostravit magnas partes multarum
 which, at the time, overthrew large portions of many

urbium Italiæ avertitque rapidos amnes cursu,
 of the cities of Italy, turned rapid rivers out of their courses,

nexit mare fluminibus, proruit montes
 carried up the sea into the rivers, and leveled mountains

ingenti lapsu.
 with a tremendous crash.

VI.—Pugnatum est ferme tres horas, et atrociter
 They fought for near three hours and furiously

ubique. Circa consulem tamen pugna est acrior
 in every part ; around the consul, however, the battle was still hotter

infestiorque : et robora virorum sequebantur eum,
 and more determined. [Both] the ablest of the men attended him,

et ipse impigre ferebat opem quacumque in parte
 and he himself promptly brought assistance wherever

senserat suos premi ac laborare :
 he perceived his troops hard pressed and distressed ;

insignemque armis et hostes petebant
 and as he was distinguished by his armor, the enemy attacked him

summa vi, et cives tuebantur, donec
 with the utmost vigor, while his countrymen defended him ; until

Insuber eques— nomen erat Ducario— noscitans
 an Insubrian horseman, named Ducarius, knowing him

quoque facie, inquit suis popularibus
 also by his face, calls out to his comrades.

"*en hic est consul, qui cecidit nostras legiones*
"Behold, this is the consul, who cut to pieces our legions,

depopulatusque est agros et urbem! Jam ego dabo
and depopulated our country and city. Now will I offer

hanc victimam Manibus civium foede peremptorum."
this victim to the shades of my countrymen miserably slain;"

ubditisque calcaribus equo facit impetum
and putting spurs to his horse, he darts

per confertissimam turbam hostium ;
through the thickets [body] of the enemy ;

priusque obtruncato armigero, qui objecerat se obviam
and, after first killing his armor-bearer, who threw himself in the way

infesto venienti, transfixit consulem lancea.
of his hostile approach, ran the consul through with his lance ;

Cupientem spoliare triarii objectis scutis
but when seeking to despoil him, the triarii, opposing their shields

arcuere. Inde primum fuga magnae partis
drove him back. Then first the flight of a great number

coepit: et jam nec lacus nec montes obstabant
began; and now neither the lake nor the mountains obstructed

pavori. Evadunt per omnia arta praeruptaque
their hurried retreat; they ran through all places, confined and precipitous,

velut caeci, armaque et viri praecipitantur
as though they were blind; and arms and men are tumbled

alii super alium. Magna pars, ubi deest locus
one upon other. A great many, when there was no room

fugae, progressi in aquam per prima vada
for farther flight, advancing into the water through the first shallows

paludis, sese immergunt, quoad possunt exstare
of the lake, plunge themselves in, as far as they could stand above it

capitibus humerisque: fuere, quos
with their heads and shoulders. Some there were whom

inconsultus pavor impulerit capessere fugam
inconsiderate fear induced to try to escape

etiam nando, ubi quæ erat immensa ac sine spe.
even by swimming; but as that attempt was inordinate and hopeless,

aut hauriebantur, gurgitibus animis deficientibus.
they were either drowned in the deep water, their resolution failing,

aut fessi nequidquam repetebant retro
 or, after fatiguing themselves to no purpose, made their way back

agerrime vada, atque ibi trucidabantur
 with the utmost difficulty to the shallows, and were there slain

passim ab equitibus hostium ingressis aquam.
 on all hands by the cavalry of the enemy which had entered the water.

Ferme sex millia primi agminis impigre facta eruptione
 About six thousand of the vanguard, having gallantly forced their way

per adversos hostes, ignari omnium, quæ agerentur
 through the opposing enemy, and knowing nothing of what was passing

post se, evasere ex saltu, et, cum constitissent
 behind them, got clear of the defile; and, having halted

in quodam tumulo, audientes modo clamorem ac sonum
 on a certain rising ground, hearing only the shouting and the din

armorum, neque poterant scire nec perspicere
 of arms, they could not know nor discern,

præ calligine, quæ esset fortuna pugnae.
 by reason of the darkness, what was the fortune of the battle.

Denique re inclinata, cum nebula dispulsa
 At length, the affair being decided, when the mist, dispelled

incalescente sole aperuisset diem, tum
 by the increasing heat of the sun, had cleared the sky, then,

jam liquida luce montes campique ostendere
 in the [now] unclouded light, the mountains and plains showed

perditas res Romanamque aciem foede stratam.
 the ruin of their affairs, and the Roman army miserably destroyed

Itaque, ne in conspectos procul eques
 wherefore, lest, on their being seen at a distance, the cavalry

immitteretur, raptim sublati signis,
 should be sent against them, hastily snatching up their standards,

sese abripuerunt quam citatissimo poterant agmine.
 they hurried away with the greatest possible expedition.

Postero die, cum super cetera extrema fames etiam
 Next day, when, besides their other distresses, famine also

instaret, Maharbale, qui cum omnibus copiis
 was at hand, Maharbal, who, with the whole body

equestribus consecutus erat nocte, dante fidem,
 of cavalry, had overtaken them during the night, pledging his faith that

si tradidissent arma, passurum abire
 if they surrendered their arms he would suffer them to depart
 cum singulis vestimentis, sese dederunt :
 with single garments, they delivered themselves into his hands :
 quæ fides servata est ab Hannibale Punica religione,
 which promise was kept by Hannibal with Punie sincerity
 æque coniecit omnes in vincula.
 and he threw them all into chains.

VII.—Hæc est nobilis pugna ad Trasimenum
 This is the memorable fight at the Trasymenus,
 atque memorata inter paucas clades Romani populi.
 and recorded among the few disasters of the Roman people.
 Quindecim millia Romanorum cæsa sunt in acie :
 Fifteen thousand Romans were slain in the field ;
 decem millia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam
 ten thousand who had been scattered in the flight through all Etruria,
 petiere urbem diversis itineribus : hostium
 returned to the city by different roads. Of the enemy,
 duo millia quingenti periere in acie, multi utrimque
 two thousand five hundred perished in the battle, and many on both sides
 postea ex vulneribus. Ab aliis cædes utrimque
 died afterwards of their wounds. By some writers the loss to both parties
 traditur facta multiplex : ego, præterquam quod
 is represented as vastly greater : for my part, besides that
 velim nihil haustum ex vano, quo
 I would relate nothing drawn from a worthless source, to which
 animi scribentium ferme nimis inclinant, habui
 the minds of historians are in general too prone, I have
 potissimum auctorem Fabium æqualem
 as my chief authority Fabius, who was contemporary
 temporibus hujusce belli. Captivorum,
 with the events of this war. Such of the captives
 qui essent Latini nominis, dimissis sine pretio
 as belonged to the Latin confederacy being dismissed without ransom,
 Romanis datis in vincula, Hannibal cum jussisset
 and the Romans cast into chains, Hannibal [when he had] ordered

corpora suorum segregata ex cumulis
 the bodies of his own men to be collected from among the heaps
 hostium coacervatorum sepeliri, corpus
 of the enemy's piled up slain, and buried; the body
 Flamini quoque inquisitum cum magna cura
 of Flaminius too, which was searched for with great diligence
 causa funeris non invenit. Romæ
 for the purpose of interment, he could not find. At Rome,
 ad primum nuntium ejus cladis concursus populi
 on the first intelligence of this disaster, a general rush of the people
 cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu factus est in forum :
 in great terror and tumult was made to the forum.
 matronæ vagæ per vias percunctantur obvios,
 The matrons, running up and down the streets, ask all they meet
 quæ repens clades allata, quæve esset fortuna exercitus.
 what sudden calamity was reported? what was the fate of the army?
 et cum turba modo frequentis concionis versa
 And when the multitude, like a full assembly, having directed
 in comitium et curiam vocaret
 their course to the comitium and senate-house, were calling upon
 magistratus, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum
 the magistrates, at length, a little before sunset,
 M. Pomponius prætor inquit "victi sumus
 Marcus Pomponius, the prætor, declares, "We have been defeated
 magna pugna:" et quamquam nihil certius
 in a great battle;" and though nothing more definite
 auditum est ex eo, tamen impleti rumoribus
 was heard from him, yet the people catching up rumors
 alius ab alio referunt domos consulem
 one from another return to their houses with accounts that "the consul
 cæsum cum magna parte copiarum; paucos superesse,
 was slain together with a great part of his troops; that few survived,
 aut passim sparsos fuga per Etruriam
 and these were either widely dispersed in flight through Etruria,
 aut captos ab hoste. Quot fuerant casus
 or else captured by the enemy." As many as had been the misfortunes
 victi exercitus, in tot curas erant animi eorum
 of the vanquished army, into so many anxieties were the minds of those

dispertiti, quorum propinqui meruerant sub consule
distracted, whose relations had served under the consul

C. Flaminio, ignorantium, quæ esset fortuna
Caius Flaminius, being uninformed of what had been the fate

suorum cujusque : nec quisquam habet satis certum,
of their respective friends ; nor does any one know certainly

quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac
what he should either hope or fear. During the next and

aliquot deinceps diebus major multitudo mulierum prope
several succeeding days, a greater number of women almost

quam virorum stetit ad portas opperiens aut aliquem
than men stood at the gates, waiting either for some one

suorum aut nuntios de iis : sciscitantesque
of their friends, or for intelligence of them ; and with earnest inquiries

circumfundebantur obviis, neque poterant avelli
they crowded around those who came up, nor could they be torn away

ab notis utique, priusquam inquisissent ordine
from those they knew especially, until they had examined minutely into

omnia. Inde digredientium ab nuntiis
every particular. Then as they retired from the informants,

cerneres varios vultus,
you might discern their various expressions of countenance,

ut læta aut tristia nuntiabantur
according as intelligence pleasing or sad was announced

cuique : circumfususque redeuntibus domos
to each ; and numbers surrounding them on their return home

gratulantes aut consolantes. Et gaudia et luctus
offering either congratulations or comfort. The joy and grief

feminarum erant præcipue insignia : ferunt unam
of the women were particularly conspicuous. They report that one,

repente oblatam filio sospiti exspirasse
suddenly meeting her son returning safe, expired

in ipsa porta in ejus conspectu ; alteram, cui
at the very door before his face ; another, to whom

falso nuntiata erat filii mors, sedentem domi
false report had been brought of her son's death, sitting in her house

mæstam exanimatam nimio gaudie
in deep distress, became a corpse, from excessive joy

ad primum conspectum filii redeuntis. Prætores
 at the first sight of him on his return. The prætors,
 per aliquot dies retinent senatum in curia
 during several days, detained the senate in their house,
 ab orto usque ad occidentem solem, consultantes
 from the rising to the setting of the sun, deliberating
 quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti posset
 by what commander, or with what forces opposition could be made
 victoribus Pœnis.
 to the victorious Carthaginians.

VIII.—Priusquam consilia essent satis certa,
 Before their plans were sufficiently determined,
 alia repens clades nuntiatur; quattuor millia
 another unexpected defeat is reported: four thousand
 equitum missa cum C. Centenio proprætore
 horse, sent under the conduct of C. Centenius, proprætor,
 ab consule Servilio ad collegam circumventa ab
 by the consul Servilius to his colleague, were cut off by
 Hannibale in Umbria, quo post auditam pugnam
 Hannibal in Umbria, whither on hearing of the fight
 ad Trasimenus avertant iter. Fama ejus rei
 at the Thrasymenus, they had turned their course. The news of this event
 affecit homines varie: pars, animis occupatis
 affected people differently: some, having their minds pre-occupied
 majore ægritudine ducere recentem jacturam equitum
 with heavier grief, deemed the recent loss of cavalry
 levem ex comparatione priorum; pars
 trifling, in comparison with their former losses; others
 non æstimare id, quod acciderat per se, sed,
 did not measure what had occurred, by itself, but considered,
 ut in affecto corpore levis causa sentiretur magis
 that as in a diseased body a slight cause was felt more sensibly
 quam gravior valido, ita,
 than a more powerful one in a robust constitution; so
 quodcumque adversi inciderit civitati
 whatever species of misfortune befall the commonwealth in its

tum ægræ et affectæ, æstimandum esse, non
then sickly and impaired condition, ought to be estimated, not

magnitudine rerum, sed extenuatis
by the magnitude of the event itself, but with reference to its exhausted

viribus, quæ possent pati nihil, quod aggravaret.
strength, which could endure nothing that would aggravate

Itaque civitas confugit ad remedium
the distresses. Accordingly, the state had recourse to a remedy

jam diu neque adhibitum nec desideratum
which for a long time past *had* neither been used nor wanted,—

dicendum dictatorem : et quia et consul aberat,
the appointment of a dictator ; and because [both] the consul was absent,

a quo uno videbatur posse dici, nec
by whom alone it appeared he could be nominated ; and

aut nuntium aut litteras erat facile mitti
neither message nor letter could easily be sent to him

per Italiam occupatam Puniciis
through those parts of Italy occupied as they were by the Carthaginian

armis, populus nec poterat creare dictatorem,
arms ; and as the people could not create a dictator,

quod nunquam factum erat ante eam diem,
which had never been done to that day,

populus creavit prodictatorem Q. Fabium Maximum
they appointed a prodicator, Quintus Fabius Maximus,

et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum : hisque
and a master of the horse, Marcus Minucius Rufus. To these

negotium datum ab senatu, ut firmarent muros
the business was assigned by the senate to strengthen the walls

turresque urbis, et disponderent præsidia, quibus
and towers of the city ; to post guards in such

locis videretur, rescinderentque pontes
quarters as seemed expedient, and to break down the bridges

fluminum : quando nequissent tueri Italiam
on the rivers ; for seeing that they were unable to protect Italy,

dimicandum esse pro urbe ac penetibus.
they must now fight at home in defence of their city and guardian gods.

IX.—Hannibal venit recto itinere per Umbriam
Hannibal marched by the direct route through Umbria

usque ad Spoletium. Inde perpopulato
as far as Spoletum; thence, having utterly wasted

agro cum adortus esset oppugnare urbem
the adjoining country, and commenced an assault upon the city,

repulsus cum magna cæde suorum,
having been repulsed with great slaughter of his men, and

conjectans ex viribus unus colonie
conjecturing from the strength of that single colony,

haud nimis prospere tentatæ, quanta esset moles
which had not been very successfully attacked, what must be the size

urbis Romanæ avertit iter in agrum Picenum,
of the city of Rome, turned aside into the territory of Picenum,

abundantem non solum copia frugum
which abounded not only with plenty of provisions

omnis generis, sed refertum præda, quam
of every description, but was well stored with booty, which

egentes atque avidi effuse rapiebant. Ibi
his needy and rapacious troops greedily seized. There

stativa habita per aliquot dies, milesque refectus
a camp was fixed for several days, and his soldiers were refreshed,

affectus hibernis itineribus ac palustri via
who had been enfeebled by winter marches and marshy roads,

prælioque, magis secundo ad eventum quam
and with a battle more favorable in the result than

levi aut facili. Ubi satis quieti datum
light or easy. When sufficient time for rest had been allowed

gaudentibus magis præda ac populationibus quam
the troops delighting more in plunder and devastation than

otio aut requie, profectus devastat agrum
in ease and repose, setting out, he lays waste the territories

Prætutianum Hadrianumque, inde Marsos
of Pretutia and Hadria, then of the Marsi,

Marrucinosque et Pelignos proximamque regionem
the Marrucini and the Peligni, and the neighboring tract

Apuliæ circa Arpos et Iuceriam. Consul
of Apulia, round Arpi and Luceria. The consul

Cn. Servilius, actis levibus praeliis cum Gallis
 Cneius Servilius, having fought some slight battles with the Gauls,
 et expugnato uno ignobili oppido, postquam audivit
 and taken one inconsiderable town, when he heard

de cæde collegæ exercitusque, jam metuens
 of the defeat of his colleague and the army, alarmed now

moenibus patriæ, intendit iter ad urbem,
 for the walls of the capital of his country, marched towards the city,

ne abesset in extremo discrimine. Q. Fabius
 that he might not be absent at so extreme a crisis. Quintus Fabius

Maximus dictator iterum vocato senatu,
 Maximus, dictator a second time, having convened the senate

quo die iniit magistratum, orsus
 the very day he entered on his office, commencing

ab diis, cum edocuisset
 with what pertained to the gods, after he had distinctly proven

patres, peccatum a C. Flaminiio consule
 to the fathers, that the faults committed by Caius Flaminius the consul,

negligentia cærimoniarum auspiorumque
 through his neglect of the ceremonies and auspices,

esse plus quam temeritate atque inscitia,
 were even greater than those arising from rashness and want of judgment,

deosque ipsos consulendos esse, quæ essent
 and that the gods themselves should be consulted as to what were

piacula deum iræ, pervicit, ut decemviri
 the expiations of their anger, carried the point "that the decemvirs

juberentur adire Sibyllinos libros, quod
 should be ordered to consult the Sibylline leaves," which

non ferme decernitur, nisi cum tetra prodigia
 is rarely decreed, except when some terrible prodigies

nuntiata sunt. Qui, inspectis libris fatalibus,
 were announced. These, after inspecting those books of the fates,

retulerunt patribus, id votum quod foret Marti
 reported to the senate that "the vow which was made to Mars

causa ejus belli, non rite factum,
 on occasion of the present war, not having been regularly fulfilled,

faciendum esse de integro atque amplius; et magnos
 must be performed afresh and more fully; that the great

ludos vovendas esse Jovi, et ædes Veneri
 games must be vowed to Jupiter; and temples to Venus
 Erycinæ ac Menti, et supplicationem lectisterniumque
 Erycina and Mens; that a supplication and lectisternium
 habendum, et sacrum ver vovendum,
 must be made, and a sacred spring vowed,
 si bellatum esset prospere, resque publica
 in case the war proceeded favorably, and the commonwealth
 permansisset in eodem statu, quo fuisset ante
 remained in the same state in which it had been before
 bellum. Quoniam cura belli occupatura esset
 the war." Since the management of the war would occupy
 Fabium senatus jubet M. Æmелиum prætorem
 Fabius, the senate orders Marcus Æmilius, the prætor,
 curare, ut omnia ea fiant mature
 to see that all these matters are done in due time,
 sententia collegii pontificum.
 according to the directions of the college of pontiffs.

X.—His consultis senatus perfectis,

These decrees of the senate having been passed,

maximus pontifex L. Cornelius Lentulus, collegio
 the chief pontiff, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, the college
 prætorum consulente, censet primum omnium
 of prætors advising with him, gives his opinion that, first of all,
 populum consulendum de sacro vere;
 the people should be consulted with respect to the sacred spring;
 non posse voveri populi injussu. Populus
 for that it could not be vowed without their order. The people
 rogatus in hæc verba: "velitis jubeatisne
 were asked in these words: "Do you choose and order
 hæc fieri sic? Si
 that this vow shall be performed in this manner: that in case
 res publica Romani populi Quiritium, sicut velim eam,
 the republic of the Roman people, the Quirites, shall, as I wish it may,
 servata erit salva ad proximum quinquennium
 be preserved in safety, during the next five years,

hisce duellis— duellum quod est Romano populo
from these wars, (namely, the war which is between the Roman people

cum Carthaginiensi, duellaque quæ sunt cum Gallis,
and the Carthaginian, and the wars which are waging with the Gauls

qui sunt cis Alpes,— Romanus populus
who dwell on this side of the Alps,) then the Roman people,

Quiritium duit datum donum, quod ver attulerit
the Quirites shall present as an offering whatever the spring shall produce

ex grege suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo, quæque
from the herds of swine, sheep, goats or oxen; and, whatever

erunt profana, fieri Jovi,
shall not have been consecrated, shall be sacrificed to Jupiter,

ex qua die senatus populusque jusserit :
from the day which the senate and people shall appoint ?

qui faciet, facito, quando volet,
Let him who makes the offering make it when he please,

quaque lege volet ; quo modo faxit,
and in what form he please ; in whatsoever manner he does it,

esto probe factum : si id, quod oportebit fieri,
let it be considered duly done. If that which ought to be sacrificed

moritur, esto profanum, neque scelus esto ; si quis
die, let it be unconsecrated, and let no guilt attach ; if any person

insciens rumpet occidetve, esto ne fraus ;
unwittingly wound or kill it, let it be no injury to him ;

si quis clepset ne scelus esto populo, neve
if any one shall steal it, let no guilt accrue to the people or to him

cui cleptum erit : si insciens faxit
from whom it was stolen ; if any unknowingly offer it

atro die, esto probe factum : si
on a forbidden day, let it be esteemed duly offered ; whether done

nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit,
by night or day, whether slave or freeman perform it

esto probe factum : si senatus populusque
let it be deemed rightly performed. If the senate and people

jusserit fieri anteidea ac faxit, populus
shall order it to be offered sooner than any person shall offer it, let the people,

solutus eo esto liber." Causa ejusdem rei magni ludi
being acquitted of it, be free." On the same account great games

voti **trecentis triginta tribus millibus,**
 were vowed, at an expense of three hundred and thirty-three thousand
trecentis triginta tribus æris, trecente; præterea
 three hundred and thirty-three asses and a third; besides,
trecentis bubus Jovi, albis bubus atque
 three hundred oxen, to be offered to Jupiter; and white oxen, and
ceteris hostiis multis aliis divis. Votis rite nuncupatis
 other victims to many other deities. The vows being duly made,
supplicatio edicta supplicatumque iere
 a supplication was proclaimed; and to its performance went
non tantum multitudo urbana cum conjugibus
 not only the inhabitants of the city with their wives
ac liberis, sed etiam agrestium, quos cura
 and children, but also those of the rustics, whom a concern
publica contingebat in aliqua fortuna sua.
 for the public welfare influenced in view of some possessions of their own.
Tum habitum lectisternium per triduum,
 Then was performed the lectisternium during the space of three days,
decemviris sacrorum curantibus: fuerunt
 the decemvirs for sacred things superintending. There were
sex pulvinaria in conspectu, unum Jovi ac Junoni,
 six couches exhibited to view; one for Jupiter and Juno,
alterum Neptuno ac Minervæ, tertium
 another for Neptune and Minerva, a third
Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianæ,
 for Mars and Venus, a fourth for Apollo and Diana,
quintum Vulcano ac Vestæ, sextum
 a fifth for Vulcan and Vesta and the sixth
Mercurio et Cereri. Ædes tum votæ: Veneri Erycinæ
 for Mercury and Ceres. The temples were then vowed: to Venus Erycina,
Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit ædem, quia ita
 Quintus Fabius Maximus, dictator, vowed a temple; for so
edictum erat ex fatalibus libris, ut is voveret,
 it was delivered from the prophetic books, that he should vow it,
cujus esset maximum imperium in civitate,
 who held the highest authority in the state.
T. Otacilius prætor vovit ædem Menti.
 Titus Otacilius, the prætor, vowed a temple to Mens.

XI.—Divinis rebus ita peractis dictator
 Divine things having been thus performed, the dictator
tum retulit de bello reque de publica, quibus
 then put the question of the war and the commonwealth; with what
quotve legionibus patres censerent
 and how many legions the fathers were of opinion
obviam eundum esse victori hosti. Decretum,
 that resistance should be offered to the victorious enemy. It was decreed;
ut acciperet exercitum ab Cn. Servilio consule
 that "he should receive the army from Cneius Servilius, the consul;
præterea scriberet ex civibus sociisque,
 in addition to which he should levy, among the citizens and allies,
quantum equitum ac peditum videretur:
 as many horse and foot as should be deemed requisite;
ageret faceretque omnia cetera, ut duceret
 that he should transact and perform everything else as he considered
e republica. Fabius dixit se adjecturum duas
 for the good of the state." Fabius said he would add two
legiones ad exercitum Servilianum: scriptis
 legions to the army of Servilius. After being levied
per magistrum equitum edixit diem iis
 by the master of the horse, he appointed a day for them
ad conveniendum: propositoque edicto,
 to meet him. Then, having published a proclamation
ut, quibus oppida castellaque essent immunita
 that those, whose towns or castles were unfortified,
uti commigrarent in loca tuta: omnis
 should remove into places of safety, and that all the inhabitants
ejus regionis, qua Hannibal iturus esset,
 of that tract, through which Hannibal was about to march,
quoque demigrarent ex agris, prius incensis tectis
 should likewise remove out of the country, after first burning the houses
ac corruptis frugibus, ne esset copia
 and destroying the fruits of the earth, that there might not be a supply
cujus rei. Ipse profectus Flamina via obviam
 of any thing, he himself set out by the Flaminian road to meet
consuli exercituique, cum prospexisset
 the consul and the army; and when he saw in the distance

agmen ad Tiberim circa Oriculum consulemque
 the marching body on the Tiber, near Oriculum, and the consul
 cum equitibus prodeuntem ad se, misit viatorem,
 with the cavalry advancing to him, he sent a beadle
 qui nuntiaret consuli, ut veniret ad dictatorem sine
 to acquaint the consul that he must approach the dictator without
 lictoribus. Cum qui paruisset dicto, eorumque
 lictors. When he had obeyed the command, and their
 congressus fecisset ingentem speciem
 meeting had exhibited a striking display of the majesty
 dictaturæ apud cives sociosque, vetustate
 of the dictatorship before the citizens and allies, who, from its antiquity,
 jam prope oblitos ejus imperii, litteræ allatæ sunt
 had now almost forgotten that authority; a letter arrived
 ab urbe naves onerarias portantes commeatum
 from the city, stating that the ships of burden, conveying provisions
 ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum, captas esse
 from Ostia into Spain to the army, had been captured
 a Punica classe circa portum Cosanum. Consul
 by the Carthaginian fleet off the port of Cossa. The consul
 itaque jussus proficisci extemplo Ostiam,
 was in consequence ordered to proceed immediately to Ostia,
 completisque navibus, quæ essent ad urbem
 and, having manned all the ships which were at the city
 Romanam aut Ostiæ milite ac navalibus sociis,
 of Rome, or at Ostia, with soldiers and mariners,
 persequi hostium classem ac tutari litora Italiæ.
 to pursue the enemy's fleet, and protect the coasts of Italy.
 Magna vis hominum conscripta erat Romæ :
 Great numbers of men had been levied at Rome ;
 etiam libertini, quibus essent liberi et militaris
 even the sons of freedmen who had children, and were of military
 ætas in verba juraverant : ex hoc exercitu urbano,
 age, had enlisted. Of these troops levied in the city,
 qui erant minores quinque et triginta annis, impositi
 such as were under thirty-five years were put
 in naves ; alii relict, ut præsiderent urbi.
 on board the ships ; the rest were left to guard the city.

XII.—Dictator, accepto consulis exercitu a

The dictator, having received the consul's army from

Fulvio Flacco, venit per Sabinum agrum Tibur,
 Fulvius Flaccus, came through the Sabine territory to Tibur,

quo diem edixerat ad conveniendum novis
 where he had appointed the day for the assembling of the new-*raies*

militibus. Inde Præneste ac
 troops. Thence *he went* to Præneste, and

transversis limitibus egressus est in Latinam viam,
 by cutting across the country he came out on the Latin road,

unde ducit ad hostem, exploratis itineribus
 whence he led *his army* towards the enemy, reconnoitring the route

cum summa cura, nullo loco se commissurus
 with the utmost diligence; determined in no case to expose himself

fortunæ, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret.
 to hazard, except so far as necessity might constrain *him*.

Quo die primum posuit castra in hostium conspectu
 The day he first pitched his camp within the enemy's view,

haud procul Arpis Pœnus facta nulla mora,
 not far from Arpi, the Carthaginian made no delay

quin educeret in aciem faceretque copiam
 and leading *his troops* out into the field, and affording an opportunity

pugnandi: sed ubi videt omnia quieta apud hostes,
 of battle: but when he saw everything *was* quiet with the enemy,

castra nec mota ullo tumultu, rediit
 and their camp unstirred by any bustling confusion, he returned

in castra, quidem increpans, quoque suos Martios
 within his lines, saying indeed tauntingly, "That even the martial

animos Romanis tandem victos, debellatumque esse
 pluck of the Romans was at length subdued; that they were warred down,

propalamque concessum de virtute ac gloria:
 and had manifestly given up all claim to valor and renown:"

ceterum tacita cura incessit animum, quod
 but a mute anxiety invaded his heart, seeing that

sibi futura res esset cum duce haudquaquam simili
 he would have to deal with a commander very unlike

Flaminio Sempronioque, ac Romani tum
 Flaminius and Sempronius; and *that* the Romans, then

demum edocti malis quæsisissent ducem
 at length schooled by their misfortunes, had chosen a leader *who was*
 parem Hannibali. Et extemplo timuit
 a match for Hannibal; and with *instinctive* promptness he dreaded
 non vim quidem prudentiam dictatoris :
 not the vigorous exertion, but the provident skill of the dictator.

haud dum expertus constantiam, cœpit
 Having *however* not yet fully experienced his steadiness, he began
 agitare ac tentare animum crebro movendo castra
 to provoke and try his temper, by frequently removing his camp,
 populandoque in ejus oculis agros sociorum :
 and ravaging under his eyes the lands of the allies ;
 et modo abibat ex conspectu citato agmine,
 and one while he withdrew out of sight by a hasty march,

modo obsistebat repente occultus in aliquo
 another while he halted suddenly, and concealed himself in some

flexu viæ, si posset excipere digressum
 winding of the road, if possible to entrap him on his coming down
 in æquum. Fabius ducebat agmen per alta loca,
 into the plain. Fabius kept marching his forces along the high grounds,

modico intervallo ab hoste, ut neque omitteret eum
 at a moderate distance from the enemy, so as neither to let him go

neque congredieretur. Miles tenebatur castris,
 altogether, nor yet to encounter him. His troops were kept within the camp,
 nisi quantum necessario usus cogeret :
 except so far as necessary wants compelled them to quit it; and

petebant pabulum et ligna nec pauci nec passim.
 fetched in food and wood not by small nor rambling parties.

Statio equitum levisque armaturæ, composita
 An outpost of cavalry and light-infantry, prepared

instructaque in subitos tumultus et præbebat omnia
 and equipped for *repressing* sudden alarms, rendered every place

tuta suo militi et infesta effusis populatoribus
 safe to their own soldiers, and dangerous to the straggling pillagers

hostium : neque summa rerum committebatur
 of the enemy. Nor was his whole cause committed

universo periculo, et parva momenta
 to general hazard; while the little advantages gained

levium certaminum in slight skirmishes,	coeptorum commenced	ex tuto, on safe ground,
receptuque finitimo, and with a retreat at hand,	assuefaciebant militem accustomed the soldiery,	territum dispirited
pristinis cladibus by former disasters,	jam tandem minus pœnitere now at length to think less meanly	aut either
suae virtutis of their own prowess	aut fortunæ. or their fortune.	Sed non habebat But he did not find
Hannibalem Hannibal	magis infestum a greater enemy	tam sanis consiliis to such sound measures
quam magistrum equitum, than his master of the horse,	qui, who	habebat had
nihil aliud moræ no other hindrance	ad rem publicam præcipitandam, in plunging the commonwealth into ruin	
quam quod than that	erat impar he was subordinate	imperio : in command.
rapidusque and precipitate	in consiliis in his measures	ac immodicus lingua, and unbridled in his tongue,
primo inter paucos, first among a few,	dein afterward	propalam in vulgus, openly in public
compellabat he reproached him with being	segnem sluggish	pro cunctatore, timidum instead of cool, timid
præ cauto, instead of cautious ;	affingens imputing to him	vitia those vices
virtutibus ; on his virtues ;	premendoque superiorem, and by depressing the merit of his superior,—	ars a practice
pessima of the basest nature,	quæ and which	nimis crevit has become too general
prosperis successibus from the favorable success	multorum, of many,—	sese extollebat. he exalted himself.

XIII.—Hannibal

Hannibal

transit

crosses over

ex Hirpinis

from the Hirpini

in Samnium,
into Samnium,depopulatur
ravagesagrum Beneventanum,
the territory of Beneventum,capit urbem Telesiam,
takes the city of Telesia,etiam de industria irritat ducem,
and purposely irritates the Roman general,

si forte possit detrahere ad certamen æquum
if perchance he could draw him down to a battle on the plain,

accensum tot indignitatibus cladibusque
exasperated as he must be by so many indignities and disasters

sociorum. Inter multitudinem sociorum
inflicted on his allies. Among the multitude of allies

Italici generis, qui capti fuerant ab Hannibale
of Italian birth, who had been captured by Hannibal

ad Trasimenum dimissique, erant tres Campani equites,
at Thrasymentus, and set at liberty, were three Campanian horsemen,

jam tum illecti multis donis promissisque
who had even at that time been bribed by many presents and promises

Hannibalis ad conciliandos animos popularium.
from Hannibal to win-over the affections of their countrymen to him.

Hi nuntiantes, si admovisset exercitum
These bringing him word, that if he advanced his army

in Campaniam fore copiam potiendæ
into Campania he would have an opportunity of getting possession

Capuæ dubium alternis fidentem et
of Capua, though he hesitated, alternately trusting and

diffidentem, cum res esset major
mistrusting their accounts, as the affair was of more importance

quam auctores, tamen moverunt Hannibalem,
than the authorities, they yet induced Hannibal

ut peteret ex Samnio Campanos : dimisit
to march from Samnium into Campania ; and he dismissed them,

etiam atque etiam monitos, ut affirmarent promissa
repeatedly charging them to confirm their promises

rebus jussosque, redire ad se cum pluribus
by acts, and ordering them to return to him with a greater number

et aliquibus principum. Ipse imperat duci,
and with some of their principal men. He then commanded his guide

ut ducat se in agrum Casinatem, edoctus
to conduct him into the territory of Casinum, having learned

a peritis regionum si occupasset eum saltum,
from persons acquainted with the country, that, if he seized on the pass there,

interclusurum Romano exitum ad ferendam opem
he would shut off the Romans from a passage by which to bring succor

sociis. Sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latino nomine
to their allies. But the Punic, differing in accent from the Latin name,

fecit, dux ut acciperet Casilinum pro Casino;
caused the guide to understand Casilinum instead of Casinum;

aversusque ab suo itinere, descendit per
and turning from his former course, he descends through

agrum Allifanum Calatinumque et Calenum
the territory of Allifæ, Calatia, and Calos,

in campum Stellatæ. Ubi cum circumspexisset
into the plain of Stella. Here, when looking round he saw

regionem clausam montibus fluminibusque,
the country enclosed between mountains and rivers,

vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi terrarum esset.
Hannibal called the guide, and asked him where in the world he was?

Cum dixisset eum mansurum eo die
when he replied, that he would lodge that day

Casilini, tum demum error cognitus est,
at Casilinum: then at length the error was discovered,

et Casinum esse longe inde alia regione:
and that Casinum lay a great distance from there in quite another direction.

cæsoque duce virgis et sublato in crucem
On this, having scourged the guide with rods and crucified him,

ad terrorem reliquorum, communitis castris, dimisit
for the intimidation of all others, he fortified a camp, and sent

Maherbalem in Falernum agrum prædatum.
Maherbal into the Falernian territory to pillage.

Ea populatio pervenit usque ad aquas Sinuessanas:
This depredation reached as far as the waters of Sinuessa;

Numidæ fecerunt ingentem cladem, fugam
the Numidians committed dreadful devastations, and caused flight

terroremque tamen latius: tamen nec is terror
and consternation to a still wider extent. Yet did not this terror,

cum omnia flagrant bello dimovit socios
when all around was blazing in the flames of war, unsettle the allies

fide, videlicet quia regebantur moderato
in their allegiance; evidently because they were living under a mild

et justo imperio, nec abnuebant parere
 and equitable government; nor were they unwilling to render obedience
 melioribus, quod est unum vinculum fidei.
 to their superiors, which is the only bond of fidelity.

XIV.—Ut vero, postquam castra posita sunt
 But when the Carthaginian camp was pitched
 ad flumen Vulturnum, amœnissimus ager Italiæ
 on the river Vulturnum, and the most delightful tract in Italy
 exurebatur, villæque passim
 was being consumed by fire, and the country-seats on every side
 fumabant incendiis, Fabio ducente per juga
 were smoking in ruins, whilst Fabius led his troops along the tops
 Massici montis, tum seditio
 of the Massic mountains, then the mutinous discontent
 prope accensa de integro. Enim per paucos dies
 had nearly been kindled afresh: for during a few days past
 fuerant quieti, quia, cum agmen ductum esset
 they had been in good temper, because, as the army had marched
 celerius solito, crediderant festinari
 quicker than usual, they had supposed that haste was being made
 ad prohibendam Campaniam populationibus;
 to protect Campania from further ravages;
 ut vero ventum in extrema juga montis Massici,
 but when they arrived at the extreme ridge of Mount Massicus,
 et hostes erant sub oculis, urentes tecta
 and the enemy appeared under their eyes, setting fire to the houses
 Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessæ,
 of the Falernian district, and of the settlers of Sinuessa,
 nec ulla mentio erat pugnae, Minucius inquit,
 and still no mention made of battle, Minucius exclaims,
 “venimusne huc spectatum incendia et cædes sociorum
 “Are we come hither to view the burning and slaughter of our allies,
 ad rem fruendam oculis? Nec si nullius alterius,
 as to a spectacle grateful to the sight? And if for no other circumstance,
 nos ne quidem pudet horum civium,
 are we not [even] craved to shame on account of these our countrymen,

quos nostri patres miserunt colonos Sinuessam,
 whom our fathers sent as colonists to Sinuessa,
 ut hæc ora esset tuta ab Samnite hoste,
 that this frontier might be secured against the Samnite foe?
 quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit
 which now not the neighboring Samnite wastes with fire,
 sed Poenus advena, progressus jam huc
 but a Carthaginian foreigner, who has advanced even thus far
 ab extremis terminis orbis terrarum nostra
 from the remotest limits of the world, through our
 cunctatione et socordia. Pro tantum degeneramus
 dilatoriness and inactivity. What! are we so degenerate
 a nostris patribus, ut nunc videamus eam oram
 from our ancestors that we now calmly look down upon that coast
 plenam hostium que jam factam Numidarum
 filled with the enemy's troops and [already] made the property of Numidians
 ac Maurorum, præter quam illi duxerint esse dedecus
 and Moors, along which they considered it a disgrace
 sui imperii Punicas classes vagari?
 to their government that the Carthaginian fleets should cruise?
 Qui modo, indignando oppugnari Saguntum,
 We who, erewhile, indignant at siege being laid to Saguntum,
 ciebamus non homines tantum, sed fœdera et deos,
 appealed not to men only, but to treaties and to gods,
 spectamus Hannibalem scandentem moenia
 behold Hannibal scaling the walls
 Romanæ coloniae lenti. Fumus ex incendiis
 of a Roman colony unmoved. The smoke from the flames
 villarum agrorumque venit in oculos atque ora;
 of our farm-houses and lands comes into our eyes and faces;
 aures strepunt clamoribus plorantium sociorum,
 our ears ring with the cries of our weeping allies,
 invocantium nos opem sæpius quam deorum:
 invoking our aid oftener than that of the gods;
 conditi hic silvis nubibusque ducimus exercitum
 yet hiding ourselves here in woods and clouds, we lead about our army
 modo pecorum per æstivas saltus deviasque calles.
 like a herd of cattle, through shady forests and desert paths.

Si M. Furius voluisset recipere urbem a Gallis
 If Marcus Furius had resolved to rescue the city from the Gauls

hoc modo, quo his novus Camillus, dictator
 by the same means by which this modern Camillus, this dictator

unicus quæsitus nobis in affectis rebus,
 of such singular abilities selected for us in our distresses,

parat recuperare Italiam ab Hannibale,
 intends to recover Italy from Hannibal,

peragrando cacumina saltusque, Roma esset
 (that is, by traversing mountain-tops and forests,) Rome would now be

Gallorum; vereor, ne, nobis sic cunctantibus
 the property of the Gauls; and I fear lest, if we are thus dilatory,

nostri majores toties servaverint quam Hannibali
 our ancestors will so often have preserved it only for Hannibal.

ac Pœnis. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, die
 and the Carthaginians. But that man and true Roman, during the very day

quo allatum est Veios eum dictum
 on which the account was brought to Veii of his being appointed

dictatorem ex auctoritate patrum jussuque populi,
 dictator on the authority of the fathers and the nomination of the people,

descendit in æquum, cum Janiculum esset
 came down into the plain, though the Janiculum was

satis altum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem,
 of sufficient height, where he might sit and take a prospect of the enemy;

atque illo ipso die in media urbe, qua nunc sunt
 and on that same day, in the middle of the city, where now are

Gallica busta, et die postero citra Gabios
 the Gallic piles, and on the day following, on the Roman side of Gabil,

cecidit legiones Gallorum. Quid? cum
 cut to pieces the legions of the Gauls. What! when

multos annos post ad Caudinas Furculas missi sumus
 many years after this, at the Caudine forks, we were sent

sub jugum ab Samnite hoste, utrum perlustrando
 under the yoke by the Samnite foe, was it by traversing

juga Samnii, an premendo obsidendoque
 the heights of Samnium, or was it by pressing and besieging

Luceriam et lacessendo victorem hostem
 Luceria, and challenging the victorious enemy,

L. Papirius Cursor depulsum jugum ab
that Lucius Papirius Cursor removed the yoke from

cervicibus Romanis imposuit superbo Samniti?
 the necks of the Romans, and imposed it on the haughty Samnites?

Modo, quæ alia res quam celeritas dedit victoriam
 A short time ago, what else but quick despatch gave victory

C. Lutatio, quod postero die quam vidit
 to Caius Lutatius? for on the next day after he caught sight of

hostem, oppressit classem gravem com meatibus
 the enemy, he overpowered their fleet, heavily laden with provisions,

impeditam ipsam suomet instrumento atque apparatu?
 and encumbered of itself by its own implements and apparatus.

Est stultitia credere posse debellari sedendo
 It is folly to suppose that the war can be finished by sitting still,

aut votis; copias oportet armari, et deducendas
 or by prayers; forces must be armed and led down

in æquum, ut congrediari vir cum viro:
 into the plain, that you may encounter man with man.

audendo atque agendo Romana res crevit,
 By boldness and activity the Roman power has grown

non iis segnibus consiliis, quæ timidi
 to its present height, and not by these sluggish measures which cowards

vocant cauta." Multitudo Romanorum tribunorum
 term cautious." A crowd of Roman tribunes

equitumque circumfundebatur Minucio
 and knights poured round Minucius

hæc velut concionanti, et ferocia dicta
 while thus, as it were, haranguing; and his presumptuous expressions

evolvebantur quoque ad aures militum; ac,
 reached even the ears of the common soldiers; and

si res esset suffragii militaris ferebant
 had the matter been submitted to the votes of the soldiery, they showed

haud dubie, prælaturos Minucium Fabio duci.
 evidently they would have preferred Minucius to Fabius as a commander.

XV.—Fabius, intentus pariter haud minus
 Fabius, attentive alike no less

in suos quam in hostes, prius præstat animum
to his own men than to the enemy, first shows that his resolution

invictum ab illis. Quamquam probe scit
was unconquered by the former. Though he well knew

suam cunctationem esse infamem non modo in suis
that his procrastination was ill-spoken of, not only in his own

castris, sed jam etiam Romæ, tamen obstinatus
camp, but by this time even at Rome; yet inflexibly adhering

eodem tenore consiliorum extraxit reliquum
to the same line of policy, he delayed through the remainder

æstatis, ut Hannibal, destitutus ab spe
of the summer; to the end that Hannibal, deprived of the prospect

certaminis petiti summa
of an engagement which he sought to bring about with his utmost

ope, jam circumspectaret locum hibernis,
endeavors, might now look about for a place for winter-quarters

quia ea regio erat præsentis, non perpetuæ copiæ
for that district was one of present, but not constant, supply,

arbusta vineæque et omnia consita
abounding in plantations and vineyards, and all places planted

amœnis magis quam necessariis fructibus. Hæc
with luxurious rather than useful produce. Of this

relata Fabio per exploratores. Cum
information is brought to Fabius by the scouts; and as

satis sciret rediturum per eandem
he was pretty certain that Hannibal would return by the same

angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum,
narrow pass through which he had entered the Falernian territory,

occupat montem Calliculam et Casilinum
he occupied mount Calicula and Casilinum

modicis præsiidiis, quæ urbs dirempta flumine
with a moderate force; which city intersected by the river

Vulturno, dividit Falernum a Campano agro:
Vulturnus, divides the Falernian and Campanian territories.

ipse reducit exercitum iisdem jugis,
He himself leads back his army along the same eminences over which

misso L. Hostilio Mancino cum
he had come, sending out Lucius Hostilius Mancinus with

quadringentis equitibus sociorum exploratum. Qui
 four hundred horsemen of the allies to reconnoitre; who,
 ex turba juvenum sæpe audientium
being one of the crowd of youths that had often heard
 magistrum equitum ferociter concionantem, progressus
 the master of the horse fiercely haranguing, proceeded
 primo modo exploratoris, ut specularetur
 at first after the cautious manner of a scout, that he might observe
 hostem ex tuto, ubi vidit Numidas
 the enemy from safe grounds; but when he saw the Numidians
 vagos passim per vicos, per occasionem
 scattered widely throughout the villages, and, on opportunity offering,
 etiam occidit paucos, animus extemplo occupatus est
 even slew some of them, his whole mind was instantly occupied
 certamine, præceptaque dictatoris
 by the thoughts of fighting, and the injunctions of the dictator
 exciderunt, qui sese jusserat progressum,
 slipped his memory, who had charged him to advance
 quantum posset tuto recipere prius, quam
 only so far as he might with safety, and to retreat before
 veniret in hostium conspectum. Numidæ,
 he should come within the enemy's sight. The Numidians,
 alii atque alii occursantes refugientesque
 party after party, skirmishing and retreating,
 pertrahere ipsum prope ad castra cum fatigatione
 drew him on almost to their camp, to the fatigue
 hominum atque equorum : inde Carthalo
 of his men and horses. Then Carthalo,
 quem penes erat summa imperii equestris, invectus
 who held the command-in-chief of the cavalry, charging
 concitatis equis, cum hostes avertisset, priusquam
 at full speed, and having made the enemy retire before
 veniret ad teli conjectum, secutus est fugientes
 he came within a dart's throw, pursued them in their flight
 quinque millia ferme continenti cursu. Mancinus,
 for five miles almost in a continuous course. Mancinus,
 postquam vidit hostem nec desistere sequi,
 when he saw that the enemy did not desist from the pursuit,

nec esse spem effugiendi, cohortatus suos
and that there was no prospect of escaping, having encouraged his troops,
rediit in prælium, impar omni parte virium :
turned back to the battle, though inferior in every kind of force.

itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi
Accordingly he himself and the choicest of the cavalry, being surrounded,
occiduntur : ceteri effuso rursus cursu perfugerunt
are cut to pieces ; the rest in disorderly retreat made their escape

primum Cales, inde callibus prope inviis ad
first to Cales, and thence, by ways almost impassable, to

dictatorem. Forte eo die Minucius
the dictator. It happened that on the same day Minucius

se conjunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum
had formed a junction with Fabius, having been sent to secure

præsidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam,
with a guard a woody hill, which above Tarracina

coactus in artas fauces, imminet mari,
is contracted into a narrow defile, and hangs over the sea ; in order

ne Pœnus posset pervenire in Romanum
that the Carthaginian might not be able to get into the Roman

agrum Appiæ limite immunito. Dictator
territory by the Appian way's being left unguarded. The dictator

ac magister equitum, conjunctis exercitibus,
and master of the horse, re-uniting their forces,

castra deferunt in viam, qua Hannibal
march down into the road, through which Hannibal

erat ducturus. Hostes aberant duo millia inde.
was to pass. The enemy was two miles from that place.

XVI.—Postero die Pœni agmine
Next day the Carthaginians on the march

complevere, quod viæ erat inter bina castra. Cum
filled the whole road which lay between the two camps ; and though

Romani constitissent sub ipso vallo, haud dubie
the Romans had taken post close to their own rampart, evidently

sequiore loco, tamen Pœnus successit
to the more advantageous situation, yet the Carthaginian came up

cum expeditis equitibus, atque ad lacesendum
with his light-horsemen, and, in order to provoke

hostem carptim pugnare et procursando,
the enemy, made several skirmishing attacks, charging

que sese recipiendo. Romana acies restitit suo loco :
and then retreating. The Roman line remained in its position.

pugna fuit lenta et magis ex voluntate dictatoris
The battle was slow and more conformable to the wish of the dictator

quam Hannibalis : ab Romanis cecidere
than of Hannibal. On the part of the Romans there fell

ducenti, hostium octingenti. Inde videri
two hundred, of the enemy eight hundred. It now began to appear that,

via ad Casilinum obsessa Hannibal inclusus ;
by the road to Casilinum being thus blockaded, Hannibal was hemmed in ;

cum Capua et Samnium et tantum divitum
and that while Capua and Samnium, and such a number of wealthy

sociorum ab tergo subveheret Romanis commeatus,
allies at their back, might furnish the Romans with supplies,

Pœnus hibernaturus esset inter
the Carthaginian, on the other hand, must winter amid

saxa Formiana ac arenas perhorridaque stagna
the rocks of Formiæ and the sands and horrid swamps

Liternas. Nec fefellit Hannibalem, se peti
of Linternum. Nor did it escape Hannibal that he was assailed

suis artibus : itaque, cum non posset evadere per
by his own arts ; wherefore, since he could not make his way through

Casilinum, petendique montes et
Casilinum, and must direct his course to the mountains, and

superandum esset jugum Calliculæ, necubi
climb over the summit of Callicula, lest in any place

Romanus aggrederetur agmen inclusum
the Romans should fall on his troops in their march, when entangled

vallibus, commentus ad frustrandum hostem
in the valleys ; having devised a stratagem for baffling the enemy

ludibrium oculorum, terribile specie
by a deception of the sight, apt to inspire terror from its appearance,

statuit succedere furtim ad montes
he resolved to come up by stealth to the mountains

principio noctis. Apparatus fallacis consilii
 at the commencement of night. The preparation of his cunning device
 fuit talis: faces fascesque virgarum atque
 was of this description: torches, and bundles of rods and
 aridi sarmenti collectæ undique ex agris,
 dry cuttings, are collected from every part of the country,
 præliganturque cornibus boum, quos multos
 and are tied fast on the horns of oxen, great numbers of which,
 domitos indomitosque agebat inter ceteram
 trained and untrained, he drove along with him among the other
 prædam agrestem; boum effecta
 spoil taken in the country; the number of oxen was made up
 ad ferme duo millia: que Hasdrubali datum
 to nearly two thousand: [and] to Hasdrubal was assigned
 negotium, primis tenebris noctis ut ageret
 the business, as soon as the darkness of night came on, to drive
 id armentum accensis cornibus ad
 this numerous herd, after first setting fire to their horns, up to
 montes, maxime, si posset super saltus
 the mountains, and particularly, if he could, over the passes
 insessos ab hoste.
 beset by the enemy.

XVII.—Primis tenebris castra mota silentio,

At the first approach of darkness, the camp was moved in silence;
 boves acti aliquanto ante signa. Ubi
 and the oxen were driven at some distance before the standards. When
 ventum est ad radices montium angustasque vias
 they arrived at the foot of the mountains and the narrow roads,
 signum extemplo datur, accensis cornibus,
 the signal is instantly given that fire should be set to their horns,
 ut armenta concitentur in montes adversos.
 and that the herd should be driven violently up the mountains in front;
 Et ipse metus flammæ relucens ex capite
 the mere fright, occasioned by the flame blazing on their heads,
 calorque jam diu adveniens ad vivum ad
 and the heat soon penetrating to the quick and to

imaque cornuum, agebat boves velut stimulos
the roots of their horns, drove on the oxen as if goaded

furore. Quo discursu omnia circum virgulta
by madness. By which dispersion all the surrounding bushes

repente ardere, haud secus quam accensis
were quickly put in a blaze, just as if fire had been set

silvis montibusque; irritaque quassatio capitum,
as the woods and mountains; and the fruitless tossing of their heads

excitans flammam, præbebat speciem hominum
quickening the flame, afforded an appearance as of men

discurrentium passim. Qui locati erant
running up and down on every side. Those who had been stationed

ad insidendum transitum saltus, ubi conspexere
to guard the passage of the wood, when they saw

ignes in summis montibus ac quosdam super se,
fires on the tops of the mountains, and some over their own heads,

rati se circumventos esse excessere præsidio:
concluding that they were surrounded, abandoned their post,

petentes tutissimum iter summa juga
taking the way, as the safest course, towards the summits

montium, qua minime densæ flammæ micabant,
[of the mountains,] where the fewest fires were blazing;

tamen inciderunt in quosdam boves palatos
however, they fell in with some oxen which had strayed

a suis gregibus: et primo cum cernerent procul
from their herds. At first, when they beheld them at a distance,

constiterunt attoniti miraculo veluti
they stood fixed in amazement at the miracle, as it were,

spirantium flammæ, deinde, ut apparuit
of creatures breathing out flames; but afterwards, when it showed itself

humana fraus, tum vero rati esse
to be a human stratagem, then, forsooth, concluding that there was

insidias, cum concitant se in fugam majore metu,
an ambuscade, as they betook themselves to flight with increased alarm,

incurrere quoque levi armaturæ hostium. Ceterum
they fall in also with the light-infantry of the enemy; but

nox sequato timore tenuit neutros incipientes
night inspiring equal fears, prevented either from commencing

pugnam ad lucem : interea Hannibal transducto
 the battle until daylight. Meanwhile Hannibal, having conducted
 toto agmine per saltum, et oppressis quibusdam
 his whole army through the pass, and having cut off some
 hostium in ipso saltu, posuit castra in agro
 of the enemy in the very defile, pitches his camp in the territory
 Allifano.
 of Allifan.

XVIII.—Fabius sensit hanc tumultum : ceterum
 Fabius perceived this tumult, but
 et ratus esse insidias et abhorrens certamine
 concluding that it was a snare, and being utterly averse from fighting,
 ab nocturno utique, tenuit suos munimentis.
 in the night particularly, kept his men within their trenches
 Prima luce praelium fuit sub jugo montis ;
 At break of day a fight took place near the summit of the mountain,
 quo Romani— etenim aliquantum præstabant
 in which the Romans, as they were considerably superior
 numero— facile superassent levem armaturam
 in numbers, would have easily overpowered the light-infantry
 interclusam ab suis, nisi cohors
 of the enemy, cut off as they were from their own party, had not a cohort
 Hispanorum remissa ab Hannibale ad id ipsum
 of Spaniards, sent back by Hannibal for that very purpose,
 pervenisset. Ea assuetior montibus
 reached the spot. That body being more accustomed to mountains,
 et levior ac aptiorque, cum velocitate corporum
 and being lighter and also more adapted, both from the agility of their limbs
 tum habitu armorum ad concursandum
 and the nature of their arms, to skirmishing
 inter saxa rupesque, facile elusit genere pugnae
 amid rocks and cliffs, easily foiled, by their mode of attack,
 hostem gravem armis, campestem statariumque.
 an enemy loaded with arms, used to plain ground and the steady kind
 Digressi certamine ita haudquaquam pari
 of fighting. Separating from a contest thus by no means equal,

contenderunt in castra, Hispani fere omnes incolumes,
they proceeded to their camps, the Spaniards with almost all their men safe,

Romani, aliquot amissis suis.
the Romans with considerable loss of theirs.

Fabius quoque movit castra, transgressusque
Fabius also moved his camp, and passing through

saltum consedit alto ac munito loco super Allifas
he defile, seated himself in a high and strong post above Allifas.

Tum Hannibal, simulans se petere Romam
Then Hannibal, pretending to march to Rome

per Samnium, rediit usque in Pelignos populabundus;
through Samnium, came back as far as the Peligni, spreading devastation.

Fabius ducebat jugis medius inter
Fabius led his troops along the heights midway between

agmen hostium urbemque Romam, nec absistens
the army of the enemy and the city of Rome, neither avoiding

nec congregiens. Ex Pelignis
him altogether nor giving him a meeting. From the Peligni

Poenus flexit iter, repetensque retro Apuliam,
the Carthaginian turned his course, and going back again to Apulia,

pervenit Geronium, urbem desertam ab suis
reached Geronium, a city deserted by its inhabitants

metu, quia pars mœnium collapsa erat ruinis.
from fear, as a part of its walls had fallen down together in ruins.

Dictator communiit castra in agro Larinate,
The dictator formed a strong camp in the territory of Larinum;

revocatus inde Romam causa sacrorum,
and being recalled thence to Rome on account of some sacred rites,

agens cum magistro equitum non modo imperio,
he pressed the master of the horse, not only with orders,

sed etiam consilio ac prope precibus,
but [also] with advice and almost with prayers,

ut confidat plus consilio quam fortunæ,
that "he should confide more in prudence than in fortune,

et imitetur se ducem potius quam Sempronium
and imitate him as a general rather than Sempronius

Flaminiumque ne censeret nihil
and Flaminius; that he should not suppose that nothing

actum, extracta prope æstate
 had been achieved by having worn out nearly the whole summer
 per ludificationem hostis : medicos quoque interdum
 in baffling the enemy ; that physicians too sometimes
 proficere plus quiete quam movendo atque agendo :
 gained more by rest than by motion and action.
 esse haud parvam rem, desisse vinci
 That it was no small thing to have ceased to be conquered
 ab hoste toties victore, ac respirasse
 by an enemy so often victorious, and to have taken breath
 ab continuis cladibus ; hæc nequidquam præmonito
 after successive disasters." Having thus unavailingly admonished
 magistro equitum, profectus est Romam.
 the master of the horse, he set out for Rome.

XIX.—Principio æstatis, qua hæc gerebantur,
 In the beginning of the summer, wherein these transactions passed
 bellum cœptum est terra marique in Hispania quoque
 the war commenced by land and sea in Spain also.
 Ad eum numerum navium, quem acceperat
 To the number of ships, which he had received
 a fratre instructum paratumque, Hasdrubal
 from his brother, equipped and ready for action, Hasdrubal
 adjecit decem : classem quadraginta navium
 added ten. This fleet of forty sail
 tradit Himilconi, atque ita profectus Carthagine
 he delivered to Himilco ; and thus setting out from Carthage,
 navibus prope terram, ducebat exercitum in litore,
 kept his ships near the land, while he led his army along the shore,
 paratus configere, quacumque parte copiarum
 ready to engage with whatever part of his forces
 hostis occurrisset. Idem consilii fuit primo
 the enemy might fall in with. A similar plan was at first projected
 Cn. Scipioni, postquam audivit hostem movisse
 by Cneius Scipio when he heard that the enemy had moved
 ex hibernis : deinde minus ausus concurrere terra
 from their winter-quarters ; but afterwards, not daring to engage him by land.

propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum,
 from a great rumor of fresh auxiliaries,

pergit ire obviam hosti classe quinque et triginta navium,
 he advances to meet the enemy with a fleet of thirty-five ships,

imposito delecto milite ad naves. Altero die
 having put some chosen soldiers on board. On the next day

ab Tarracone pervenit ad stationem, distantem
 after leaving Tarracon, he arrived at a harbor at a distance of

decem millia passuum ab ostio amnis Iberi.
 ten miles from the mouth of the river Iberus.

Dux Massiliensium speculatoriæ præmissæ inde
 Two Massilian spy-boats, sent forward from that place,

retulere, Punicam classem stare in ostio fluminis,
 brought word back, that the Carthaginian fleet lay in the mouth of *that* river,

castraque posita in ripa : itaque,
 and that their camp was pitched on the bank. In order, therefore,

ut opprimeret improvidos incautosque
 to overpower them while unprovided and off their guard,

universo simul effuso terrore, sublatis anchoris
 by a universal and wide-spread terror, he weighed anchor

vadit ad hostem. Habet Hispania
 and advanced towards the enemy. They have in Spain

multas turres et positas altis locis, quibus utuntur
 a great many towers built in lofty situations, which they employ

et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones.
 both as watch-towers and as places of defence against pirates.

Inde primo, navibus hostium conspectis, signum
 From them first, the ships of the enemy having been descried, the signal

datum est Hasdrubali; tumultusque ortus est
 was given to Hasdrubal; and a tumult arose

castris et in terra prius quam ad naves
 in the camp and on land sooner than on the ships

et ad mare, pulsu remorum alioque nautico strepitu
 and at sea; the dashing of the oars and other nautical noises

nondum aut exaudito, aut promontoriis aperientibus
 not being yet distinctly heard, nor the promontories disclosing

classem : cum repente alius eques super alium missus
 the fleet. Upon this, suddenly one horseman after another, sent out

ab Hasdrubale jubet vagos in litore
 by Hasdrubal, orders those who were rambling about the shore
 quietosque in suis tentoriis, expectantes nihil minus
 and sitting quietly in their tents, expecting nothing less
 quam hostem aut proelium eo die, conscendere naves
 than the enemy or a fight on that day, to go on board
 propere atque capere arma : Romanam classem
 instantly and take up arms : that the Roman fleet
 esse jam haud procul portu. Equites
 was now a short distance from the harbor. The horsemen,
 dimissi passim hæc imperabant. Mox
 despatched in every direction, delivered these orders; and presently
 Hasdrubal ipse aderat cum omni exercitu,
 Hasdrubal himself comes up with the main army.
 omniaque strepunt tumultu vario, militibus
 All places resound with noises of various kinds; the soldiers
 remigibusque ruentibus simul in naves
 and rowers hurrying together to their ships,
 modo fugientium e terra magis quam
 like men making their escape from land rather than
 euntium in pugnam. Vixdum omnes conscenderant,
 going to battle. Scarcely had all embarked,
 cum alii, resolutis oris, evehuntur
 when some of the vessels, having untied the hawsers, are carried out
 in anchoras; alii incidunt anchoralia,
 against their anchors; others cut their cables,
 ne quid teneat, agendoque omnia raptim
 that nothing might impede them; and by doing everything with hurry
 præpropere ministeria nautica impediuntur
 and precipitation, the business of the mariners was impeded
 apparatu militum, miles prohibentur
 by the preparations of the soldiers, and the soldiers were prevented from
 capere et aptare arma trepidatione
 taking and getting ready their arms by the bustle and confusion
 nautarum. Et jam Romanus non modo appropinquabat,
 of the mariners. And now the Roman was not only approaching,
 sed etiam direxerat naves in pugnam. Pœni
 but had [even] drawn up his ships for the attack. The Carthaginians,

itaque turbati non magis ab hoste et proelio,
 therefore, thrown into disorder, not more by the enemy and the battle

quam suomet ipsi tumultu, et tentata
 than by their own tumult, and having attempted

verius quam inita pugna, averterunt classem
 rather than commenced an engagement, turned their fleet

in fugam : et cum os amnis adversi
 for flight; and as the mouth of the river which was before them

haud sane esset intrabile lato agmini et tam multis
 could not well be entered in so broad a line, and by so many

venientibus simul, egerunt naves in litus passim ;
 crowding in together, they ran their ships on shore in every part;

atque excepti alii vadis, alii sicco litore,
 and being received, some in the shallows, and others on the dry shore,

partim armati partim inermes, perfigere
 some armed and some unarmed, they made their escape

ad suorum aciem instructam per litus. Tamen
 to their own party drawn up on the shore. However,

primo concursu duæ Punicæ naves captæ erant,
 in the first encounter, two Carthaginian ships were taken,

quattuor suppressæ.
 and four sunk.

XX.—Romani, quamquam terra erat
 The Romans, notwithstanding that the land was

hostium, cernebantque aciem armatam
 in the hands of the enemy, and that they saw a line of troops under arms,

prætentam in toto litore, haud cunctanter insecuti
 stretched along the whole shore, promptly pursued

trepidam classem hostium, omnes naves, quæ
 the dismayed fleet of the enemy; and all the ships, which

non aut perfregerant proras illis litori
 had not either shattered their prows by striking against the shore,

aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus
 or set their keels fast in the sand-banks, they tied to their sterns

extraxere in altum ; cepere ad quinque et viginti
 and towed out into the deep. They captured as many as twenty-five

naves e quadraginta. Neque fuit id pulcherrimum
vessels out of the forty. Nor was that the most brilliant

ejus victoriæ, sed quod erant potiti
result of this victory : but [that] they were made masters

toto mari ejus oræ una levi pugna. Profecti
of the whole sea on that coast by one slight battle. Advancing,

itaque classe ad Onuscam, facta exscensione
therefore, with their fleet to Honosca, and making a descent

ab navibus in terram, cum cepissent urbem vi
from the ships upon the shore, when they had taken the city by storm

diripuissentque captam, inde petunt Carthaginem,
and sacked it after its capture, they proceeded thence to Carthage;

atque, depopulati omnem agrum circa, postremo
and, after wasting all the country round, at last

incenderunt quoque tecta injuncta muro portisque.
set fire also to the buildings contiguous to the wall and gates.

Classis jam gravis præda inde pervenit ad
The fleet, now laden with booty, went on to

Longunticam, ubi magna vis sparti ad
Longuntica, where a great quantity of oakum for

nauticam rem congesta ab Hasdrubale : sublato,
naval purposes had been collected by Hasdrubal : of this taking away

quod fuit satis in usum, incensum est
as much as was sufficient for their use, they burnt

omne ceterum. Nec in projectas oras
all the rest. Nor did they sail along the prominent coasts

continentis modo, sed transmissum in insulam
of the continent only, but crossed over into the island

Ebusum. Ubi summo labore biduum
Ebusus; where, having, with the utmost exertion, for two days

oppugnata nequidquam urbe, quæ est caput
directed their attack in vain against the city, which is the capital

insulæ, ubi animadversum est tempus
of the island, when they perceived that time

teri frustra in irritam spem, versi
was wasted to no purpose on a hopeless prospect, they applied themselves

ad populationem agri, direptis incensisque
to the ravaging of the country; and having plundered and fired

aliquot vicis, parta majore præda quam
 several towns, and acquired a greater booty than they had gotten
 ex continenti, cum se recepissent in naves, legati
 on the continent, after they had retired to their ships, ambassadors
 venerunt ad Scipionem ex Balearibus insulis
 came to Scipio, from the Balearic Isles,
 petentes pacem. Inde classis flexa retro,
 suing for peace. From this place the fleet sailed back,
 reditumque in citeriora provinciæ; quo
 and returned to the hither parts of the province, whither
 legati concurrerunt omnium populorum, qui accolunt
 ambassadors hastily flocked from all the peoples who dwell on
 Iberum, multorum et ultimæ Hispaniæ.
 the Iberus, and from many even of the remotest parts of Spain.
 Sed populi, qui vere facti sint ditionis
 But the number of states who really became subject to the dominion
 imperiique Romani, datis obsidibus, fuerunt amplius
 and government of Rome, and gave hostages, amounted to more than
 centum viginti. Igitur Romanus fidens
 one hundred and twenty. Wherefore the Roman general, now relying
 satis terrestribus copiis quoque progressus est
 sufficiently on his land forces also, advanced
 usque ad saltum Castulonensem. Hasdrubal concessit
 as far as the pass of Castulo. Hasdrubal retired
 in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum.
 into Lusitania, and nearer the Ocean.

XXI.—Inde videbatur reliquum tempus

 After this it seemed probable that the remainder
 æstatis fore quietum, fuissetque,
 of the summer would be peaceful; and so it would have been
 per Pœnum hostem: sed, præterquam quod
 with regard to the Punic enemy: but, besides that
 ingenia Hispanorum ipsorum sunt inquieta
 the tempers of the Spaniards themselves are naturally restless
 invidaque in novas res, Mandonius Indebilisque,
 and eager for innovation, Mandonius together with Indebilis,

qui antea fuerat regulus Ilergetum, postquam
 who had formerly been a chieftain of the Ilergetans, as soon as
 Romani recessere ab saltu ad maritimam oram,
 the Romans retired from the pass towards the seacoast,
 concitis popularibus, venerunt in pacatum agrum
 roused their countrymen, and advanced into the peaceful territories
 Romanorum sociorum ad depopulandum.
 of the Roman allies, for the purpose of devastating them,
 Militum tribunus cum expeditis auxiliis, missi
 A military tribune, with some light-armed auxiliaries, being sent
 adversus eos a Scipione levi certamine
 against these by Scipio, in a slight skirmish
 fudere omnes, ut tumultuariam manum;
 put them all to the rout, as being but a disorderly band;
 quibusdam captis occisisque, magnaue parte
 some having been captured and slain, and a great portion of them
 exuta armis. Hic tumultus tamen retraxit
 deprived of their arms. This commotion, however, drew back
 Hasdrubalem cedentem ad Oceanum ad tutandos
 Hasdrubal, who was retiring to the Ocean, to protect
 socios cis Iberum. Punica castra erant
 his allies on this side the Iberus. The Carthaginian camp was
 in agro Ilergavonensium, Romana castra
 in the territory of Ilercao, the Roman camp
 ad Novam classem, cum repens fama avertit bellum
 at the New Fleet, when unexpected intelligence diverted the war
 alio. Celtiberi, qui miserant principes
 to another quarter. The Celtiberians, who had sent the chief men
 suæ regionis legatos Romanis dederantque
 of their country as ambassadors to the Romans, and had given them
 obsides excitum nuntio misso a Scipione, capiunt
 hostages, aroused by a message coming from Scipio, take up
 arma invaduntque provinciam Carthaginiensium
 arms and invade the province of the Carthaginians
 valido exercitu; expugnant tria oppida vi.
 with a powerful army; reduce three towns by assault,
 Inde pugnant cum Hasdrubale ipso duobus
 and after that, encountering Hasdrubal himself in two

proeliis egregie : ac occiderunt quindecim millia
 battles with splendid success, slew fifteen thousand
 hostium, capiunt quattuor millia cum
 of the enemy, and captured four thousand, together with
 multis militaribus signis.
 many military ensigns.

XXII.—Hoc statu rerum in Hispania,
 This being the state of affairs in Spain,

P. Scipio, prorogato imperio post consulatum
 Publius Scipio, having been continued in command after his consulate,

missus ab senatu, venit in provinciam cum
 and sent thither by the senate, came into the province with

triginta navibus longis et octo millibus militum
 thirty ships of war, eight thousand soldiers,

magnoque advecto comœatu. Ea classis ingens
 and a large importation of provisions. That fleet, grand in size,

visa procul agmine onerariarum,
 when seen at a distance, by reason of the long train of transport vessels,

tenuit ex alto portum Tarraconis, cum magna lætitia
 put into the harbor of Tarracon, to the great joy

civium sociorumque. Exposito milite ibi, Scipio
 of his countrymen and allies. Landing his troops there, Scipio

profectus se conjungit fratri, ac
 set out and formed a junction with his brother; and

deinde gerebant bellum communi animo
 they thenceforth conducted the war with united courage

consilioque. Carthaginiensibus igitur occupatis
 and counsels. While the Carthaginians, therefore, were occupied

Celtiberico bello transgrediuntur Iberum
 with the Celtiberian war, they passed the Iberus

haud cunctanter ; nec viso ullo hoste pergunt ire
 without delay, and not seeing any enemy, pursue their course

Saguntum, quod erat fama obsides totius
 to Saguntum ; for it was reported that the hostages from every part

Hispaniæ ibi traditos ab Hannibale
 of Spain had been placed there under custody by Hannibal,

custodiri in arcē modico præsidio. Id
and were guarded in the citadel by a small garrison. This

pignus unum morabatur animos omnium populorum
pledge alone held in check the affections of all the people

Hispaniæ inclinatos ad societatem Romanam,
of Spain which were inclined towards an alliance with the Romans;

ne culpa defectionis lueretur sanguine
lest the guilt of their defection should be expiated with the blood

suorum liberorum. Eo vinculo unus vir consilio
of their children. From this restraint one man, by a device

magis sollerti quam fideli Hispaniam exsolvit.
more artful than honorable, set Spain at liberty.

Erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus Abelux,
There was at Saguntum a noble Spaniard, called Abelux,

ante fidus Pœnis, tum, qualia sunt
hitherto faithful to the Carthaginians, but now (such are

plerumque ingenia barbarorum, cum
for the most part the dispositions of barbarians) with a change of

fortuna mutaverat fidem. Ceterum ratus transfugam
fortune had altered his attachment. But considering that a deserter,

venientem ad hostes sine proditione rei magnæ
coming to an enemy without the betraying of something valuable,

esse nihil aliud quam unum infame atque vile
is no more than a mere infamous and contemptible

corpus, id agebat, ut quam maximum
creature, he had it in mind that the largest possible

emolumentum esset novis sociis. Igitur
advantage should accrue to his new allies. Wherefore,

circumspectis omnibus, quæ fortuna
after reviewing every expedient, which under the favor of fortune

poterat facere ejus potestatis adjecit animum
he might bring within his reach, he applied himself,

potissimum tradendis obsidibus,
in preference to every other, to the delivering up of the hostages;

ratus eam unam rem maxime conciliaturam
concluding that this one thing, above all others, would conciliate

Romanis amicitiam Hispaniæ principum. Sed
to the Romans the friendship of the Spanish chieftains. But

cum satis sciret injussu Bostaris præfecti
 as he well knew that, without an order from Bostar the commander,
 custodes obsidium nihil facturos esse, aggreditur
 the guards of the hostages would do nothing, he addresses himself
 arte Bostarem ipsum. Bostar habebat castra
 with craft to Bostar himself. Bostar had his camp
 extra urbem in ipso litore ut intercluderet
 without the city, on the very shore, in order to preclude
 aditum Romanis ex ea parte. Ibi abductum
 the approach of the Romans from that quarter. Here, being taken aside
 in secretum monet eum velut ignorantem,
 to a secret place, the other represents to him, as if uninformed of it,
 quo statu res sit: ad eam diem metum
 in what position affairs were: "That hitherto fear
 continuisse animos Hispanorum, quia Romani
 had restrained the inclinations of the Spaniards, because the Romans
 procul abessent: nunc Romana castra esse
 had been at a great distance: at present the Roman camp was
 cis Iberum, tutam arcem perfugiumque
 on this side of the Iberus, a secure fortress and place of refuge
 volentibus novas res: itaque, quos metus
 to all who wished a change; wherefore those, whom fear
 non teneat, devinciendos esse beneficio et gratia.
 could no longer bind, must be attached by kindness and favor."
 Bostari miranti percunctantique, quodnam
 Bostar showing surprise, and earnestly asking what
 subitum donum tantæ rei id posset esse, inquit,
 sudden gift of such great moment that could be, he answered:
 "remitte obsides in civitates: id erit
 "Send back the hostages to their provinces: this will be
 gratum et privatim parentibus, quorum est
 an acceptable boon as well privately to their parents who possess
 maximum nomen in suis civitatibus, et publice
 the greatest influence in their respective states, as publicly
 populis: quisque vult credi sibi,
 to the people. Every man wishes to have trust reposed in him
 et fides habita plerumque obligat fidem ipsam
 and trust reposed generally enforces the fidelity itself

ministerium restituendorum obsidium domos
 The office of restoring the hostages to their homes,
 ipse deosco mihimet, ut adjuvem quoque meum
 I demand for myself; that I may enhance my
 consilium opera impensa et adjiciam,
 project by the trouble bestowed, and *that* I may add
 quantam insuper gratiam possim, rei
 as much more value as I can to a proceeding *which is*
 gratæ suapte natura." Ut persuasit homini
 acceptable in its own nature." When he had persuaded the man
 non callido ad cetera Punica ingenia,
who was not cunning in comparison with other Carthaginian minds,
 progressus clam nocte ad stationes hostium,
he went out secretly by night to the outposts of the enemy, *where*
 conventis quibusdam auxiliariis Hispanis et
 meeting with some auxiliary Spaniards, and
 ab his perductus ad Scipionem, exprimit, quid
 being by them conducted to Scipio, he explains what
 afferet : et fide data acceptaque,
 brought him. Then *pledges of fidelity* having been given and received,
 ac tempore et loco constituto ad tradendos obsides,
 and time and place appointed for delivering the hostages,
 redit Saguntum ; insequentem diem absumpsit cum
 he returns to Saguntum. The following day he spent with
 Bostare, accipiendis mandatis ad agendam rem :
 Bostar, in taking instructions for effecting the business
 cum constituisset se iturum nocte, ut
 having so arranged it, that he should go by night, in order that
 falleret hostium custodias, dimissus,
 he might escape *the notice of* the enemy's watch, he was dismissed ;
 excitatis custodibus puerorum ad horam compositam
 and awakening the guards of the boys at an hour agreed upon
 cum iis profectus, ducit veluti ignarus in
 with them, set out and led them, as if unknowingly, into
 insidias præparatas sua fraude. Perducti
 the snare prepared by his own treachery. They were *then* brought
 in Romana castra ; omnia cetera de
 to the Roman camp ; and every thing else respecting

reddendis obsidibus acta, sicut
 the restoration of the hostages was transacted as
 constitutum erat cum Bostare, per eundem ordinem,
 had been settled with Bostar, and in the same course,
 quo si ageretur sic nomine
 as if the affair had been carried on [thus] in the name
 Carthaginiensium. Gratia Romanorum fuit
 of the Carthaginians. But the favor towards the Romans was
 aliquanto major, quam quanta Carthaginiensium
 considerably greater than that of the Carthaginians
 futura fuerat in pari re: enim fortuna et timor
 would have been in a similar case; for misfortune and fear
 poterat videri mitigasse illos, expertos
 might have seemed to have softened the latter, who had been found
 graves superbosque in secundis rebus. Romanus
 oppressive and haughty in prosperity; whereas the Roman
 primo adventu, incognitus ante,
 on his first arrival, having been unknown to them before,
 fecerat initium ab re clementi liberalique: et
 had begun with an act of clemency and liberality; and
 Abelux, vir prudens, haud videbatur mutasse
 Abelux, a man of prudence, did not seem likely to have changed
 socios frustra. Omnes itaque
 his allies without good cause All the states, therefore,
 ingenti consensu spectare defectionem;
 with great unanimity began to meditate a revolt;
 armaque forent extemplo mota, ni hiems
 and hostilities would immediately have commenced had not the winter
 intervenisset, quæ coegit Romanos et
 intervened, which compelled the Romans and
 Carthaginienses quoque concedere in tecta.
 the Carthaginians likewise, to retire to shelter.

XXIII.—Hæc gesta

Such were the transactions

in Hispania quoque

in Spain also

secunda æstate Punici belli, cum Italia sollers
 during the second summer of the Punic war; while, in Italy, the prudent

cunctatio Fabii fecisset Romanis paulum intervalli
 delay of Fabius had procured the Romans some intermission

cladibus : quæ, ut habebat Hannibalem
 from disasters; which conduct, though it kept Hannibal

sollicitum non mediocri cura, cernentem
 disturbed with no ordinary degree of anxiety, (perceiving, as he did,

Romanos tandem delegisse eum magistrum militiæ,
 that the Romans had at length chosen such a master of the military

qui gereret bellum ratione, non
 science, who would carry on the war with wisdom, and not

fortuna, erat ita contempta inter cives,
 in dependence on fortune,) yet was held in contempt among his countrymen,

armatos pariter togatosque ; utique postquam
 soldiers as well as citizens; particularly after that

pugnatum fuerat eo absente temeritate
 a battle had been fought, during his absence, from the temerity

magistri equitum, eventu dixerim verius læto
 of the master of the horse, in its issue, I may say, rather joyful

quam prospero. Duæ res accesserant ad augendam
 than successful. Two causes were added to augment

invidiam dictatoris : una fraude
 the unpopularity of the dictator : one arising out of a stratagem

ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, cum dictatoris ager
 and artful procedure of Hannibal; for, on the dictator's farm

monstratus esset ei a perfugis, jussit ignem ferrumque
 being shown to him by deserters, he gave orders, that fire and sword

et omnem vim hostium abstineri ab eo uno,
 and every outrage of enemies should be restrained from it alone,

omnibus circa æquatis solo, ut
 while all around were leveled with the earth; in order that

ea posset videri merces alicujus occulti pacti
 it might appear to have been the term of some secret compact :

altera facto ipsius in permutandis captivis,
 the other, from an act of his own respecting the ransoming of the prisoners,

primo forsitan dubio, quia auctoritas senatus
 at first perhaps suspicious, because the authority of the senate

expectata est in eo, ad extremum verso
 had not been waited for in that case, but in the result turning

haud ambigue in maximam laudem : quod,
unequivocally to his highest credit for,

sicut factum erat primo Punico bello, convenerat
as had been practised in the first Punic war, an agreement had been made

inter Romanum Pœnumque duces, ut, quæ pars
between the Roman and Carthaginian generals, that whichever party

reciperet plus quam daret, præstaret
should receive a greater number than he returned, should give

bina pondo et selibras argenti in militem. Cum
two pounds and a half of silver for each soldier. And when

Romanus recepisset plures quam Pœnus
the Roman had received a greater number than the Carthaginian,

ducentos quadraginta septem, argentumque
by two hundred and forty-seven, and the silver

debitum pro eis, re sæpe jactata
which was due for them, after the matter had been frequently agitated

in senatu, tardius erogaretur, quoniam
in the senate, was not promptly supplied because

non consulisset patres, misso filio Quinto Roman,
he had not consulted the fathers, he sent his son Quintus to Rome

vendidit agrum inviolatum ab hoste
and sold off his farm, uninjured by the enemy :

privatoque impendio exsolvit publicam fidem.
and at his own private expense acquitted the public faith.

Hannibal erat in stativis pro mœnibus Geronii,
Hannibal lay in a fixed camp before the walls of Geronium,

cujus urbis, captæ atque incensæ ab se, reliquerat
in which city, at its capture and burning by him, he had left

pauca tecta in usum horreorum. Inde
only a few buildings for the purpose of granaries : from hence

mittebat duas partes exercitus frumentatum ;
he generally detached two thirds of his army to forage ;

cum tertia expedita ipse erat in statione,
and with the third part kept in readiness, he himself remained on guard,

simul præsidio castris et circumspectans,
both as a protection to his camp and for the purpose of looking out

necunde impetus fieret in frumentatores.
lest from any quarter an attack should be made upon the foragers.

XXIV.—Romanus exercitus

erat

tunc

The Roman army

was

at that time

in agro Larinati.

Minucius

magister equitum

in the territory of Larinum.

Minucius,

the master of the horse,

præerat,

dictatore,

sicut

ante dictum est,

had the command of it,

the dictator,

as

was before mentioned,

profecto ad urbem.

Ceterum castra,

quæ posita fuerant

having gone to the city.

But the camp

which had been pitched,

in alto monte

ac tuto loco,

jam deferuntur

on a high mountain

in a secure post,

was now brought down

in planum,

calidioraque consilia

pro ingenio

to the plains;

and more spirited designs,

conformable to the genius

ducis

agitabantur,

ut fieret impetus

of the commander, were in agitation, with a view towards making an attack

aut in palatos frumentatores

aut in castra,

relicta

either on the dispersed foragers,

or on their camp

when left

cum levi præsidio.

Nec fefellit Hannibalem

with a slight guard.

It did not escape Hannibal's observation

rationem belli

mutatam esse

cum duce,

that the plan of the war

had been changed together with the general,

et hostes gesturos rem

ferocius

quam consultius.

and that the enemy would act with more boldness than prudence.

Ipse autem dimisit—

quod quis minime crederet,

He even despatched

(which one would scarcely credit,

cum hostis esset propius—

tertiam partem militum

as the foe

was so near)

a third part of his troops

frumentatum,

retentis duabus

in castris;

dein

to forage,

retaining the other two

in the camp. After that

movit castra ipsa

propius hostem

in tumulum,

he advanced the camp itself

closer to the enemy,

to a hill

ferme duo millia a Geronio,

conspectum hosti, ut

about two miles from Geronium,

and in sight of the enemy, that

sciret

esse intentum ad tutandos frumentatores,

they might be aware

that he was on the alert to protect his foragers,

si qua vis

fieret.

Inde tumulus ei apparuit

should any attempt be made upon them. From hence he saw a hill

propior atque imminens

ipsis castris

Romanorum :

nearer to and overhanging

the very camp

of the Romans :

quia, si iretur palam luce ad quem capiendum,
and because, if he marched openly in the daytime to seize on this,

hostis haud dubie præventurus erat breviora via,
the enemy would doubtless anticipate him by a shorter road,

Numidæ missi clam nocte ceperunt.
the Numidians, being sent privately in the night, took possession of it;

Quos tenentes locum, Romani,
whom, upon occupying that position, the Romans,

contempta paucitate, cum deiecissent postero die,
despising their small number, having dislodged on the following day

transferunt castra eo ipsi. Itaque tum,
transfer their camp thither themselves. So that then,

ut aberat exiguum spatii vallum a vallo,
as there was but a small interval between rampart and rampart,

et Romana acies prope tota compleverat id ipsum,
the Roman line had almost entirely filled that space :

simul et equitatus, cum levi armatura emissus
and at the same time the cavalry, with the light-infantry sent out

in frumentatores per aversa castra, fecit
against the foragers through the opposite part of the camp, effected

cædem fugamque palatorum hostium late.
a slaughter and flight of the scattered enemy far and wide.

Nec ausus Hannibal certare acie, quia
Nor dared Hannibal hazard a regular battle, for

tanta paucitate vix poterat tutari castra,
with such a small number of troops he was scarcely able to defend his camp,

si oppugnarentur. Jamque gerebat bellum—
even if it were attacked. And now he carried on the war

pars exercitus jam ferme aberat—
(one third of his army being at this time generally absent)

artibus Fabii sedendo et cunctando,
according to the plans of Fabius, lying still and creating delays,

recepertatque suos in priora castra, quæ erant
while he drew back his troops to their former camp, which was

pro moenibus Geronii. Quidam auctores sunt,
before the walls of Geronium. Some authors affirm

quoque dimicatum justa acie et collatis signis ;
that they even fought in regular line, and with encountering standards ;

primo concursu Pœnum fusum
 that in the first collision the Carthaginian was driven in disorder
 usque ad castra, inde eruptione repente facta,
 quite to his camp, from which a sally being suddenly made,
 terrorem versum in Romanos; prælium deinde restitutum
 the panic fell in turn upon the Romans; that the fight was afterwards restored
 interventu Numerii Decimii Samnitis. Hunc,
 by the coming up of Numerius Decimius, a Samnite. This man,
 principem genere ac divitiis non modo Boviani,
 the first in family and fortune not only at Bovianum,
 unde erat, sed toto Samnio, adducentem
 of which he was a native, but in all Samnium, when conducting
 in castra, jussu dictatoris octo millia peditum
 to the camp, by order of the dictator, eight thousand foot
 mille equites, cum apparuisset ab tergo Hannibali
 and one thousand horse, having shown himself on Hannibal's rear
 præbuisse utrique parti speciem novi præsidii
 presented to both parties the appearance of some fresh reinforcement
 venientis ab Roma cum Q Fabio. Hannibalem
 coming from Rome with Quintus Fabius. Hannibal,
 timentem quoque aliquid insidiarum recepisse suos;
 dreading likewise some stratagem, withdrew his troops;
 Romanum insecutum, adjuvante Samnite,
 the Roman pursued and, with the assistance of the Samnite,
 expugnasse duo castella eo die. Sex millia hostium
 took by storm two forts on that day. Six thousand of the enemy
 cæsa, admodum quinque Romanorum: tamen
 were slain, and about five thousand of the Romans. Yet,
 in clade tam prope pari famam perlatam Romam
 in the face of a loss so nearly equal, an account was sent to Rome
 egregiæ victoriæ cum litteris magistri equitum
 of a signal victory, and letters from the master of the horse
 vanioribus.
 still more ostentatious.

XXV.—De iis rebus actum est persæpe
 About these matters discussion was had very frequently,

et in senatu et in concione. Cum dictator
 both in the senate and in assemblies of the people. When the dictator
 unus, civitate læta, nihil crederet nec famæ
 alone, amidst the public rejoicing, gave no credit either to the news
 nec litteris; diceret, ut omnia essent vera,
 or to the letters; and affirmed that, though all were true,
 se timere magis secunda quam adversa :
 he should yet fear more from success than failure ;
 tum M. Metilius plebis tribunus negat
 then Marcus Metilius, a plebeian tribune, declares
 id enim esse ferendum : dictatorem
 that " such conduct surely was not to be endured ; the dictator,
 non solum præsentem obstitisse bene gerendæ
 not only when present, was an obstacle to the right management
 rei, sed etiam absentem
 of the business, but also, being absent from the camp,
 obstare gestæ ; et sedulo terere tempus
 opposed it still when achieved ; and studiously dallied
 in ducendo bello, quo sit diutius
 in his conduct of the war, in order that he might continue the longer
 in magistratu, habeatque solus imperium et Romæ
 in office, and hold sole command both at Rome
 et in exercitu : quippe alterum consulum cecidisse
 and in the army : since one of the consuls had fallen
 in acie, alterum specie persequendæ
 in the field, and the other, under pretext of pursuing
 Punicæ classis ablegatum procul ab Italia :
 a Carthaginian fleet, had been sent away far from Italy :
 duos prætores occupatos Sicilia atque Sardinia,
 the two prætors were employed in Sicily and Sardinia,
 neutra quarum provincia eget prætore hoc tempore.
 neither of which provinces required a prætor at this time.
 M. Minucius magistrum equitum habitum
 Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, was put
 prope in custodiam, ne videret hostem, ne gereret
 as it were under guard, lest he should see the enemy, and carry on
 quid bellicæ rei : itaque hercule non modo Samnium,
 any warlike operation : so that, in fact, not only Samnium,

quo jam concessum sit Pœnis tamquam
which had now been yielded to the Carthaginians, as if it were

agro trans Iberum, sed et Campanum Calenumque
land beyond the Iberus, but also the Campanian, Calenian,

et Falernum agrum pervastatos esse,
and Falernian territories had been devastated,

dictatore sedenti Casilini et legionibus
while the dictator was sitting down at Casilinum, and, with the legions

Romani populi tutante suum agrum. Exercitum
of the Roman people, protecting his own estate. The army

et magistrum equitum cupientem pugnare retentos
and the master of the horse, who were eager to fight, had been kept

prope clausos intra vallum, arma adempta
in a manner shut up within the rampart, and their arms taken from them,

tamquam captivis hostibus : tandem, ut
as from captured enemies : but at length, as soon as ever

dictator abscesserit inde, ut liberatos
the dictator had gone away, and they were freed

obsidione, egressos extra vallum fudisse
from their confinement, they passed beyond the trenches, defeated

hostes ac fugasse : ob quas res, si
the enemy, and put him to flight ; for all which reasons, if

antiquus animus esset Romanæ plebei, se
their ancient spirit were preserved to the Roman commons, he

audaciter laturum fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabii imperio ;
would have boldly moved for the abolishment of Fabius' command ;

nunc promulgaturum modicam rogationem
but now he would offer a moderate proposition,

de æquando jure magistri equitum et dictatoris :
to make the authority of the master of the horse and the dictator equal ;

tamen ne ita quidem Q. Fabium nec mittendum
and still, that even then Quintus Fabius should not be sent

ad exercitum prius, quam suffecisset consulem
to the army, until he should first substitute a consul

in locum C. Flamini. Dictator se abstinuit
in the room of Caius Flaminius." The dictator shunned

concionibus minime popularis
the assemblies, knowing that he was extremely unpopular

in actione : ne quidem in senatu audiebatur
 as regards public action ; nor even in the senate was he heard
 satis sequis auribus tunc, cum extolleret verbis
 with very favorable ears, especially when he spoke in high terms of
 hostem, referretque per temeritatem atque
 the enemy, and imputed to the rashness and
 incitiam ducum clades acceptas biennii,
 unskillfulness of the generals the disasters incurred in the last two years,
 diceretque magistro equitum reddendam esse rationem,
 and declared that "the master of the horse should be called to account
 quod pugnasset contra suum dictum. Si
 for having fought contrary to his orders. If
 summa imperii consilii sit penes se,
 the entire command and direction were in him,
 propediem effecturum, ut homines sciant,
 he would soon take care that people should be convinced,
 bono imperatore fortunam esse haud magni
 that with a good commander fortune is a matter of slight
 momenti, mentem rationemque dominari, et
 consideration ; that judgment and discretion govern all things ; and
 esse majorem gloriam servasse exercitum
 that it was more glorious for him to have saved the army
 in tempore et sine ignominia quam occidis-
 at a crisis, and without disgrace, than to have slain
 multa millia hostium. Habitis orationibus hujus
 many thousands of the enemy." Having often held discourses of this
 generis, et creato M. Atilio Regulo consule,
 kind, and having created Marcus Atilius Regulus consul,
 ne præsens dimicaret de jure
 the dictator, that he might not be present to dispute concerning the right
 imperii, abiit ad exercitum nocte
 of command, set out for the army during the night
 pridie quam dies adesset ferendæ rogationis. Cum
 previous to the day [at hand] for introducing the proposition. When
 esset concilium plebis, orta luce, tacita
 there was an assembly of the commons at break of day, a tacit
 invidia dictatoris favorque magistri equitum
 displeasure towards the dictator, and favor towards the master of the horse,

magis versabat animos, quam homines
rather engaged their minds, than *that* men

satis audebant prodire ad suadendum
had sufficient resolution to stand forth in advocacy of a measure

quod placebat vulgo, et, favore superante,
which was agreeable to the public; and, though favor carried it,

tamen auctoritas deerat rogationi. Unus inventus
yet influence was wanting to the bill. The only man found,

suasor legis est C. Terentius Varro, qui fuerat
as seconder of the law, was Caius Terentius Varro, who had been

prætor anno priore, ortus non solum humili
prætor the year before, sprung not only from humble

sed etiam sordido loco. Ferunt patrem fuisse lanium,
but mean parentage. They report that his father was a butcher,

institorem ipsum mercis, usumque hoc ipso filio
the retailer of his own meat, and that he employed this very son

in servilia ministeria ejus artis.
in the servile offices of that trade.

XXVI.—Is juvenis, ut primum pecunia
This young man, as soon as the money,

ex eo genere quæstus relicta a patre
gained from that kind of traffic, and left to him by his father,

fecit animos ad spem liberalioris
had roused his ambition towards the prospect of a more respectable

fortunæ, togaque et forum placuere,
station, and the gown and forum were the objects of his choice,

proclamando pro hominibus causisque sordidis
by declaiming vehemently in favor of men and causes of the basest sort,

adversus rem et famam bonorum,
in opposition to the interest and character of the good,

primum pervenit in notitiam populi, deinde ad
first came to the notice of the people, and then to

honores. Perfunctusque quæstura et duabus
offices of honor. Having passed through the quæstorship, two

sedilitatibus— plebeia et curuli— et postremo
sedileships, the plebeian and curule, and lastly,

prætura, cum jam attolleret animos ad spem
 the prætorship; when now he raised his mind to the hope
 consulatus, haud parum callide petiit auram
 of the consulship, with not a little shrewdness he courted the gale
 popularis favoris ex invidia dictatoria tulitque unus
 of popular favor by malignment of the dictator, and received alone
 gratiam sciti plebis. Præter
 the credit of the order passed by the people. Excepting
 dictatorem ipsum, omnes quique erant Romæ
 the dictator himself, all men, both at Rome
 quique in exercitu, æqui atque iniqui, acceperunt
 and in the army, both friends and foes, considered
 eam rogationem latam in contumeliam ejus.
 this measure to have been passed as an insult to him.
 Ipse, eadem gravitate animi, qua tulerat
 But he, with the same steadiness of mind wherewith he had borne with
 inimicos criminantes se ad multitudinem, tulit
 his enemies when impeaching him before the multitude, bore
 et injuriam in se populi
 likewise this ill-treatment thrown on him by the people
 æsiventis; acceptisque in ipso itinere
 in the heat of passion; and though receiving on his journey
 litteris senatus consulti de æquato
 a letter containing a decree of the senate respecting the equalization
 imperio satis fidens, cum jure
 of authority, yet being fully confident that, together with the right
 imperii artem imperandi haudquaquam
 of command, the skill of the commanding parties had not by any means
 æquatam, rediit ad exercitum, cumque animo
 been made equal, he returned to the army with a spirit
 invicto a civibus hostibusque.
 unsubdued alike by his countrymen and by the enemy.

XXVII.—Vero Minucius, cum ante jam
 But Minucius, while before now,

secundis rebus ac favore vulgi fuisset
 in view of his success and the favor of the populace, he was

vix tolerabilis, tum utique immodice immodesteque
scarcely tolerable, now indeed without *restraint* of modesty or moderation

gloriari non magis ab se victo Hannibale
openly boasted not more in his having conquered Hannibal

quam Q. Fabio: illum quæsitum
than Quintus Fabius. "That he who had been sought out

in asperis rebus unicum ducem ac parem Hannibali,
in their distress as the only general, and a match for Hannibal;

quod nulla memoria annalium habeat,
that he, (an event which no record of history contains,)

jussu populi æquatam, majorem
was, by order of the people, put on a level with himself,— a superior

minori, dictatorem magistro equitum,
magistrate with an inferior, a dictator with the master of the horse,—

in eadem civitate, in qua magistris equitum
in that very city wherein the masters of the horse

soliti sint tremere atque horrere virgas ac secures
are wont to cringe and tremble at the rods and axes

dictatoris: in tantum suam virtutem felicitatemque
of the dictator: so brightly had his valor and success

enituisse: se ergo secuturum suam fortunam,
shone forth. He therefore would follow up his own good fortune,

si dictator perstaret in cunctatione ac segnitie,
should the dictator persist in his delay and sloth,

damnata judicio deorum hominumque. Itaque,
condemned by the judgment both of gods and men." Accordingly,

quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio ait
on the day he first met Fabius, he told him

primum omnium statuendum esse, quemadmodum
that "they ought, in the first place, to determine in what manner

utantur imperio æquato: se ducere
they should exercise the command thus equalized: he was of opinion

optimum alterius esse summum jus
the best method would be, that each should hold the supreme authority

imperiumque aut alternis diebus, aut, si majora
and command either on alternate days, or, if longer

intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus,
intervals were more agreeable, for certain fixed periods;

ut, si habuisset quam occasionem
to the end that, if he should meet any favorable opportunity
 rei gerendæ, esset par hosti non solum
of acting, he might be a match for the enemy, not only

consilio, sed etiam viribus. Q. Fabio id
in conduct but likewise in strength." To Quintus Fabius this proposal
 haudquaquam placere: enim fortunam habituram
was not at all satisfactory: for "fortune, he said, would have

omnia, quæcumque temeritas collegæ
the disposal of everything which the rashness of his collegæ
 habuisset: sibi imperium communicatum esse
had: his command had been shared

cum illo, non ademptum; se nunquam itaque
with him, and not taken away; he would never, therefore,

volentem cessurum gerendarum rerum,
voluntarily resign the privilege of conducting the war,

qua parte posset, consilio: se
in whatever post he could, with prudence and discretion: he

nec divisurum tempora aut dies imperii cum eo,
would not divide times or days of command with him;

exercitum, suisque consiliis servaturum
but he would divide the troops, and, by his own counsels, would preserve

quæ posset, quoniam non liceret
as much as he could, since it was not allowed him to save

omnia. Ita obtinuit, ut dividerent legiones
the whole." Thus he carried it, that they should divide the legions

inter se, sicut esset mos consulibus: prima et quarta
between them, as was the practice with consuls: the first and fourth

evenērunt Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio:
fell to Minucius, the second and third to Fabius.

item diviserunt pari numero equites, auxiliaque
They likewise divided in equal numbers the cavalry, and the auxiliaries

socium et Latini nominis. Magister equitum
of the allies and of the Latin name. The master of the horse

voluit quoque se castris separari.
chose also that they should encamp separately.

XXVIII.—Duplex fuit Hannibali gaudium inde :—

Twofold was

Hannibal's joy over this ;

enim neque quidquam eorum, quæ agerentur
 (indeed none of the measures, which were being taken
 apud hostes, fallebat eum, explorantem
 among the enemy, escaped him getting intelligence as he did
 et per suos, et perfugis indicantibus multa.
 both through his spies, and the deserters revealing many things ;)
 nam et temeritatem Minucii liberam
 for the temerity of Minucius, now unrestrained,
 se captaturum suo modo, et dimidium virium
 he could entrap at his will ; and half the force
 sollertiæ Fabii decessisse. Inter castra
 of the sagacity of Fabius had vanished. Between the camps
 Minucii et Pœnorum erat tumulus, quem
 of Minucius and the Carthaginians stood a hill, of which,
 qui occupasset haud dubie facturus erat
 whoever took possession would evidently render
 hosti locum iniquiorem. Hannibal
 his enemy's situation more inconvenient. Hannibal
 non tam volebat capere eum sine certamine,
 was not so desirous of seizing it without a dispute,
 quamquam id erat pretium operæ, quam contrahere
 (even though it were worth his while,) as to raise
 causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem
 occasion for an engagement with Minucius, who
 satis sciebat semper occursurum
 he well knew, would at all times throw himself in his way
 ad obsistendum. Omnis medius ager erat prima
 to oppose him. The whole intervening ground was, at first
 specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modò
 view, impracticable for an ambuscade[r], for not only
 habebat quidquam silvestre, sed nequidem vestitum
 had it no part that was woody, but none even covered
 vepribus ; re ipsa natus
 with brambles ; in reality, however, it was formed by nature
 tegendis insidiis, eo magis, quod in nuda valle
 to secure an ambush, especially as, in a naked vale,

nulla fraus talis poterat timeri : et erant
no snare of that sort could be apprehended ; and there were besides

in anfractibus cavæ rupes, ut quædam earum
at the skirts of it hollow rocks, such that some of them

possent capere ducenos armatos. In has
were capable of containing two hundred armed men. In these

latebras conduntur quinque millia equitum
concealments were lodged five thousand horse

peditumque, quot poterant apte
and foot, distributed in such numbers as could conveniently

insidere quemque locum. Tamen necubi
post themselves in each place. However, lest in any part

motus alicujus egressi temere aut fulgor
the motion of any of them, coming out inconsiderately, or the glittering

armorum detegeret fraudem in tam aperta valle,
of their arms, should discover the stratagem in so open a valley,

avertit hostium oculos, missis paucis prima luce
he diverted the enemy's attention by sending a few troops at the first dawn

ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum.
to seize on the before-mentioned eminence.

Statim primo conspectu paucitas contempta,
Immediately on the first view of them, their small number was despised,

ac quisque deposcere sibi pellendos inde hostes
and each man demanded for himself the task of dislodging the enemy,

ac capiendum locum. Dux ipse inter
and securing the hill. The general himself, among

stolidissimos ferocissimosque vocat ad arma, et
the most foolish and presumptuous, called to arms, and

increpat hostem vanis animis et minis : principio
inveighed against the enemy with vain parade and menaces. First

dimittit levem armaturam, deinde mittit equites
he sends out his light-infantry ; then despatches the cavalry

conferto agmine ; postremo, cum videret subsidia
in a close body ; lastly, on perceiving that reinforcements

quoque mitti hostibus, procedit legionibus
were also being sent to the enemy, he advances with the legions

instructis. Hannibal et mittens, ut
in order of battle. Hannibal also, sending up, as

certamine crescente, equitum peditumque
the contest increased, bodies of horse and foot,
alia atque alia auxilia suis laborantibus,
one after another, as aids to his men when distressed,
jam expleverat justam aciem, ac certatur
had now completed a regular line, and the contest was maintained
totis viribus utrimque. Prima levis armatura
with the whole force of both sides. First the light infantry
Romanorum succedens inferiore loco tumultum
of the Romans, marching up from the lower ground to the hill
præoccupatum, pulsa detrusaque
already occupied by the enemy, being repulsed and pushed down,
intulit terrorem in equitem succedentem, et
carried terror among the cavalry advancing in their rear, and
refugit ad signa legionum : acies peditum
fled back to the standards of the legions. The line of infantry
sola erat impavida inter percussos, videbaturque
alone stood undismayed amidst the panic-struck; and it appeared
haudquaquam futura impar, si esset
that they would by no means have been inferior to the enemy, had it been
justa ac si recta pugna : tantum animorum
a fair and regular battle, so much confidence
prosperè res gesta paucos dies ante fecerat. Sed
did the successful action a few days before inspire. But
insidiatores exorti repente, incursantes
the troops in ambush rising on a sudden, and charging them
in utrimque latera ab tergoque fecerunt eum tumultum
on both flanks and on their rear, caused such confusion
terroremque, ut neque cuique superesset animus
and consternation, that no one retained either courage
ad pugnam neque spes ad fugam.
to fight, or hope of escape.

XXIX.—Tum Fabius, primo audito clamore
Then Fabius first having heard the shout

paventium, deinde conspecta procul acie turbata,
of the terrified troops, and afterwards seen at a distance their line in disorder

inquit, "est ita, fortuna deprehendit temeritatem,
exclaims, "It is so; fortune has found out rashness,

non celerius quam timui: æquatus Fabio imperio,
but not sooner than I feared. Equalled to Fabius in command,

videt Hannibalem superiorem et virtute et fortuna.
he sees Hannibal his superior both in bravery and success.

Sed aliud erit tempus iurgandi succensendique:
But another will be the time for reproof and resentment:

proferte signa nunc extra vallum: extorqueamus
advance your standards now beyond the trenches. Let us extort

victoriam hosti, civibus
the victory from the enemy, and from our countrymen

confessionem erroris." Magna ex parte alii
an acknowledgment of their error." When a great number

jam cæsis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam,
were now slain, and others looking about for a way to escape,

repente Fabiana acies ostendit se, velut dimissa cælo
on a sudden Fabius' army showed itself, as if sent down from heaven

ad auxilium: itaque, priusquam veniret
to their relief; and thus, before he came

ad teli conjectum aut manum consereret,
within a weapon's throw or joined battle,

et continuit suos a effusa fuga, et hostes
he both stayed his friends from their precipitate flight, and the enemy

ab nimis feroci pugna. Qui ordinibus
from excessive fierceness of fighting. Those, who upon their ranks

solutis dissipati erant vage, confugerunt
being broken had been scattered up and down, flocked together

undique ad integram aciem; qui dederant terga
from all sides to the fresh army; such as fled

plures simul, conversi in hostem
in great numbers together, faced about upon the enemy,

volventesque orbem, nunc referre pedem sensim,
and, forming a circle, now retreat leisurely,

nunc conglobati restare: ac jam exercitus
then, concentrating themselves, stand firm. And now the two armies,

victi atque integri prope facta erat una acies,
the vanquished and the fresh, had almost formed one front,

inferebantque signa in hostem, cum Poenus
and were bearing their standards against the foe, when the Carthaginians
cecinit receptui, Hannibale palam ferente Minucium
sounded a retreat; Hannibal openly declaring that as Minucius

victum ab se, se ab Fabio.
had been conquered by him, so he was himself conquered by Fabius.

Majore parte diei ita exacta per variam fortunam,
The greater part of the day having thus been spent with varying success,

cum reditum esset in castra, Minucius,
when the troops returned into their camps, Minucius,

convocatis militibus, inquit, "milites, ego sæpe audiui,
calling his men together, said: "Soldiers, I have often heard

eum esse primum, qui ipse consulat, quid sit in rem,
that he is the greatest man who, of himself, counsels what is expedient;

secundum eum, qui obediat bene monenti:
that the next is he who listens to the one that gives good advice;

eum, qui nec ipse consulere, nec sciat
and that he who neither can himself form good counsels, nor knows

parere alteri, esse extremi ingenii. Quoniam
how to obey another, is of the very lowest capacity. Now since

sors negata est nobis prima animi ingenique,
our lot has denied us the first rank in mind and talent,

teneamus secundam ac mediam; et, dum
let us maintain the second and intermediate one; and, until

discimus imperare, inducamus in animum
we learn to command, let us prevail upon ourselves

parere prudenti. Jungamus castra cum Fabio:
to submit to a man of prudence. Let us join camps with Fabius;

cum tulerimus signa ad ejus prætorium,
and, when we shall have carried our standards to his quarters,

ubi ego appellavero eum patrem, quod dignum est
when I shall have saluted him by the title of father, which he deserves

ejus beneficio erga nos ac ejus majestate, milites
for his kindness towards us, and his high dignity; then, soldiers,

vos salutabitis patronos eos, quorum arma
you will salute, as your patrons, those men whose arms

dexteræque modo texerunt vos, et hic dies
and whose prowess have just now protected you; and then this day

dederit nobis— si nihil aliud— certe gloriam
 will have conferred upon us, if nothing else, at least the glory
 gratorum animorum.”
of possessing grateful hearts.”

XXX.—Signo dato, inde conclamatur,
 The signal being given, there was now a general call,
 ut colligantur vasa. Profecti et incedentes
 to collect the baggage. They *then* set out, and, marching
 agmine castra dictatoris converterunt et ipsum
 in a body to the camp of the dictator, they threw him
 et omnes, qui erant circa in admirationem. Ut signa
 and all [who were] around into *great* surprise. When the standards
 constituta sunt ante tribunal, magister equitum
 had been planted before the tribunal, the master of the horse
 progressus ante alios cum appellasset Fabium patrem,
 advancing before the rest, having saluted Fabius *as* father,
 totumque agmen ejus militum consalutasset
 and the whole body of his men having, with one voice, saluted
 circumfusus patronos, inquit, “dictator,
those who stood around *as* their patrons, said, “Dictator,
 meis parentibus, quibus modo æquavi te nomine,
 to my parents to whom I have just now compared you, in the *only* name
 quo possum fando, debeo vitam tantum, tibi
 by which I could address myself, I am indebted for life only; to you,
 cum meam salutem tum omnium horum :
 both for my *own* preservation and *that* of all these *present*.
 plebeiscitum itaque, quo oneratus sum
 That order of the people, therefore, by which I have been oppressed
 magis quam honoratus, primus antiquo abrogoque ;
 rather than honored, I *am* the first to cancel and annul ;
 et, quod sit felix tibi mihiq̄ue, quod hisque
 and, (so may it be happy to you, to me, and to these
 tuis exercitiis— servato ac conservatori,
 your armies, the preserved and the preserver,)
 redeo sub tuum imperium auspiciūque, et restituo
 I return to your authority and auspices, and restore to you

hæc signa legionesque. Quæso, placatus
 these standards and these legions. I entreat you that, being reconciled,
 tu jubeas me tenere magistri equitum, hos
 you will order me to retain the post of master of the horse, and these,
 suos quemque ordines." Tum dextræ interjunctæ,
 their several ranks." Upon this hands were joined,
 que, concione dimissa, milites benigne
 and, on the meeting being dismissed, the soldiers were kindly
 atque hospitaliter invitati ab notis ignotisque,
 and hospitably invited by those known to them and unknown :
 diesque ex paulo ante tristi admodum
 and that day, from having been a little while ago gloomy in the extreme,
 ac prope execrabili factus lætus. Romæ,
 and almost accursed, was turned into a day of joy. At Rome,
 ut fama rei gestæ est perlata, dein affirmata
 when a report of the action was conveyed thither, and afterwards confirmed
 litteris, non magis imperatorum ipsorum,
 by letters not only from the generals themselves,
 quam vulgo militum ex utroque exercitu,
 but from great numbers of the soldiers in both armies,
 pro se quisque ferre laudibus Maximum ad cælum.
 all men individually extolled Maximus to the skies.
 Par erat gloria apud Hannibalem Pœnosque
 Equal was his renown with Hannibal and the Carthaginians,
 hostes; ac tum demum sentire, esse bellum
 his enemies; and then at length they perceived that they were engaged in war
 cum Romanis atque in Italia. Nam biennio ante
 with Romans and in Italy: for during the two years past
 adeo spreverant et Romanos duces
 they had cherished such utter contempt both for the Roman generals
 et milites, ut vix crederent esse bellum
 and soldiers, that they could scarcely believe they were waging war
 cum eadem gente, cujus acceperant a patribus
 with the same nation, of which they had received from their fathers
 eam terribilem famam. Ferunt quoque Hannibalem
 such a terrible character. They relate also, that Hannibal,
 redeuntem ex acie dixisse eam nubem, quæ
 as returning from the field, observed that "the cloud, which

solita sit sedere in jugis montium, tandem dediasse
 used to settle on the tops of the mountains, had at last discharged
 imbrem cum procella.
 its rain in a storm."

XXXI.—Dum hæc geruntur in Italia,
 While these events transpire in Italy,
 Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe
 Cneius Servilius Geminus, the consul, with a fleet
 centum viginti navium circumvectus oram Sardinie
 of one hundred and twenty ships sailed round the coast of Sardinia
 et Corsicæ, et acceptis obsidibus utrimque,
 and Corsica; and, having received hostages in both places,
 transmisit in Africam; et priusquam faceret
 crossed over into Africa: and before he made
 excensionem in continentem, vastata insula
 a descent upon the continent, having laid waste the island
 Menige, et acceptis ab incolentibus Cercinam
 of Meninx, and received from the inhabitants of Cercina
 decem talentis argenti ne ipsorum ager et ureretur
 ten talents of silver in order that their fields too might not be burnt
 diripereturque, accessit ad litora Africae,
 and pillaged, he drew near to the shores of Africa,
 exposuitque copias. Inde milites ducti ad populandum
 and disembarked his forces. Here the soldiers were led out to ravage
 agrum, navalesque socii effusi juxta, ac si
 the country, and the crews scattered about just as if
 prædarentur egentibus cultorum insulis.
 they were plundering unpopulous islands:
 Itaque illati temere in insidias, cum
 and thus, having fallen unawares into a snare, when
 circumvenirentur, ignari locorum ab gnaris,
 they were surrounded,—the ignorant of the country by those acquainted
 et palantes a frequentibus,—compulsi sunt
 with it, the straggling by those in close array, they were driven back
 ad naves foeda fuga ac cum multa cæde.
 to their ships in a disgraceful flight, and with great carnage.

Ad mille hominum, cum iis Sempronio Blæso
 As many as one thousand men, among them Sempronius Blæsus

quæstore amisso classis, trepide soluta
 the quæstor, having been lost, the fleet hastily setting sail

ab litoribus plenis hostium, tenuit cursum
 from the shore, which was crowded with the enemy, steered its course

in Siciliam, Lilybæique tradita prætori
 towards Sicily, and at Lilybæum was delivered to the prætor

T. Otacilio, ut reduceretur Roman
 Titus Otacilius, that it might be taken back to Rome

ab ejus legato P. Sura. Ipse, profectus
 by his lieutenant-general Publius Sura. The consul himself, proceeding

per Siciliam pedibus, trajecit freto in Italiam,
 through Sicily on foot, crossed the strait into Italy,

et ipse accitus et ejus collega
 [both he] having been summoned, as well as his colleague

M. Atilius litteris Q. Fabii,
 Marcus Atilius, by a letter from Quintus Fabius, in order

ut acciperent exercitus ab se, semestri
 that they might receive the armies from him, as the six months

imperio jam prope exacto. Prope omnium annales
 the term of his office was nearly expired. Almost all the annalists

tradunt Fabium gessisse rem adversus Hannibalem
 record that Fabius conducted the war against Hannibal

dictatorem : Cœlius etiam scribit eum
 in the capacity of dictator. Cœlius even remarks that he

primum dictatorem creatum a populo : sed
 was the first dictator created by the people. But

fugit et Cœlium et ceteros, jus
 it escaped the notice of Cœlius and the rest, that the privilege

dicendi dictatoris fuisse uni Cn. Servilio consuli
 of appointing that officer belonged solely to Cneius Servilius the consul

qui tum procul aberat in provincia Gallia
 who was then far distant from home in the province of Gaul ;

quia civitas territa jam clade non poterat exspectare
 and that as the state, terrified by the late disaster, could not abide

quam moram, decursum esse eo ut
 the delay, it had recourse to the determination that an officer

crearetur a populo, qui esset pro dictatore :
 should be elected by the people who should serve as prodicator
 res inde gestas insignemque gloriam ducis
 that his subsequent achievements, his distinguished renown as a general
 et posteros augentes titulum imaginis,
 and his descendants who exaggerated the inscription of his statue,
 facile obtinuisse, ut diceretur dictator, qui
 easily brought it about that he should be called dictator who
 pro dictatore.
 was but prodicator.

XXXII.—Consules
 The consuls, accepto exercitu,
 having taken command of the armies,
 Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius
 Atilius of that of Fabius, and Geminus Servilius of that
 Minuciano, communis hibernaculis mature—
 of Minucius, and having fortified the winter-quarters in good time,
 erat medium autumn— gesserunt bellum
 (it was about the middle of autumn,) carried on the war
 artibus Fabii cum summa concordia
 according to the plans of Fabius, and with the utmost harmony
 inter se. Hannibali exercitu frumentatum
 between themselves. On Hannibal's going out to forage,
 opportuni aderant diversis locis,
 watching their opportunity they fell on him in different places,
 carpentes agmen excipientesque palatos :
 harassing him on his march, and cutting off stragglers ;
 non veniebant in casum universæ dimicationis,
 but never came to the chance of a general engagement,
 quam hostis omnibus artibus petebat :
 which the enemy, by every artifice, sought to bring about ;
 Hannibalque coactus est adeo inopiæ, ut,
 and Hannibal was reduced to such a degree of want, that,
 nisi timuisset abundum cum
 had he not been afraid he must withdraw his troops under
 specie fugæ, repetiturus fuerit Galliam,
 the appearance of flight, he would have returned to Gaul.

nulla spe relictæ alendi exercitus in eis locis, si
 as no hope was left of supporting his army in those places, if

insequentes consules gererent bellum eisdem artibus.
 the succeeding consuls should carry on the war upon the same plan.

Cum ad Geronium bellum constitisset
 While, about Geronium, hostilities had come to a stand,

hieme jam impediēte, legati venere Romam,
 the winter now obstructing *their progress*, ambassadors came to Rome

Neapolitani. Quadraginta aureæ pateræ magni ponderis
 from Neapolis. Forty golden bowls of great weight

illatæ ab iis in curiam, atque verba facta
 were brought by them into the senate-house, and a speech delivered

ita, ut dicerent : sese scire ærarium
 to such effect, [that they said,] "They knew that the treasury

Romani populi exhauriri bello ; et, cum
 of the Roman people was exhausted by the war ; and since

geratur juxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum
 the *latter* was conducted alike in defence of the cities and lands of the allies,

ac pro imperio atque urbe Romana, capite atque arce
 and of the empire and city of Rome, the capital and bulwark

Italix, Neapolitanos censuisse æquum juvare
 of Italy, the Neapolitans had thought it reasonable that they *should* assist

Romanum populum eo, quod auri relictum foret sibi
 the Roman people with whatever gold had been left them

a majoribus cum ad ornatum templorum
 by their ancestors as well for the decoration of *their* temples

tum ad subsidium fortunæ. Si crederent
 as for the relief of *misfortune*. If they had thought

quam opem in sese, oblaturus fuisse
there was any resource in themselves, they would have offered it

eodem studio. Romanos patres populumque
 with the same zeal. The Roman senate and people

facturum sibi gratum, si duxissent omnes res
 would do them a favor, if they should consider all the goods

Neapolitanorum suas, judicaverintque dignos,
 of the Neapolitans as their own ; and think them worthy *enough*

acciperent ab quibus donum, majus
 to accept from them a present, which was more valuable

ampliusque animo ac voluntate eorum, qui darent
 and important from the disposition and wishes of those who gave it
 libentes, quam re. Gratiae actæ
 with cheerfulness, than from its intrinsic worth." Thanks were rendered
 legatis pro cura munificentiaque; patera,
 to the ambassadors for their attention and generosity, and one bowl
 qui fuit minimi ponderis, accepta.
 which was the least in weight, was accepted.

XXXIII.—Per eosdem dies Carthaginiensis
 During the same days, a Carthaginian
 speculator, qui fefellerat per biennium,
 spy, who had escaped detection for two years,
 deprehensus Romæ, manibusque præcis
 was apprehended at Rome, and, his hands having been cut off,
 dimissus; et quinque et viginti servi,
 was sent away: and twenty-five slaves,
 quod conjurassent in Campo Martio in crucem acti:
 for having formed a conspiracy in the field of Mars, were crucified;
 libertas data indici et viginti millia æris
 his freedom was given to the informer, and twenty thousand asses
 gravis. Legati et missi ad Philippum
 of the heavy standard. Ambassadors were also sent to Philip,
 regem Macedonum ad deprecandum Demetrium
 king of the Macedonians, to demand Demetrius
 Pharium, qui, victus bello, fugisset ad eum;
 of Pharia, who, being defeated in war, had fled to him;
 alii et in Ligures ad expostulandum
 others were sent also to the Ligurians to expostulate
 quod juvissent Poenum suis opibus
 on their having assisted the Carthaginian with their substance
 auxiliisque; simul ad visendum,
 and with auxiliaries, and at the same time to observe
 quæ gererentur ex propinquo in Boiis
 what was doing in the neighborhood among the Boians
 atque Insubribus. Legati quoque missi in Illyrios
 and Insubrians. Delegates were also sent to the Illyrians

ad Pineum regem ad poscendum stipendium, cujus
to Pineus the king, to demand the tribute, of which

dies exierat, aut, si vellet proferre
the day of payment had elapsed; or, if he wished to postpone

diem, accipiendos obsides. Adeo, etsi ingens bellum
the day, to receive hostages. Thus, though an arduous war

erat in cervicibus, cura nullius rei
was on their shoulders, no attention to any business of the state

usquam terrarum, ne quidem longinqua, effugiebat
in any part of the world, however remote, escapes

Romanos. Venit in religionem etiam,
the Romans. It was matter of religious concernment also,

ædem Concordiæ, quam L. Manlius prætor
that the temple of Concord, which Lucius Manlius, the prætor,

vovisset in Gallia biennio ante per seditionem
had vowed in Gaul two years before, on occasion of the mutiny

militarem, non locatam esse ad id tempus.
of the soldiers, had not been set about up to that time.

Itaque Cn. Pupius et Cæso Quinctius Flaminius,
Accordingly, Cneius Pupius and Cæso Quinctius Flaminius,

creati duumviri ad eam rem a M. Æmilio
constituted duumvirs for that purpose by Marcus Æmilius

prætoris urbis, locaverunt faciendam ædem in arce.
prætor of the city, contracted for the building of the temple in the citadel.

Ab eodem prætore ex senatus consulto
By the same prætor, in pursuance of a decree of the senate,

litteræ missæ ad consules, ut, si iis videretur,
a letter was sent to the consuls, that, if they thought proper,

alter eorum veniret Romam ad creandos consules;
one of them should come to Rome to elect consuls (*i. e. successors*);

se edicturum comitia in eam quam diem
and that he would proclaim the election for whatever day

jussissent. Ad hæc rescriptum consulibus,
they might name. To this it was replied by the consuls that,

sine detrimento rei publicæ non posse abscedi
“without detriment to the commonwealth they could not go to any distance

ab hoste: esse potius itaque comitia
from the enemy that it would be better, therefore, that the election

habenda per interregem, quam alter consulum
 should be held by an interrex, than that one of the consuls

avocaretur a bello. Visum est rectius
 should be called away from the war." It was deemed more advisable

patribus, dictatorem dici a consule
 by the senate, that a dictator should be nominated by a consul

causa habendorum comitiorum: L. Veturius Philo
 for the purpose of holding the election; Lucius Veturius Philo,

dictus dixit M' Pomponium Mathonem
 being accordingly nominated, appointed Manius Pomponius Matho

magistrum equitum. Iis creatis vitio
 master of the horse. These having been created with some defect,

jussisque quarto decimo die abdicare se magistratu,
 and ordered on the fourteenth day to abdicate their offices,

res rediit ad interregnum.
 the state came to an interregnum.

XXXIV.—Consulibus imperium prorogatum
 To the consuls the authority was continued
 in annum. C. Claudius Centho, filius Appii,
 for another year. Caius Claudius Centho, son of Appius

inde P. Cornelius Asina proditi sunt interreges
 and then Publius Cornelius Asina, were declared interreges

a patribus. In interregno ejus comitia habita
 by the fathers. During the interregnum of the latter the election was held,

magno certamine patrum ac plebis.
 with a violent contest between the patricians and plebeians.

C. Terentio Varroni—quem vulgus et nitebatur
 Caius Terentius Varro, whom the populace strove hard

extrahere ad consulatum, hominem sui generis,
 to raise to the consulship, as being a person of his own rank,

conciliatum plebi insectatione principum
 endeared to the people by his malignment of the patricians

popularibusque artibus, ab concusso
 and other popular arts, and who, upon the decline

dictatorio imperio et opibus Q. Fabii
 of the dictatorial authority and the influence of Quintus Fabius

splendentem aliena invidia—
was deriving lustre from others' displeasure against the dictator,—
 patres obstabant summa ope, ne homines
the patricians opposed with their utmost efforts, lest men,
 insectando se assuescerent æquari
by inveighing against them, should come to be placed on an equality
 sibi. Q. Bæbius Herennius tribunus plebis,
with them. Quintus Bæbius Herennius, a plebeian tribune,
 cognatus C. Terentii, criminando non modo senatum,
a relation of Caius Terentius, by criminating not only the senate,
 sed etiam augures, quod prohibuissent dictatorem
but likewise the augurs, for having prevented the dictator
 perficere comitia, per invidiam eorum
from completing the election, by the odium cast upon them
 conciliabat favorem suo candidato :
conciliated favor to his own candidate.
 ab nobilibus hominibus, per multos annos
He asserted that, by certain of the nobility, who had for many years
 quærentibus bellum, Hannibalem adductum
been wishing for a war, Hannibal had been brought
 in Italiam ; ab iisdem bellum fraude trahi,
into Italy : that by the same men the war was treacherously prolonged,
 cum possit debellari : eo,
though it might have been brought to a conclusion : that from the fact
 quod M. Minucius pugnasset prospere
that Marcus Minucius had fought with success
 absente Fabio, apparuisse posse pugnari
in the absence of Fabius, it was evident they could fight their battles
 cum quattuor universis legionibus ; duas legiones
with an army consisting of four entire legions ; that two legions
 objectas hosti ad cædem, deinde ereptas
had been exposed to the enemy for slaughter, and then were rescued
 ex ipsa cæde, ut appellaretur
from absolute destruction. in order that the man should be saluted
 pater patronusque, qui prohibuisset Romanos vincere
as father and patron, who had hindered the Romans from conquering
 priusquam vinci : deinde consules
before he prevented their defeat : that subsequently the consuls had,

artibus Fabianis
on the plan of Fabius,

traxisse bellum,
protracted the war,

cum
when

possent
they had it in their power

debellare :
to bring it to an end :

id
that this was

foedus
an agreement

ictum
contracted

inter omnes nobiles ;
between all the nobles ;

nec
nor

habitueros finem belli ante, quam fecissent consulem
would they see an end of the war until they had created *as* consul

vere plebeium, id est novum hominem : nam plebeios
a real plebeian, that is, a new man : for that plebeians

nobiles jam initiatos esse eisdem sacris,
who had attained nobility were now initiated into the self-same mysteries,

et, ex quo desierint contemni patribus,
and from *the moment* when they ceased to be despised by the patricians,

coepisse
they began

contemnere plebem :
to look with contempt on the commons.

cui
To whom

id non apparere,
was it not obvious,

id actum et quæsitum esse,
that their end and object was,

ut
that

interregnum iniretur,
an interregnum should be formed,

ut
in order that

comitia
the elections

essent in potestate
might be in the power

patrum ?
of the patricians ?

Ambos
That both

consules
the consuls

id quæsisse morando ad exercitum :
had that in view in tarrying with the army :

postea,
and that afterwards,

quia
when,

iis invitis
contrary to their wishes,

dictator esset dictus
a dictator had been nominated

causa
for the purpose

comitiorum,
of holding the election,

id expugnatum esse,
as it were, by storm,

ut

dictator fieret

vitiosus per augures :
defective by the augurs :

that the appointment should be pronounced

eos igitur habere
that they therefore had gotten

interregnum ;
an interregnum ;

certe
but certainly

unum consulatum esse
one consulate was

Romanæ plebis :
in the hands of the Roman commons,

populum habiturum liberum ac daturum ei,
which the people would dispose of impartially, and would bestow on that man

qui	magis malit	vincere vere	quam
who	rather wished	to conquer effectually	than
diu imperare.			
to continue long in command.			

XXXV.—Cum plebs accensa esset his orationibus,
When the commons had been inflamed by these harangues,
petentibus tribus patriciis, P. Cornelio Merenda,
though there stood candidates three patricians, Publius Cornelius Merenda,
L. Manlio Vulsone, M. Æmilio Lepido, duobus
Lucius Manlius Vulso, and Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, and two
familiarum plebei jam nobilibus, C. Atilio Serrano
of plebeian families, *who were* now ennobled, Caius Atilius Serranus
et Q. Ælio Pæto, quorum alter erat pontifex
and Quintus Ælius Pæstus, one of whom was pontiff,
alter augur, C. Terentius unus creatur consul,
the other augur, yet Caius Terentius Varro alone was elected consul,
ut comitia rogando collegæ essent
in order that the comitia for choosing his colleague might be
in ejus manu. Tum nobilitas, experta fuisse
under his control. Then the nobles, finding that there was
parum virium in ejus competitoribus, compellit
not sufficient strength on the side of his competitors, force
ad petitionem, diu ac multum recusantem,
into the candidacy, after he had long and earnestly refused,
L. Æmiliū Paulum infestum plebei
Lucius Æmilius Paulus, a determined enemy of the people,
qui fuerat consul cum M. Livio
the same who had been consul before with Marcus Livius,
et damnatione collegæ et prope sua
and from the condemnation of his colleague and almost of himself
evaserat ambustus. Proximo die comitiali, annibus,
had come off scathed. On the next day of assembly, all
qui certaverant cum Varrone, concedentibus, datur
who had contended against Varro withdrawing, is given
consuli magis par in adversandum quam collega.
to the consul rather as a match to oppose him than as a colleague.

Comitia prætoria inde habita : M' Pomponius Matho
The election of prætors was then held, and Manius Pomponius Matho

et P. Furius Philus creati : urbana sors
and Publius Furius Philus were chosen : the city lot

dicundo juri Romæ evenit Pomponio,
for the administration of justice at Rome fell to Pomponius ;

inter Romanos cives et peregrinos Philo.
between Roman citizens and foreigners, to Philus

Duo prætores additi, M. Claudius Marcellus
Two prætors were added, Marcus Claudius Marcellus

in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam :
for Sicily, and Lucius Postumius Albinus for Gaul.

omnes creati sunt absentes, nec honos,
All these were appointed in their absence ; nor was an honor

quem non jam antea gessisset, mandatus cuiquam eorum
which he had not previously borne committed to any one of them,

præter consulem Terentium, aliquot fortibus
excepting the consul Terentius, several brave

ac strenuis viris præteritis, quia
and active men having been passed over, because,

in tali tempore videbatur nullis
at such a juncture, it was deemed advisable that to no person

novus magistratus mandandus.
should a new office be intrusted.

XXXVI.—Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt.
The armies also were reinforced ;

Quantæ autem copiæ peditum equitumque
but as to how many troops of foot and horse

additæ sint, auctores variant adeo et numero
were added, authors vary so much, both as to the number

et genere copiarum, ut vix ausus sim affirmare quidquam
and the kind of forces, that I can scarcely venture to affirm anything

satis certum : alii decem millia
[very] certain on that head. Some assert that ten thousand

novorum militum scripta in supplementum ; alii
new soldiers were levied as a reinforcement ; others,

quattuor novas legiones, ut octo legionibus
four new legions, so that eight legions

rem gererent: legiones quoque auctas
were employed; and that the legions were also augmented

numero peditum equitumque, millibus peditum
as to the number both of foot and horse, one thousand foot

et centenis equitibus adjectis in singulas, ut
and one hundred horse being added to each, so that

essent quina millia peditum quadringenti equites;
there were now five thousand foot and four hundred horse in each;

socii darent duplicem numerum equitum,
and that the allies furnished double the number of cavalry,

sequarent peditis. Quidam auctores sunt, cum
and an equal number of infantry. Some writers affirm that, when

pugnatum est ad Cannas in Romanis castris
the battle was fought at Cannæ, there were in the Roman camp

septem et octoginta millia et ducentos armatorum.
eighty-seven thousand two hundred soldiers.

Illud haudquaquam discrepat, rem
There is no dispute at all, that the business of war

actam majore conatu atque impetu quam
was now prosecuted with greater energy and spirit than

prioribus annis, quia dictator præbuerat
in the former years, because the dictator had afforded them

spem hostem posse vinci. Ceterum,
room to hope that the enemy might be vanquished. However,

priusquam novæ legiones signa moverent ab urbe,
before the new legions marched from the city,

decemviri jussi adire atque inspicere libros
the decemvirs were ordered to go and inspect the books

propter homines vulgo territos
on account of persons having been generally alarmed

novis prodigiis. Nam nuntiatum erat et Romæ
by extraordinary prodigies; for word was brought, that at Rome

in Aventino et sub idem tempus Ariciæ
on the Aventine, and, at the same time, at Aricia,

pluisse lapidibus; et in Sabinis signa
it had rained stones; that among the Sabines, statues

sudasse cruore multo aquas Cæretes manasse gelidas
had sweated blood copiously, and the waters at Cære flowed cold

calido fonte : id quidem etiam magis terrebat,
from a warm spring ; the latter, moreover, excited the greater terror,

quod sæpius acciderat. Et in Fornicata via
because it had frequently occurred. In Arch street,

quæ erat ad Campum, aliquot homines
[which was] near the Campus Martius, several persons

tacti fuerant de cælo exanimatique : ea prodigia
had been struck with lightning and killed. These portents

procurata ex libris. Legati a Pæsto
were expiated according to the books. Ambassadors from Pæstum

attulerunt aureas pateras Romam : iis,
brought some golden vessels to Rome, and to these,

sicut Neapolitanis, gratiæ actæ, aurum
as to the Neapolitans, thanks were returned, but the gold

non acceptum.
was not accepted.

XXXVII.—Per eosdem dies accessit Ostiam
About the same time arrived at Ostia

classis ab Hierone cum magno commeatu.
a fleet, sent by Hiero, with a large supply of provisions.

Legati introducti in senatum
The Syracusan ambassadors, being introduced to the senate,

nuntiarunt : regem Hieronem adeo ægre tulisse
acquainted them that " King Hiero was so much distressed at

cædem allatam consulis C. Flamini exercitusque,
the loss announced to him of the consul Caius Flaminius and his army,

ut potuerit magis moveri nulla clade
that he could not have been more afflicted by any disaster happening

sua propria sui regnique. Itaque, quamquam
to his own person or kingdom. Wherefore, though

probe sciat magnitudinem Romani populi
he was well aware that the greatness of the Roman people

esse prope admirabiliorem adversis rebus quam
was almost more admirable in adversity than

secundis, tamen se mississe omnia, quibus
 prosperity, yet he had sent all kinds of supplies with which

bella soleant juvari a bonis fidelibusque sociis,
 wars are usually abetted by good and faithful allies,

quæ magno opere orare conscriptos patres,
 and which he earnestly entreated the conscript fathers

ne abnuant accipere. Jam primum omnium
 not to refuse to accept. First of all,

causa ominis sese afferre auream Victoriam
 for the sake of the omen, they had brought a golden statue of Victory,

ducentum ac viginti pondo : eam acciperent
 of two hundred and twenty pounds' weight, which they should accept,

tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam.
 hold and possess as appropriated to them forever.

Ne deessent commeatus, etiam advexisse
 And that there might be no want of provisions, they had also brought

trecenta millia modium tritici, ducenta
 three hundred thousand pecks of wheat, and two hundred thousand

hordei, et, quantum præterea opus esset,
 of barley; and as much more as would be necessary

subvecturos quo jussissent.
 they would convey, as a supply, to whatever place they should order.

Scire Romanum populum non uti milite
 He knew that the Roman people did not employ any legionary soldiers

atque equite, nisi Romano Latinique nominis ;
 or cavalry other than Roman citizens, or of the Latin confederacy :

etiam vidisse in Romanis castris externa
 yet he had also seen, in the Roman camp, foreign bands of

levium armorum auxilia. Itaque misisse mille
 light-armed auxiliaries ; wherefore he had sent a thousand

sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum
 archers and slingers, a suitable force

adversus Baleares ac Mauros aliasque gentes
 against the Balearians and Moors, and other nations

pugnaces missili telo. Ad ea dona
 remarkable for fighting with missile weapons." To these presents

quoque addebant consilium, ut prætor,
 they added also advice : " That the prætor,

cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, trajiceret classem
 to whose lot the province of Sicily had fallen, should pass a fleet over
 in Africam, ut et hostes haberent bellum
 to Africa, that the enemy also might have a war
 in sua terra, minusque laxamenti daretur his
 in their own country, and that less leisure might be afforded them
 ad submittenda auxilia Hannibali. Ab senatu
 of sending reinforcements to Hannibal. "On the part of the senate
 ita responsum est regi : Hieronem esse
 reply was thus made to the king : "That Hiero was
 bonum virum egregiumque socium, atque
 a good man and an excellent ally ; and that,
 ex quo venerit in amicitiam Romani populi,
 from the time when he first entered into friendship with the Roman people,
 uno tenore coluisse fidem ac omni tempore
 he had uniformly cultivated a spirit of fidelity, and at all times,
 ac loco munifice adjuvisse rem Romanam :
 and in all places, had munificently assisted the interest of Rome.
 id esse, perinde ac deberet gratum
 That this was, as it ought to be, a cause of gratitude
 Romano populo. Aurum et allatum
 to the Roman people. That gold had likewise been offered
 a quibusdam civitatibus, accepta gratia rei,
 by some other states, which, though thankful for the act,
 Romanum populum non accepisse : Victoriam
 the Roman people had not accepted : the statue of Victory, however,
 omenque accipere, dareque dicare
 and the omen they would accept, and would assign and dedicate
 ei divæ sedem Capitolium, templum
 to that divinity, as her abode, the Capitol, the temple
 Jovis optimi maximi : sacratam in ea arce
 of Jupiter supremely good and great ; hoping that, consecrated in that fortress
 urbis Romanæ fore firmam ac stabilem,
 of the city of Rome, she would continue there firm and immovable,
 volentem propitiamque Romano populo. Funditores
 kind and propitious to the Roman people." The slingers,
 sagittariique et frumentum traditum consulibus :
 archers, and the corn were delivered to the consuls.

ad classem navium, quæ erant in Sicilia
 To the fleet of ships [which were] already in Sicily
 cum proprætore T. Otacilio, additæ
 with the prætor Titus Otacilius, were added
 quinque et viginti quinqueres, permissumque est,
 twenty-five quinqueres, and permission was given
 si censeret esse e republica, ut trajiceret
 him, if he thought it were for the advantage of the state, to pass over
 in Africam.
 into Africa.

XXXVIII.—Dilectu perfecto, consules morati
 The levy completed, the consuls waited
 paucos dies, dum socii ab Latino nomine venirent.
 a few days, till the allies of the Latin confederacy arrived.
 Tum milites adacti jurejurando ab
 At this time the soldiers were bound by an oath dictated by
 tribunis militum, quod nunquam antea factum erat,
 the military tribunes, (which had never before been practised,)
 conventuros jussu consulum
 'that they would assemble on the orders of the consuls, and
 injussu neque abituros. Nam ad eam diem
 without their orders would not depart: ' for up to that time
 nihil præter sacramentum fuerat, et,
 none but the military oath had been employed; and further,
 ubi convenissent ad decuriatum aut centuriatum,
 when the soldiers met to divide into decuries or centuries,
 equites decuriati, pedites
 the horsemen on being placed in their decuries, and the footmen
 centuriati conjurabant sua voluntate
 on being placed in their centuries, used to swear voluntarily
 ipsi inter se, non abituros ergo formidinis
 among themselves 'that they would not depart through fear
 atque fugæ, neque recessuros ex ordine, nisi
 or in flight; nor quit their ranks, except
 causa sumendi aut petendi teli et aut
 for the purpose of taking up or fetching a weapon, [and either]

ferendi hostis aut servandi civis. Id
 of striking an enemy, or saving a countryman.' This
 ex voluntario foedere inter ipsos translatum
 from *having been* a voluntary compact between themselves, was converted
 ad legitimam adactionem jurisjurandi ad tribunos
 into the legal compulsion of an oath by the tribunes
 Priusquam signa moverentur ab urbe,
 Before the standards were moved from the city,
 conciones consulis Varronis fuere multæ ac feroces,
 the harangues of the consul Varro were frequent and furious,
 denuntiantis, bellum arcessitum in Italiam
 protesting that the war had been invited into Italy
 ab nobilibus, mansurumque in visceribus
 by the nobles, and that it would continue *fixed* in the bowels
 reipublicæ, si haberet plures imperatores Fabios :
 of the state, if it employed any more commanders like Fabius ;
 se perfecturum, quo die
 but that he would bring *the war* to conclusion on the *very day*
 vidisset hostem. Una concio fuit ejus collegæ
 he got sight of the enemy. One speech *only* was made by his colleague
 Pauli, pridie quam proficisceretur ex urbe,
 Paulus, on the day before they set out from the city,
 verior quam gratior populo, qua
 which was more true than gratifying to the people, and in which
 nihil dictum inclementer in Varronem, nisi id modo ;
 nothing was said severely against Varro, except this only :
 se mirari, quomodo quis dux, priusquam
 That he wondered how any general, before
 nosset aut suum aut hostium exercitum,
 he was acquainted with either his own or the enemy's army,
 situm locorum, naturam regionis, jam nunc
 the situation of posts, or the nature of the country, even now *while*
 in urbe togatus sciret, quæ sibi agenda forent
 in the city, *and with* the gown on, could yet know what he should have to do
 armato, et posset quoque prædicere diem,
 when in arms, and could even foretell the day
 qua dimicaturus cum hoste collatis signis.
 on which he would engage [with] the enemy with encountering standards.

Se non ante tempus immatura præcepturum
For his part, he would not, before the time arrived, prematurely anticipate
 ea consilia, quæ res dent hominibus
those plans which circumstances imposed on men,
 magis, quam homines rebus: optare ut,
rather than men on circumstances. He wished that those measure
 quæ gesta essent caute ac consulte, evenirent
which had been taken with due caution and deliberation would turn out
 satis prospere: temeritatem, præterquam quod
right prosperously: since rashness, besides that
 sit stulta, ad id locorum fuisse etiam infelicem.
it was folly, had hitherto been also unsuccessful.
 Id sua sponte apparebat, præpositurum tuta
This obviously appeared, that he would prefer safe
 zeleribus consiliis, et, quo perseveraret constantius
to hasty counsels; and that he might persevere the more constantly
 id, Q. Fabius Maximus fertur sic allocutus
in this resolution, Quintus Fabius Maximus is said to have thus addressed
 eum proficiscentem.
him on his departure:—

XXXIX.—“Si, L. Æmili, aut haberes

“If, Lucius Æmilius, you either had
 collegam similem tui, id quod mallet, aut tu
a colleague like yourself, (which I would prefer,) or yourself
 esses similis tui collegæ, oratio mea esset supervacanea:
were like your colleague, an address from me would be superfluous;
 nam et duo boni consules faceretis
for, in the first place, were you both good consuls, you would do
 omnia e republica vestra fide,
everything for the good of the state from your own sense of honor,
 etiam me indicente, et
even without my saying a word; and in the other, were you both
 mali nec acciperetis mea verba vestris auribus
bad consuls, you would neither admit my words into your ears,
 nec consilia animis. Nunc mihi intuenti
nor my counsels into your minds. At present when I am considering

et tuum collegam et te
on the one hand, your colleague and, on the other, yourself
 virum talem oratio est omnis tecum,
as being a man of such character, my address will be solely to you,
 quem video fore et bonum virum et civem
who, I clearly see, will prove yourself a good man and worthy citizen
 nequidquam, si res publica claudet altera parte,
to no purpose, if the administration is defective on the other side,
 idem juris et potestatis erit malis consiliis
and equal privilege and authority be accorded to evil counsels
 ac bonis. Enim erras, L. Paule, si censes
as to good. For you are mistaken, Lucius Paulus, if you imagine
 tibi futurum minus certaminis cum C. Terentio
that you will have a less difficult struggle to maintain with Caius Terentius
 quam cum Hannibale; nescio an
than with Hannibal. I know not whether
 hic maneat infestior adversarius quam ille
the former may not prove a more dangerous adversary than the latter
 hostis. Cum illo certaturus es
your open enemy. With the one, you will contend
 in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus;
in the field only; with the other, in all places and times;
 adversus Hannibalem ejus legionesque
against Hannibal and his legions,
 tibi pugnandum est tuis equitibus ac peditibus,
you will go to battle with support of your cavalry and infantry;
 Varro te est oppugnaturus dux tuis militibus.
Varro will oppose you at the head of your own soldiers.
 Memoria C. Flamini absit tibi etiam
May the thought of Caius Flaminius not be present with you, even
 causa ominis: tamen ille demum cœpit furere
for the omen's sake! Yet he only became mad
 consul, et in provincia et ad exercitum:
on becoming consul, when in his province and at the head of the army
 hic insanit, priusquam peteret consulatum,
this man is raving before he put up for the consulship.
 deinde in petendo consulatum nunc quoque consul,
afterwards when canvassing for it, and even now on being consul,

priusquam videat castra aut hostem. Et,
 before he has seen the camp or the enemy. And when,
 jactando proelia atque acies jam nunc ciet
 by talking largely of fights and fields of battle, he now excites
 tantas procellas inter togatos, quid censes
 such storms among the citizens in *their* gowns, what do you suppose
 facturum inter juventutem armatam, et ubi
 he will do among the young men who are in arms, and with whom
 res extemplo sequitur verba ? Atqui
 acts instantly follow words ? But be assured,
 si hic extemplo pugnaverit, quod denuntiat
 if he shall immediately fight *the enemy*, as he protests
 se facturum, aut ego ignoro rem militarem,
 he will [do], either I am ignorant of military affairs,
 hoc genus belli, hunc hostem,
 of the nature of the *present* war, and the character of the enemy,
 aut alius locus erit nobilior nostris cladibus
 or some other place will become more celebrated by our disasters
 Trasimeno. Nec est tempus gloriandi
 than *is* the Thrasymenus. It is not *now* the time for vaunting one's self
 adversus unum, et ego excesserim
 in comparison with any individual; and besides I have exceeded
 modum contemnendo potius quam appetendo
 the bounds of moderation in contemning rather than in courting
 gloriam : sed res habet se ita ; una ratio
 fame ; but the case is really this : the only rational method
 gerendi belli adversus Hannibalem est, qua
 of conducting the war against Hannibal is that in which
 ego gessi, nec eventus modo— iste est magister
 I conducted it ; nor does the event alone, that only [is the] instructor
 stultorum— docet hoc, sed eadem ratio, quæ
 of fools, confirm this, but that same reasoning which
 fuit futuraque est immutabilis, donec
 has hitherto been, and will continue to be, unchangeable so long as
 res manebunt eædem. Gerimus bellum
 circumstances remain the same. We are carrying on war
 in Italia in sede ac nostro solo,
 in Italy, in our own country, and on our own soil, where

omnia circa sunt plena civium ac sociorum,
all the places round are full of our countrymen and allies,

juvant juvabuntque viris, armis, equis,
who do and will assist us with men, arms, horses

commeatibus; id documentum fidei jam dederunt
and provisions: such proofs of their fidelity have they ere now given

in nostris adversis rebus: tempus diesque facit nos
in our adversity. Time, nay, every day makes us

meliores, prudentiores, constantiores. Hannibal
better, wiser and firmer. Hannibal,

contra est in aliena, in hostili terra, inter
on the contrary, is in a foreign, an enemy's territory, amidst

omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo
all hostile and disadvantageous surroundings, far from home,

ab patria; illi est pax neque terra neque mari;
far from his native country; he has peace neither by land nor sea;

nullæ urbes, nulla mœnia accipiunt eum; videt
no cities, no walls receive him; he sees

nihil usquam sui; vivit
nothing anywhere which he can call his own; he lives on

capto in diem: habet vix tertiam partem ejus exercitus,
the plunder of the day; he has scarcely a third part of that army

quem trajecit amnem Iberum; fames absumpsit
which he brought across the river Iberus; famine has destroyed

plures quam ferro, nec jam suppeditat victus
more than the sword, and there is not now a supply of food

his paucis. Dubitas ergo, quin sedendo
even for the few that are left. Do you doubt, then, that by remaining quiet

superaturi simus eum, qui in dies senescat,
we will overcome him who is daily declining in strength,

habeat non commeatus, non supplementum,
who has no resource of provisions, no reinforcements,

non pecuniam? Quamdiu pro mœnibus Geroni,
no money? How long under the walls of Geronium,

inopis castelli Apuliæ, tamquam pro Carthagini—
a wretched fortress of Apulia, as if under those of Carthage, did I—

sed ne gloriabor de me quidem adversus te Vide
but I will not boast of myself even before you. See

quemadmodum proximi consules, Cn. Servilius atque
 how the last consuls, Cneius Servilius and

Atilius eum ludificati sint. Hæc, L. Paule, est
 Atilius baffled him. This, Lucius Paulus, is

una via salutis, quam cives facient
 the only way of safety, which your countrymen will render

magis difficilem infestamque tibi quam hostes.
 more difficult and dangerous to you than their enemies will,

Enim tui milites volent idem, quod hostium ;
 for your own soldiers will wish the same thing as those of the enemy

Varro, Romanus consul, cupiet idem, quod
 Varro, the Roman consul, will desire the same thing as

Hannibal, Pœnus imperator : unus oportet resistas
 Hannibal, the Carthaginian commander. Alone, you will have to withstand

duobus ducibus : autem resistes, si
 two generals : however, you will withstand them, provided

steteris firmus satis adversus famam rumoresque
 you remain firm enough against the report and the rumors

hominum, si neque vana gloria collegæ
 of men ; and if neither the empty glory of your colleague

neque falsa infamia tua te moverit.
 nor the false imputations thrown on yourself shall move you.

Veritatem aiunt nimis sæpe laborare,
 Truth, they say, very often suffers,

nunquam exstingui : qui spreverit gloriam,
 but is never destroyed. He who slights fame

habebit veram. Sine, vocent timidum pro cauto,
 shall enjoy it in its purity. Let them call you timid, instead of cautious ;

tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli :
 dilatory, instead of considerate ; unenterprising, instead of expert, in war.

malo sapiens hostis metuat, quam
 I rather wish that a wise enemy may fear, than that

stulti cives te laudent : audentem omnia
 foolish countrymen should applaud you. A man who hazards all things

Hannibal contemnet, agentem nihil temere metuet.
 Hannibal will despise ; him who does nothing rashly he will fear.

Nec ego, ut nihil agatur, sed ut ratio,
 Yet I would not advise that nothing should be done, but that reason,

non fortuna, ducat te agentem : omnia sint
and not fortune, guide you in your proceedings. Let every matter be kept
 semper tuæ potestatis que tua.
always within your own power and under your own direction
 S's armatus intentusque, neque
Be always armed and on your guard; and neither
 desis occasionei tuæ, neque des suam occasionem
miss a favorable opportunity of your own, nor afford such an opportunity
 hosti: Non properanti omnia erunt clara certa que :
to the foe. To the deliberate man all things are clear and sure.
 festinatio est improvida et cæca."
Haste is improvident and blind."

XL.—Oratio consulis adversus ea fuit
The address of the consul in reply was

haud sane læta, fatentis, ea, quæ diceret esse vera
by no means cheerful, admitting that what he said was true
 magis, quam facilia factu : dictatori
rather than easy to put in practice. "If to the dictator," he said,
 magistrum equitum fuisse intolerabilem ; quid virium
"his master of horse was unbearable, what power
 atque auctoritatis consuli fore adversus
or influence could a consul have against
 seditiosum ac temerarium collegam ? Se
a seditious and hot-headed colleague ? As to himself, he had,
 priore consulatu effugisse populare incendium
in his former consulate, escaped a popular conflagration not without
 semiustum : optare, ut omnia evenirent prospere ;
being scorched : he wished that all might end happily ;
 at, si quid adversi caderet, se objecturum caput
but, should any misfortune occur, he would expose his life
 telis hostium potius quam suffragiis
to the weapons of the enemy, rather than to the votes
 iratorum civium. Ab hoc sermone tradunt
of his incensed countrymen." Directly after this conversation, as we are told,
 Paulum profectum prosequentibus primoribus patrum :
Paulus set out, escorted by the principal senators :

sua plebes prosecuta plebeium consulem,
his own party of plebeians attended the plebeian consul,

conspetior turba quam dignitate. Ut
more distinguished by their numbers than respectability. When

venerunt in castra, vetere ac novo exercitu permixto,
they came into the field, and the old and new troops were intermixed,

factis bifariam castris, ut nova minora
they formed two separate camps, in such manner that the new and smaller one

essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus esset
was nearest to Hannibal, and in the old were lodged

major pars et omne robur virium : tum miserunt
the greater number and the main strength of the army. They then sent

Romam M. Atilium consulum prioris anni
to Rome Marcus Atilius, one of the consuls of the former year,

excusantem ætatem ; Geminum Servilium
who alleged his age in excuse ; and the other, Geminus Servilius,

præficiunt Romanæ legionis et duobus millibus
they appoint to the command of a Roman legion, and two thousand

socium peditum equitumque in minoribus castris.
of the confederate infantry and cavalry, stationed in the smaller camp.

Hannibal, quamquam cernebat copias hostium
Hannibal, although he perceived that the forces of the enemy

auctas dimidia parte, tamen gaudere mire
were augmented by one-half, yet rejoiced exceedingly

adventu consulum ; enim non solum nihil superabat
at the arrival of the consuls ; for not only was no part remaining

ex comitatibus raptis in diem, sed erat
of the provisions acquired by plunder from day to day, but there was

ne quidem quidquam reliqui, unde raperet,
not even anything left of which he could make prey,

omni frumento undique, postquam ager erat
all the corn in every quarter, when the country was found

parum tutus, convecto in munitas urbes ;
unsafe, having been collected together into the fortified towns ;

ut, quod postea compertum est, vix superesset
so that, as was afterwards discovered, there scarcely remained

frumentum decem dierum, que ob inopiam
corn enough for ten days ; and, in consequence of the scarcity,

transitio parata fuerit Hispanorum, si
a plan of desertion would have been devised of the Spaniards, if

maturitas temporum exspectata foret.
the completion of that time had been awaited.

XLI.—Ceterum fortuna etiam dedit materiam
 But fortune also furnished fuel

ræpropero ingenio ac temeritati consulis, quod
to the impetuous temper and rashness of the consul, for

in prohibendis prædatoribus prælio,
in checking the plundering parties an engagement *having ensued,*

tumultuario ac orto magis procursu
of a tumultuary kind, and occasioned rather by a *voluntary* onset

militum quam ex præparato aut jussu
of the soldiers than by *any* preconcerted *design,* or order

imperatorum, dimicatio fuit haudquaquam par
of the commanders, the contest was by no means equal

Pœnis. Ad mille et septingenti
with the Carthaginians. As many as one thousand seven hundred *of them*

cæsi, occisis Romanorum sociorumque
were slain ; while there fell of the Romans and their confederates

non plus centum. Ceterum victoribus sequentibus
no more than a hundred. However, upon the victors pursuing

effuse consul Paulus, cujus erat imperium eo die—
in hot haste, the consul Paulus, who held the command on that day,

nam imperitabant alternis— metu insidiarum
 (for they commanded alternately,) through dread of an ambuscade

obstitit, Varrone indignante ac vociferante
brought them to a halt ; while Varro indignantly vociferated,

hostem emissum e manibus,
that the enemy had been allowed to slip out of their hand. ;

potuisseque debellari, ni cessatum foret
and that the war might have been finished had not a stop been put

Hannibal haud ægerrime pati
to the action. Hannibal was not much grieved at

id damnum ; quin potius credere, temeritatem
 that loss ; nay, rather, he felt convinced, that the temerity

ferocioris consulis ac militum maxime
of the more presumptuous consul and of the soldiers, particularly
novorum velut inescatam esse. Et omnia
the fresh ones, would, as it were, be lured by the bait. Indeed all
the circumstances hostium erant haud secus nota ei
of the enemy were as well known to him

quam sua: dissimiles discordesque imperitare;
as his own: that dissimilar and discordant men were in command
prope duas partes in exercitu esse tironum militum.
that nearly two-thirds of the army were raw recruits.

Ratus itaque se habere tempus et locum
Concluding therefore that he had now found both time and place

aptum insidiis, proxima nocte educit milites
convenient for a stratagem, on the following night he led away his men
ferentes secum nihil præter arma, relinquit castra
bringing with them nothing but their arms, and left the camp

plena fortunæ omnis publicæ privatsæque; peditesque
full of their effects of all kinds, public and private. The infantry,

instructos læva condit trans proximos montes,
drawn up on the left, he lodged behind the nearest mountains,

equites dextra, traducit impedimenta
and the cavalry on the right; and conducted the baggage,

medium agmen per convallem, ut opprimeret
as a centre line, through the interjacent valley; intending to fall upon

hostem occupatum impeditumque diripiendis castris
the enemy when busy and incumbered in the pillaging of the camp,

velut desertis fuga dominorum. Crebri ignes
as if deserted [through the flight] of its owners. Numerous fires

relicti in castris, ut fieret fides, voluisse
were left in the camp to create a belief that his intention was

tenere consules in locis falsa imagine
to detain the consuls in their posts by the appearance

castrorum, dum ipse præciperet
of a camp, while he should gain the advantage of time

fuga longius spatium, sicut frustratus esset
for retreat to the greater distance, in like manner as he had deceived

Fabium anno priore.
Fabius the year before.

XLII.—Ubi illuxit, primo stationes
 When it was day, first the fact of the outpost
 subductæ, deinde adeuntibus propius
 being withdrawn, and then, on their approaching nearer,
 insolitum silentium fecit admirationem.
 the unusual stillness, produced surprise among the Romans.
 Solitudine in castris jam satis comperta, concursus
 The desertion of the camp being now plainly discovered, a general rush
 fit ad prætoriam consulum nuntiantum
 is made to the pavilions of the consuls by those who announce
 fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut reliquerint
 "the flight of the enemy so precipitate, that they left
 castra tabernaculis stantibus; quoque fuga
 their camp, with their tents standing; and that their flight
 esset obscurior, crebros ignes etiam relictos
 might be the more secret, numerous fires had also been left.
 Inde clamor ortus, ut juberent signa proferri
 Then a clamor arose that they should order the standards to be advanced.
 ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac
 and lead them in pursuit of the enemy, and
 protinus diripienda castra. Et alter consul
 to the immediate plunder of the camp. The other consul too
 erat velut unus turbæ militaris: Paulus etiam atque etiam
 was as one of the common soldiers. Paulus again and again
 dicere providendum esse præcavendumque: postremo,
 urged, that they should act with foresight and precaution; and at last,
 cum posset neque aliter sustinere seditionem
 when he could no otherwise restrain their mutiny
 neque ducem seditionis, mittit Marium Statilium
 or the leader of the sedition, he sends Marius Statilius,
 præfectum cum Lucana turma exploratum.
 a prefect, with a Lucanian troop, to reconnoitre;
 Qui, ubi adequitavit portis, jussis ceteris
 who, when he had ridden up to the gates, and ordered the rest
 subsistere extra munimenta, ipse cum duobus equitibus
 to halt without the trenches, himself, with two horsemen,
 intravit vallum, cumque cura speculatus omnia.
 entered the camp, and carefully examined everything

Renuntiant esse profecto insidias : ignes relictos
 They bring back word that it was manifestly a snare : that fires were left
 in parte castrorum, quæ vergat ad hostem :
 in *that* part of the camp which faced the enemy ;
 tabernacula aperta et omnia cara relictæ in promptu ;
 the tents *were* open, and all their valuables left in view ;
 quibusdam locis vidisse argentum temere per vias,
 that in some places they saw silver carelessly *thrown* about the passages
 velut objectum ad prædam. *Ea,*
 as if laid *there* for plunder. These *very* circumstances,
 quæ nuntiata erant ad deterrendos animos
 which were mentioned for the purpose of deterring their minds
 a cupiditate, accenderunt ; et, clamore orto
 from greediness, served to inflame *them* ; and a cry being set up
 a militibus, ni signum detur, ituros
 by the soldiers, that, unless the signal was given, they would proceed
 sine ducibus, haudquaquam defuit dux :
 without their generals, there was no want at all of a leader ;
 nam Varro extemplo dedit signum proficiscendi.
 for Varro instantly gave the signal for marching.
 Paulus, cum, sua sponte cunctanti
 Paulus, when, even from his own suggestion in favor of delaying,
 pulli quoque ei non addixissent auspicio,
 the chickens [also] had not encouraged him by their auspices,
 jussit obnuntiari collegæ
 ordered the ill-omen to be reported to his colleague
 jam efferenti signa porta. Quamquam
 just as he was leading the troops out of the gate. And though
 Varro quod passus est ægre, tamen recens casus
 Varro bore it impatiently, yet the recent fate
 Flaminii memorataque navalis clades consulis Claudii
 of Flaminius, and the recorded naval defeat of the consul Claudius
 rimo Punico bello incussit religionem animo.
 in the first Punic war, struck religious scruples into his mind.
 Dii ipsi eo die distulere prope magis quam
 the gods themselves, on that day, postponed, in a manner, rather than
 prohibuere pestem imminentem Romanis : nam
 averted. the calamity which hung over the Romans ; for

forte ita evenit, ut, cum milites non parerent
 it luckily happened that, while the soldiers did not obey
 consuli jubenti referri signa in castra,
 the consul who ordered them to return to the camp,
 duo servi, unus, equitis Formiani, alter
 two slaves, one belonging to a horseman of Formis, the other
 Sidicini, qui excepti fuerant a Numidis
 to one of Sidicinum, who had been taken prisoners by the Numidian
 inter pabulatores, Servilio atque Atilio consulibus,
 among a party of foragers, when Servilius and Atilius were consuls,
 profugerent eo die ad dominos: deductique
 made their escape on that very day to their owners; and, being brought
 ad consules nuntiant, Hannibalis omnem exercitum
 before the consuls, informed them that Hannibal's whole army
 sedere in insidiis trans proximos montes.
 lay in ambush behind the nearest mountains
 Opportunus adventus horum fecit consules potentes
 The seasonable arrival of these men made the consuls capable
 imperii, cum ambitio alterius
 of maintaining their authority, when the ambition of one of them,
 prava indulgentia solvisset primum
 and, through improper indulgence, impaired more particularly
 suam majestatem apud eos.
 his own dignity among the soldiers.

XLIII.—Postquam Hannibal vidit Romanos

When Hannibal perceived that the Romans
 inconsulte motos magis quam temere evectos
 had been indiscreetly prompted rather than rashly carried
 ad ultimum, fraude detecta, rediit in castra
 to a conclusion, the stratagem being now discovered, he returned to his camp
 nequidquam. Nequit manere ibi plures dies
 without effecting anything. He could not remain there many days
 propter inopiam frumenti; novaque consilia
 by reason of the scarcity of corn; and new measures
 in dies oriebantur non solum apud milites,
 were daily in contemplation, not only among the soldiery,

mixtos **ex colluvione** **omnium gentium,**
compounded, as it was, *of the refuse* *of all nations,*
sed etiam **apud ducem ipsum.** **Nam** **initio**
but even *with the general himself;* *for,* *first,*
cum fuissent **fremitus,** **deinde** **aperta vociferatio**
when there had been *murmuring,* *and afterwards* *open clamors,*
exposcentium **debitum stipendium,** **querentiumque**
of the men demanding *their arrears of pay,* *and complaining*
primo **annonam,** **postremo famem,**
first *of the dearth of provisions,* *and at last of famine*
et fama esset **mercenarios milites,** **maxime**
and a report was afloat *that the mercenary soldiers,* *particularly*
Hispani generis, **cepisse consilium** **de transitione,**
those of the Spanish race, *had formed a scheme* *of going over*
dicitur **Hannibal ipse etiam**
to the enemy, *it is affirmed* *that Hannibal himself too*
interdum agitasse de fuga **in Galliam,** **ita**
sometimes thought of flying *into Gaul* *in such manner*
ut, **relicto omni peditatu,** **se proriperet**
that, *having left all his infantry behind,* *he might hurry away*
cum equitibus. **Cum hæc consilia** **esset**
with his cavalry. *While these plans* *were in agitation*
atque hic **habitus animorum** **in castris,** **statuit**
and this *the state of feeling* *in the camp,* *he resolved*
movere inde **in loca Apuliæ** **calidiora**
to depart thence *into the regions of Apulia,* *which were warmer,*
atque eo **maturiora messibus,** **simul** **quod,**
and therefore *earlier in the harvest;* *thinking also* *that*
quo longius **recessisset** **ab hoste,** **impeditiora**
the farther *he retired* *from the enemy,* *the more difficult*
transfugia essent **levibus ingeniis.** **Profectus est**
would desertion be *to those of unsettled tempers.* *He set out*
nocte, **factis ignibus** **similiter,** **relictisque**
by night, *after kindling fires* *as before,* *and leaving*
paucis tabernaculis **in speciem,** **ut**
a few tents *to produce an appearance;* *in order that*

metus insidiarum par priori contineret Romanos.
 fears of an ambuscade, similar to the former, might keep the Romans

Sed cum relatum esset per eundem
in their places. But when account was brought by the same

Lucanum Statilium exploratis omnibus
 Lucanian Statilius, after having examined all the ground

ultra castra transque montes,
 beyond the camp and on the other side of the mountains,

hostium agmen visum procul, tum
 that the enemy's marching host was seen at a great distance, then

consilia coepta agitari de eo insequendo. Cum
 plans began to be set on foot about pursuing him. Here

utriusque consulis fuisset eadem sententia, quæ
 each consul was of the same opinion which

ante semper, ceterum fere omnes assentiretur Varroni,
 he had ever held; but almost all sided with Varro,

nemo Paulo præter Servilium
 and none with Paulus except Servilius,

consulem prioris anni; sententia
 the consul of the former year. In compliance with the determination

majoris partis profecti sunt, urgente fato,
 of the majority, they set forward, under the impulse of destiny,

ad nobilitandas Cannas Romana clade.
 to render Cannæ forever memorable by a Roman disaster.

Prope eum vicum Hannibal posuerat castra
 Near that town Hannibal had pitched his camp,

aversa a vento Vulturno, qui
 with his back towards the wind, called Vulturinus, which,

campis torridis siccitate vehit
 in those plains parched with drought, carries along with it

nubes pulveris. Id fuit cum percommodum
 clouds of dust. This circumstance was both highly commodious

castris ipsis, tum futurum erat
 to the camp itself, and would be

præcipue salutare, cum dirigerent
 particularly advantageous to the men when they drew up

aciem, ipsi aversi vento,
 their line of battle; as they, being turned away from the wind

afflante tantum terga, pugnaturi in hostem occæcatum
blowing only on their backs, would fight against an enemy blinded

offuso pulvere.
with the thickly-driven dust.

XLIV —Consules satis exploratis itineribus,
The consuls, carefully examining the roads

sequentes Pœnum, ut ventum est ad Cannas,
in pursuing the Carthaginian, when they had arrived near Cannæ,

ut habebant Pœnum in conspectu,
and had the [Carthaginian] foe in sight,

divisis copiis, sicut ante, communiunt bina castra
divided *their* forces, as before, and fortified two camps

ferme eodem intervallo, quo
at nearly the same distance from each other as they had been

ad Geronium. Amnis Aufidus, affluens castris utrisque,
at Geronium. The river Aufidus, which flowed by the camps of both,

dabat aditum aquatoribus cujusque
afforded approach to the watering parties of each,

ex sua opportunitate haud sine certamine.
according as opportunity served, though not without contest.

Romani tamen ex minoribus castris, quæ
The Romans, however, in the smaller camp, which

posita erant trans Aufidum,
was pitched on the other side of the Aufidus,

liberius aquabantur, quia ulterior ripa habebat
were more freely furnished with water, because the further bank had

nullum præsidium hostium. Hannibal nactus spem
no guard of the enemy. Hannibal, entertaining a hope

consules facturos copiam pugnandi locis
that the consuls would afford him an opportunity of battle in these parts

natis ad pugnam equestrem,
naturally adapted as they were to an engagement of cavalry,

qua parte virium erat invictus, dirigit aciem
(in which portion of his forces he was invincible,) formed his line,

laccessitque hostes procursatione Numidarum. Inde
and provoked the enemy by skirmishes of the Numidians. On this

magis quam consiliis, Hannibal, cum reciperet
 rather than deliberating, Hannibal, having led back
 in castra ceteras copias ex acie, quam tenuerat
 into the camp all the other troops of the line which he had kept
 instructam ad multum diei, mittit Numidas
 in order of battle during a great part of the day, sends the Numidians
 trans flumen ad invadendos aquatores Romanorum
 across the river to attack a watering party of the Romans
 ex minoribus castris. Vixdum egressi
 from the lesser camp. Scarcely had they landed
 in ripam cum clamore ac tumultu
 on the opposite bank when, merely by shouting and tumult,
 fugassent quam inconditam turbam, evecti sunt
 they dispersed this disorderly crowd; and then pushed forward
 quoque in stationem locatam pro vallo
 even to an outpost stationed before the rampart,
 atque prope ipsas portas. Id visum indignum vero
 and almost up to the very gates. It was deemed an affront indeed
 jam etiam castra Romana terreri
 that now even the camp of the Romans should be terrified
 ab tumultuario auxilio; ut modo una causa ea
 by a tumultuary band of auxiliaries; so that the only reason that
 tenuerit Romanos, ne transirent flumen extemplo
 restrained the Romans from crossing the river forthwith,
 dirigerentque aciem, quod summa imperii fuerit
 and drawing out their line, was that the chief command was
 eo die penes Paulum. Itaque Varro
 on that day in the hands of Paulus. Accordingly Varro,
 postero die, ejus diei sors imperii erat cui,
 on the following day, on which the lot of command fell to him,
 nihil consulto collega, proposuit signum
 without conferring with his colleague, displayed the signal for battle;
 copiasque instructas traduxit flumen, Paulo sequente
 and his forces marshalled, he led them over the river; while Paulus followed,
 quia poterat magis non probare consilium quam
 because he could better disapprove of the design, than
 non adjuvare. Transgressi flumen adjungunt suis
 withhold his assistance. Having crossed the river, they add to their force

eas quoque copias, quas habuerant in minoribus castris;
 those troops which they had in the lesser camp;

atque instructa acie ita : in dextro cornu—
 and formed their line in this manner : in the right wing

id erat propius flumini— locant Romanos equites,
 which was next the river, they placed the Roman cavalry

deinde pedites : sociorum equites
 and next them the Roman infantry ; the confederate cavalry composed

extremi lævum cornu, intra pedites
 the extreme left wing ; and within these the allied infantry

tenuerunt ad medium juncti Romanis legionibus :
 stretched to the centre so as to unite with the Roman legions.

jaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis
 The archers and the rest of the light-armed auxiliaries

facta prima acies : consules tenere cornua,
 formed the van. The consuls commanded the wings,

Terentius lævum, Æmilius dextrum ;
 Terentius the left, Æmilius the right ;

Gemino Servilio data tuenda pugna
 to Geminus Servilius was committed the charge of maintaining the battle
 media.
 in the centre.

XLVI.—Hannibal prima luce, præmissa
 Hannibal, at the first light, sending before him

Balearibus aliaque levi armatura, transgressus flumen,
 the Balearians and the other light-armed troops, crossed the river,

locabat quosque in acie ita, ut
 and posted each company in his line of battle just as

traduxerat. Gallos Hispanosque equites
 he had led them over. The Gallic and Spanish cavalry he placed

in lævo cornu prope ripam adversus
 in the left wing near the bank, opposite

Romanum equitatum ; dextrum cornu datum
 the Roman cavalry ; the right wing was assigned

Numidis equitibus, media acie firmata
 to the Numidian horse ; the centre of the line being strongly formed

peditibus ita, ut utraque cornua
by the infantry in such a manner, that both extremities of

essent Afrorum, medii his interponerentur
were composed of Africans, and between these were placed

Galli atque Hispani. Crederes Afros
the Gauls and Spaniards. You would suppose the Africans were

magna ex parte aciem Romanam; ita armati erant
for the most part a body of Roman troops, they were so equipped

armis captis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte
with arms taken partly at the Trebia, but the greater part

ad Trasimenus. Scuta Gallis Hispanisque
at the Thrasymenus. The shields of the Gauls and Spaniards

erant ejusdem formæ, gladii dispares ac dissimiles,
were of the same shape; their swords unequal and dissimilar,

Gallis prælongi ac sine mucronibus;
those of the Gauls being very long, and without points;

Hispano— assueto petere hostem
those of the Spaniards, (who were accustomed to attack their enemy

punctum magis quam cæsim— habiles brevitatem
with the point rather than with the edge,) convenient from their shortness,

et cum mucronibus. Sane terribilis erat et alius
and with points. Simply terrible was also in other respects

habitus harum gentium cum specie
the aspect of these nations, as well from their appearance

tum magnitudine corporum. Galli erant nudi
as from the size of their bodies. The Gauls were naked

super umbilicum: Hispani constiterant linteis tunicis,
above the navel: the Spaniards stood arrayed in linen vests

fulgentibus miro candore prætextis purpura.
resplendent with surprising whiteness, and bordered with purple.

Numerus omnium peditum, qui steterunt in acie
The whole number of infantry which was drawn up in the field

tum, fuit quadraginta millium, equitum decem.
on this occasion was forty thousand, of cavalry ten.

Duces præerant cornibus, sinistro Hasdrubal,
The generals who commanded the wings were, on the left Hasdrubal,

dextro Maharbal; Hannibal ipse, cum fratre Magone
on the right Maharbal: Hannibal himself, with his brother Mago,

tenuit mediam aciem. Sol peropportune
 took *the* command of the centre. The sun very conveniently

erat obliquus utrique parti, Romanis versis in meridiem,
 shone obliquely upon both parties, the Romans facing the south,

Pœnis in septemtrionem, seu locatis ita
and the Carthaginians the north, whether posted in such manner

de industria, seu quod stetere ita
 designedly, or that they stationed themselves thus

forte: ventus— incolæ regionis vocant
 by accident. The wind, which the natives of the country call

Vulturnum— coortus adversus Romanis
 the Vulturnus, blowing briskly against the Romans,

ademit prospectum volvendo multo pulvere
 prevented *them* from seeing *clearly* by rolling great quantities of dust

in ipsa ora.
 into their faces.

XLVII.—Clamore sublato,

procursum

The shout having been raised, a charge is made

auxiliis, et pugna commissa primum
 by the auxiliaries, and the battle commenced first

levibus armis: deinde lævum cornu
 between the light-armed troops; then the left wing,

Gallorum Hispanorumque equitum concurrat
 consisting of Gallie and Spanish cavalry, engages

cum dextro Romano, minime more
 with the right wing of the Romans; but by no means in the manner

equestris pugnae: enim concurrendum erat
 of a cavalry fight; for they were obliged to engage

adversis frontibus, nullo spatio relicto circa
 front to front, no room having been left at the flanks

ad evagandum, quia hinc amnis, hinc
 for any evolutions, as on one side the river, on the other

acies peditum claudebant utrumque nitentes
 the line of infantry hemmed them in, so that both parties were struggling

in directum. Postremo equis confertis
 directly forward; at last the horses being pressed together

turba ac stantibus, vir amplexus virum
 in a crowd and standing still, man, grappling with man,
 detrahebat equo. Certamen jam factum erat
 dragged him from his horse. The contest was now maintained
 magna ex parte pedestre: tamen pugnatum est
 chiefly on foot, but the battle was
 acrius quam diutius, Romanique equites pulsi
 more furious than lasting, and the Roman horsemen, being repulsed.
 terga vertunt. Sub finem equestris certaminis
 turn their backs. About the conclusion of the cavalry engagement,
 pugna peditum coorta est. Primo
 the fight between the infantry commenced. At first,
 ordines Gallis Hispanisque constabant pares
 the ranks of the Gauls and Spaniards stood unbroken and were equal
 et viribus et animis: tandem
 both in strength and courage to their enemies but at length
 Romani, diu ac sæpe connisi, fronte æqua
 the Romans, after long and repeated efforts, with their front regular
 densaque acie impulere hostium
 and in compact order drove back a portion of the enemy
 prominentem a cetera acie cuneum
 which projected before the rest of their line in the form of a wedge,
 nimis tenuem eoque parum validum:
 and which being too thin, consequently wanted strength.
 deinde impulsis ac referentibus pedem trepide
 On being thus repulsed and retreating in disorderly haste
 insistere; ac uno tenore
 they (*i. e. the Romans*) pursue them; and charging uninterruptedly
 per agmen fugientium præceps pavore illati
 through the body of troops flying headlong in dismay, they are borne
 primum in mediam aciem, postremo, nullo resistente,
 first upon their centre line; and at length, no one opposing
 pervenerunt ad subsidia Afrorum, qui
 then, they arrived at the African reserves, which latter
 constiterant utrimque alis reductis,
 had been posted on both flanks of the others, inclining backward
 media acie, qua Galli Hispanique
 towards the rear, while the centre, where the Gauls and Spaniard

steterant, *prominente aliquantum*. *Ut qui cuneus*
were placed, jutted considerably forward. When the wedge *thus formed*,

pulsus *primum frontem æquavit* *deinde*
being driven in, first rendered the front even, and then,

cedendo etiam *dedit sinum* *in medio*,
by falling back still further, made a curvature in the middle,

Afri jam fecerant cornua circa, *Romanisque*
the Africans now formed wings on each side of them; and the Romans

incaute irruentibus *in medium* *circumdedere alas*,
incautiously rushing into the centre, they outflanked them;

mox extendendo cornua clausere hostes et ab tergo.
and presently extending their wings, enclosed the enemy on the rear also.

Hinc Romani, nequidquam defuncti uno prælio,
Upon this the Romans, who had in vain finished one battle,

omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant,
quitting the Gauls and Spaniards, whose rear they had slaughtered,

et ineunt integram pugnam adversus Afros,
[in addition] commenced a fresh fight against the Africans,

iniquam non tantum in eo, quod
which proved disadvantageous not only from the fact that,

inclusi adversus circumfusus,
being shut in, they were opposed to men who surrounded them,

sed etiam quod feci pugnabant
but also because, being fatigued, they fought

cum recentibus ac vegetis.
with those who were fresh and vigorous.

XLVIII.—*Jam et sinistro cornu Romano, ubi*
Now also on the left wing of the Romans, where

sociorum equites steterant adversus Numidas,
the confederate cavalry had been posted against the Numidians,

prælium consertum erat, segne primo et
the battle was joined; it was languid at first, and

coeptum a Punica fraude. Ferme quingenti
commenced with a piece of Carthaginian treachery. About five hundred

Numidæ, habentes præter cetera arma telaque
Numidians carrying, besides their usual armor and weapons,

gladios occultos sub loriceis, cum adequitassent
 swords concealed beneath their coats of mail, after riding up to *the enemy*
 specie transfugarum ab suis, habentes parmas
 under the semblance of deserters from their own party, holding their bucklers
 post terga repente desiliunt ex equis, projectisque
 behind their backs, suddenly leap down from their horses, and, throwing
 parmis et jaculis ante pedes hostium, accepti
 their bucklers and javelins at the feet of their enemies, were received
 in mediam aciem ductique ad ultimos
 into their centre line, and being conducted to the hindmost ranks,
 jubentur considerare ab tergo. Ac manserunt quieti,
 were ordered to sit down in the rear; and *there* they remained quiet
 dum praelium conseritur ab omni parte: postquam
 until the fight was begun in every quarter: when, however,
 certamen occupaverat animos oculosque omnium,
 the contest was engaging the thoughts and attention of all *about them*,
 tum, arreptis scutis, quæ humi strata erant
 then, snatching up the shields, which lay scattered
 passim inter acervos cæсорum corporum, adoriuntur
 on all hands among the heaps of slain [bodies], they fell upon
 aversam Romanam aciem, ferientesque terga
 the rear of the Roman line, and stabbing *men* in the backs,
 ac cædentes poplites, fecerunt ingentem stragem
 and cutting their hams, occasioned vast havoc,
 ac aliquanto majorem pavorem ac tumultum. Cum
 and still greater panic and confusion. While
 alibi esset terror ac fuga, alibi praelium
 on one part prevailed terror and flight, and in another the battle
 pertinax in jam mala spe, Hasdrubal,
 was obstinate, with a now ill-promising prospect; Hasdrubal,
 qui jam præerat ea parte, subductos Numidas
 who was then commanding in that section, drawing off the Numidians
 ex media acie, quia pugna cum adversis
 from the centre of their line, (for the conflict with their opponents
 erat segnis mittit ad persequendos
 was slight,) sends them in pursuit of
 passim fugientes Gallos et Hispanos equites
 the scattered fugitives, and then with his Gallic and Spanish horse

et fessos labore ac vulneribus: in le omnes dissipati sunt,
and were spent with toil and wounds. After that they were all dispersed,

quique poterant, repetebant equos ad fugam.
and such as were able repaired to their horses for flight.

Cn. Lentulus militum tribunus cum vidisset,
Cneius Lentulus, a military tribune, having observed,

prætervehens equo, consulem sedentem in saxo
on riding by, the consul sitting upon a stone

oppletum cruore, inquit, "L. Æmili,
and covered with blood, said to him: "Lucius Æmilius,

quem dei debent respicere unum
whom the gods ought to favor as the only person

insontem culpæ hodiernæ cladis, cape hunc equum,
free from the blame of this day's disaster, take this horse

dum tibi et aliquid virium superest, ego comes
while you have any strength remaining; I will accompany you

possum te tollere ac protegere: ne feceris
and am able to raise you up and protect you. Do not make

hanc pugnam funestam morte consulis:
this battle more calamitous by the death of a consul;

etiam sine hoc est satis lacrimarum luctusque."
even without that there is sufficient cause for tears and mourning."

Ad ea consul: "quidem, Cn. Corneli
In reply the consul said: "By all means, Cneius Cornelius,

tu macte esto virtute: sed cave, absumas
persevere in your valor! But beware lest you waste

frustra morando exiguum tempus evadendi
in useless tarrying the brief opportunity of escaping

e manibus hostium. Abi, nuntia patribus publice,
from the hands of the enemy. Go, tell the fathers publicly,

muniant urbem Romanam, ac, prius quam
to fortify the city of Rome, and, before

victor hostis advenit, firment præsiidiis:
the victorious enemy arrives, secure it with a strong garrison:

Q. Fabio privatim, Æmiliū et adhuc vixisse
and tell Quintus Fabius individually, that Lucius Æmilius has hitherto lived,

et mori memorem ejus præceptorum: memet
and now dies, mindful of his injunctions. As to myself

patere exspirare in hac strage meorum militum,
 let me expire amid this carnage of my soldiers,
 ne aut iterum sim reus a consulatu, aut
 that I may not a second time be accused after my consulate, or
 existam accusator collegæ, ut protegam
 stand forth as the accuser of my colleague, in order to defend
 meam innocentiam crimine alieno." Hæc exigentes
 my own innocence by the impeachment of another." While thus discoursing,
 prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes,
 first a crowd of their flying countrymen, after that the enemy,
 oppressere: obruere consulem telis,
 came upon them; they overwhelm the consul with their weapons,
 ignorantes, quis esset: inter tumultum equus
 not knowing who he was: in the confusion his horse
 abripuit Lentulum. Tum fugiunt effuse
 rescued Lentulus. After that they fly precipitately
 undique. Septem millia hominum perfugerunt
 in all directions. Seven thousand men escaped
 in minora castra, decem in majora,
 to the smaller camp, ten thousand to the greater,
 ferme duo in vicum ipsum Cannas, qui
 and about two thousand to the village [itself] of Cannæ, which latter
 extemplo circumventi sunt a Carthalone atque
 were immediately surrounded by Carthalo and
 equitibus, nullo munimento tegente vicum.
 the cavalry, no fortifications protecting the town.
 Alter consul, seu consilio seu forte
 The other consul, whether by design or accident,
 insertus nulli agmini fugientium,
 without mingling with any party of the flying troops
 perfugit Venusiam cum fere septuaginta equitibus.
 made good his escape to Venusia with about seventy horsemen.
 Quadraginta quinque millia quingenti pedites,
 Forty-five thousand five hundred foot,
 duo millia septingenti equites dicuntur cæsi,
 and two thousand seven hundred horse are said to have been slain
 et pars civium sociorumque
 and the number of citizens and of confederates to have been

prope tanta : in his ambo quæstores
 almost equally great. Among these were both the quæstores
 consulum, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus,
 of the consuls, Lucius Atilius and Lucius Furius Bibaculus;
 et viginti unus tribunum militum, quidam
 and twenty-one military tribunes; several who had passed through
 consulares prætorique et ædilicii— inter eos
 the offices of consul prætor and ædile, among whom
 numerant Cn. Servilium Geminum et M. Minucium,
 they reckon Cneius Servilius Geminus, and Marcus Minucius
 qui fuerat magister equitum priore anno,
 who had been master of the horse in the preceding year,
 consul aliquot annis ante,— præterea octoginta,
 and consul some years before; moreover eighty
 qui aut senatores aut gessissent eos magistratus,
 who were either senators, or had borne those offices
 unde deberent legi in senatum, cum
 by which they might be elected into the senate, though
 sua voluntate facti essent milites in legionibus.
 they had voluntarily enlisted as soldiers in the legions.
 Tria millia peditum et mille et quingenti equites
 Three thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry
 dicuntur capta eo proelio.
 are reported as having been captured in this battle.

L.—Hæc est pugna Cannensis, par nobilitate
 Such was the battle of Cannæ, equal in celebrity
 cladi Aliensi; ceterum ut levior illis,
 as the defeat at the Allia: but though less important as regards those
 quæ accidere post pugnam, quia est cessatum
 circumstances which happened after it, (because there was remissness
 ab hoste, sic
 on the part of the enemy in pursuing the blow,) yet
 strage exercitus gravior
 with respect to the destruction of the troops it was more grievous
 fœdiorque. Namque fuga ad Aliam sicut
 and horrible: for the flight at the Allia, while

prodidit urbem, ita servavit exercitum :
it betrayed the city, [yet] preserved the army ;

ad Cannas vix septuaginta secuti sunt
but at Cannæ scarcely seventy accompanied

consulem fugientem, prope totus exercitus
the consul who fled ; almost the whole army

fuit alterius morientis. In binis castris
followed the other in death. *The troops collected in the two camps*

cum esset semiermis multitudo sine ducibus,
being a half-armed multitude, without leaders,

qui erant in majoribus mittunt nuntium, ut,
those in the larger send a message to the others, that

dum nocturna quies premeret hostes fatigatos
while the night's repose was encumbering the enemy, who were fatigued

proelio, epulis deinde ex lætitia, transirent
with the battle and their feasting thereafter for joy, they should come over

ad se : abituros esse uno agmine Canusium.
to them, and they would go off in one body to Canusium.

Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari : enim cur
This advice some totally rejected : " For why," said they,

non illos, qui se arcessant, venire ipsos, cum
' did not those who sent for them come themselves, when

possent æque conjungi ? Quia videlicet
a junction might as well have been formed by this means ? Because, evidently,

omnia in medio essent plena hostium, et
all the intermediate space was crowded with the enemy, and

mallent objicere corpora aliorum tanto periculo
they would rather expose the persons of others to so great a danger

quam sua. Aliis sententia non tam displicere,
than their own." By others the advice was not so much disapproved,

quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tuditanus,
as the courage was wanting them to follow it. Publius Sempronius Tuditanus,

tribunus militum, inquit, " mavultis ergo
a military tribune, exclaims : " Do you choose, then,

capi ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste,
to be taken prisoners by a most rapacious and cruel enemy,

æstimarique vestra capita, et pretia exquiri
to have a price set upon your heads, and have your value ascertained

ab interrogantibus sis civis Romanus an
 by men who will inquire whether you are a citizen of Rome, or
 Latinus socius, ut ex tua miseria et contumelia
 a Latin confederate, in order that from your miseries and indignities
 honos quæratur alteri? Non tu, si estis quidem
 honor may be procured to another? Not you *curely*, if you be really
 cives consulis L. Æmilii, qui maluit
 fellow-citizens of the consul Æmilius, who chose rather
 se mori bene quam vivere turpiter, et tot
 to die honorably than to live in infamy, and of such a number
 fortissimorum virorum, qui jacent cumulati
 of brave men who lie in heaps
 circa eum. Sed antequam lux opprimit majoraque
 around him. But, before the light overtakes us and more numerous
 agmina hostium obsæpiunt iter, erumpamus per
 bodies of the enemy stop up the way, let us sally forth through
 hos, qui inordinati atque incompositi obstrepunt
 those who, without any order or regularity are making *this* noise
 portis. Audacia atque ferro via fit
 at our gates. By courage and the sword a passage is effected
 per hostes quamvis confertos: cuneo quidem
 through enemies, however dense. In a wedge, I am sure,
 disjicias hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si
 you will penetrate this loose and disjointed band, as if
 nihil obstat: ite itaque, qui vultis salvam
 nothing opposed you. Come on, then, you who wish the preservation
 et vosmet ipsos et rem publicam, mecum."
 of yourselves and the commonwealth, follow me!"
 Ubi dedit hæc dicta stringit gladium factoque cuneo
 As he uttered these words, he drew his sword, and, forming a wedge,
 vadit per medios hostes: et cum Numidæ
 made his way through the midst of the enemy: and as the Numidians
 jacularentur in dextrum latus, quod
 discharged their javelins against their right side, which
 patebat, translatis scutis in dextrum,
 was uncovered, they transferred their shields to their right, and thus,
 ad sexcenti evaserunt in majora castra, atque
 to the number of six hundred, escaped to the greater camp; and

inde protinus, adjuncto alio magno agmine,
proceeding thence forthwith, in conjunction with the other larger body,
 perveniunt incolumes Canusium. Hæc agebantur
they arrived safe at Canusium. These steps were taken
 apud victos ex impetu animorum, quem
by the vanquished according to the impulse of their tempers, which
 suum ingenium aut fors dabat cuique magis, quam
his own disposition or even accident gave to each, rather than
 consilio ipsorum aut cujusquam imperio.
from deliberation among themselves, or any one's orders.

LI.—Cum ceteri circumfusi victori Hannibali
When all others, surrounding the victorious Hannibal,
 gratularentur suaderentque, ut, perfunctus
congratulated him and recommended that, after going through
 tanto bello, et ipse sibi sumeret et daret
such a hard-fought battle, he should take himself, and allow
 fessis militibus quietem, quod reliquum esset diei,
the wearied soldiers, repose during the remainder of that day,
 insequentisque noctis; Maharbal, præfectus equitum
and the ensuing night, Maharbal, prefect of the cavalry,
 ratus cessandum minime,
being of opinion that there should be no delay under any circumstances,
 inquit, “immo, ut scias, quid
said to him, “Nay, rather, that you may know what
 actum sit hac pugna, quinto die
has been accomplished by this engagement, on the fifth day following
 epulaberis victor in Capitolio. Sequere: præcedam
you shall feast victorious in the Capitol. Follow me: I will go first
 cum equite, ut venisse prius quam sciant
with the cavalry, that they may see me arrived before they know of
 venturum.” Hannibali res visa est
my being on the way.” To Hannibal this project appeared
 nimis læta majorque, quam ut posset
too full of joy, and the prospect too vast as that he could
 eam capere animo statim: Itaquit ait
comprehend it at the instant. He therefore replied

se laudare Maharbalis voluntatem,
that "he applauded Maharbal's zeal:

temporis opus esse ad pensandum consilium. Tum
time was necessary to ponder the proposal." Upon this

Maharbal: "nimirum dii non dedere eidem
Maharbal observed, "True, the gods do not bestow on the same

omnia: Hannibal, scis vincere,
person all kinds of talents. You, Hannibal, know how to conquer,

nescis uti victoria." Ejus diei mora
but know not how to make use of your victory." That day's delay

satis creditur fuisse saluti urbi atque
is firmly believed to have been the preservation of the city and

imperio. Postero die, ubi primum illuxit,
the empire. On the following day, as soon as it dawned,

insistunt ad legenda spolia spectandamque
they applied themselves to the collecting of the spoils, and in viewing

stragem foedam etiam hostibus. Tot millia
the carnage, which was shocking even to enemies: so many thousands

Romanorum, equites peditesque, jacebant passim,
of Romans, horsemen and footmen, were lying promiscuously

ut fors junxerat quem cuique aut pugna
on the field, as chance had thrown them together, either in the battle

aut fuga. Quidam, quos vulnera stricta
or flight. Some, whom their wounds, being pinched

matutino frigore excitaverant, oppressi sunt
by the morning cold, had roused from their posture, were put to death

ab hoste, assurgentes cruenti
by the enemy as they were rising up, covered with blood,

ex media strage. Quosdam et invenerunt
from the midst of the heaps of slain. Some, too, they found

jacentes vivos feminibus poplitibusque succisis,
lying alive, with their thighs and hams cut, who,

nudantes cervicem jugulumque et jubentes haurire
stripping their necks and throats, bade them spill

reliquum sanguinem. Quidam inventi sunt
what remained of their blood. Some were found

capitibus mersis in effossam terram, quos apparebat
with their heads buried in the pitted earth, who, it appears,

fecisse foveas sibi ipsos obruentesque ora humo
 had made holes for themselves, and covering their faces with earth
 superjecta spiritum interclusisse. Præcipue
 thrown over them, had thus been suffocated. But what principally
 convertit omnes vivus Numida naso
 attracted the attention of all was a living Numidian with his nose
 auribusque laceratis subtractus mortuo Romano
 and ears strangely mangled, stretched beneath a dead Roman
 superincubanti; cum manibus inutilibus ad
 who lay upon him, and who, when his hands were powerless to
 capiendum telum, versa ira in rabiem, expirasset
 grasp a weapon, turning from rage to madness, had expired
 laniando hostem dentibus.
 in the act of tearing his antagonist with his teeth.

LII.—Spoliis lectis ad multum diei
 The spoils having been gathered for a great part of the day
 Hannibal ducit ad oppugnanda minora castra,
 Hannibal leads his troops to attack the smaller camp,
 et primum omnium, objecto brachio, excludit
 and first of all, by interposing a trench, excludes
 eos flumine. Ceterum fessis labore,
 the garrison from the river. But, as they were spent with labor,
 vigiliis, etiam vulneribus, deditio facta est ab
 watching and wounds, a surrender was made by
 omnibus maturior ipsius spe.
 all the forces, sooner than his expectation had warranted.
 Pacti, ut traderent arma atque equos
 Having agreed, that they would deliver up their arms and horses
 trecentis nummis quadrigatis in Romana capita,
 at the price of three hundred denarii for every Roman,
 ducentis in socios centenis in servos, et ut,
 two hundred for an ally, one hundred for a slave, and that,
 persoluto eo pretio, abirent cum singulis
 on payment of this ransom, they should depart with single
 vestimentis, acceperunt hostes in castra :
 garments, they received the enemy into the camp;

omnesque traditi sunt in custodiam cives sociique
and were all put into custody, the citizens and allies

seorsum. Dum tempus teritur ibi,
being kept separate. While the time is being spent there, such troops

ex majoribus castris, quibus fuit virium aut animi
from the greater camp as had strength or spirit

satis, ad quattuor millia hominum et
enough, amounting to four thousand footmen and

ducenti equites, cum interea perfugissent Canusium,
two hundred horse, having meanwhile made their escape to Canusium,

alii agris, alii palati passim per agros,
some in nodies, others straggling different ways through the country,

quod erat haud minus tutum, castra ipsa
(which was no less secure a course,) the camp itself

tradita hosti ab sauciis timidisque
is delivered up to the enemy by the wounded and spiritless who remained,

eadem conditione, qua altera. Præda parta
on the same terms as the other was. The spoil obtained

est ingens; et præter viros equosque et
was immense; and, excepting the men and horses, and

si quid argenti— quod plurimum erat in phaleris
whatever silver there was, (most of which was on the trappings

equorum, nam utebantur perexiguo facto
of the horses; as they used but very little [made

ad vescendum, utique militantes— omnis
for eating from, particularly in campaign,) all

cetera præda data est diripienda. Tum jussit
the rest of the booty was given up to be plundered. Hannibal then ordered

corpora suorum conferri in unum causa sepeliendi :
the bodies of his own troops to be collected for burial :

dicuntur fuisse ad octo millia fortissimorum
they are said to have amounted to eight thousand of his bravest

virorum. Quidam auctores sunt quoque conquisitum
men. Some authors say that he also searched for

sepultumque Romanum consulem. Eos, qui
and interred the Roman consul. Those who

perfugerant Canusium, acceptos a Canusinis
escaped to Canusium, being received by the people of that place

moenibus tectisque tantum, mulier Apula, nomine
 within their walls and houses only, a woman of Apulia, named
 Busa, clara genere ac divitiis, juvat frumento,
 Busa, eminent for her birth and riches, generously assisted with corn,
 veste, etiam viatico; pro qua munificentia
 clothes, and provisions; in return for which munificence,
 honores postea habiti sunt ei ab senatu,
 high honors were afterwards paid to her by the senate
 perfecto bello.
 at the conclusion of the war.

LIII.—Ceterum, cum essent quattuor
 Now, though there were four
 militum tribuni ibi, de prima legione Fabius
 military tribunes there: of the first legion, Fabius
 Maximus, cujus pater fuerat dictator anno priore,
 Maximus, whose father had been dictator the year before;
 et de secunda legione L. Publicius Bibulus et
 of the second legion, Lucius Publicius Bibulus and
 P. Cornelius Scipio, et de tertia legione Ap.
 Publius Cornelius Scipio; and of the third legion, Appian
 Claudius Pulcher, qui fuerat ædilis proxime,
 Claudius Pulcher, who had been ædile the last year;
 summa imperii est omnium consensu delata
 of the command-in-chief was, with universal consent, conferred
 ad P. Scipionem admodum adolescentem
 on Publius Scipio, then very young,
 et ad Ap. Claudium. Quibus consultantibus
 in conjunction with Appian Claudius. To these, while deliberating
 inter paucos de summa rerum, P. Furius
 with a few others on the crisis of their affairs, Publius Furius
 Philus, filius viri consularis, nuntiat,
 Philus, son of a man of consular dignity, brings intelligence,
 nequidquam eos fovere spem perditam,
 "That it was in vain they cherished hopes in a case past retrieving,
 rem publicam desperatam esse comploratumque.
 for the commonwealth was despaired of and lamented as lost.

quosdam juvenes nobiles, quorum principem
That several young men of the nobility, at whose head

L. Cæcilium Metellum, spectare mare ac naves,
was Cæcilius Metellus, were having an eye to the sea and ships,

ut, deserta Italia, transfugiant ad aliquem
in order that, abandoning Italy, they might escape to some one

regum. Cum quod malum, præterquam
of the foreign kings." When this calamity, which, besides

atrox, etiam novum super
being itself appalling, followed, moreover, unexpectedly in the wake of

tot clades, defixisset torpidos miraculo
so many disasters, had struck them motionless with astonishment

ac stupore, et, qui aderant censerent
and stupor; and while those who were present gave it as their opinion

consilium advocandum de eo, juvenis Scipio,
that a council should be called on the subject, young Scipio,

fatalis dux hujusce belli, negat esse
the destined general of this war, declares "that it was not

rem consilii : audendum atque agendum ait,
a subject for council; resolution and action, [says he,]

non consultandum esse in tanto malo :
and not deliberation were necessary in such direful distress.

irent secum extemplo armati, qui vellent
Those should come with him that moment in arms, who wished

salvam rem publicam : nullo loco esse castra
the preservation of the state : for in no place was the camp

hostium verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur.
of the enemy more truly, than where such designs were meditated."

Pergit ire, sequentibus paucis, in hospitium
Immediately he proceeds, attended by a few, to the lodging

Metelli : et, cum invenisset ibi concilium
of Metellus; and on finding there the council

juvenum, de quibus allatum erat, consultantium,
of youths, of whom mention had been made, sitting in consultation,

stricto gladio super capita, inquit,
he held his drawn sword over their heads, and said :

"ex sententia mei animi, ut ego non deseram
"With sincerity of soul I swear that I will not desert

rem publicam Romani populi, neque patiar alium
 the commonwealth of the Roman people; neither will I suffer any other
 Romanum civem deserere: si sciens fallo,
 Roman citizen to desert it. If, knowingly, I perjure myself,
 tum, Jupiter optime maxime afficias
 then, do thou, Jupiter, supremely good and great, overwhelm,
 pessimo leto me, domum, familiam
 in the severest ruin, myself, my house, my family
 meamque rem. Postulo, L. Cæcili, ceterique,
 and my fortune! I demand of you Lucius Cæcilius, and the rest of you
 qui adestis, jures in hæc verba:
 who are present, to take oath with these same words:
 qui non juraverit sciat in se hunc
 and let him, that will not swear, be assured, that against him this
 gladium strictum esse." Pavidum haud secus, quam si
 sword is drawn." Terrified no less than if
 cernerent victorem Hannibalem, omnes jurant,
 they had seen the victorious Hannibal, they all take the oath,
 traduntque semet ipsos Scipioni custodiendos.
 and surrender themselves to Scipio to be kept in custody.

LIV.—Eo tempore, quo hæc agebantur
 During the time in which these things were passing
 Canusii, ad quattuor millia et quingenti
 at Canusium, about four thousand five hundred
 equites peditesque, qui fuga sparsi fuerant
 horse and foot, who, in the flight, had been dispersed
 per agros, pervenere Venusiam ad consulem.
 through the country, came to Venusia to the consul.
 Venusini, cum divisissent eos omnes
 The Venusians, after distributing them every one,
 per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque,
 throughout their families, to be kindly entertained and taken care of,
 dederunt in singulos equites togas et tunicas
 gave to each horseman a gown and tunic,
 et vicens quinos quadrigatos nummos et
 and twenty-five denarii; and

pediti denos, et arma, quibus deerant;
to each footman ten denarii, and each arms as they wanted;
 ceteraque hospitaliter facta publice
and every other kind of hospitality was shown them, both by the public
 ac privatim, certatumque,
and by private persons, emulously striving
 ne Venusinus populus vinceretur officiis
that the Venusian state might not be outdone in kind offices
 a muliere Canusina. Sed multitudo
by a woman of Canusium. However, the great number of her guests,
 et erant jam ad decem millia hominum, faciebat
which amounted now to ten thousand men, made
 onus gravius Busæ: Appiusque et Scipio, postquam
the burden heavier on Busa. Appius and Scipio, as soon as
 acceperunt alterum consulem esse incolumem,
they learned that the other consul was safe,
 extemplo mittunt nuntium, quantæ copiæ
instantly despatch a messenger to him with word of how many troops
 equitum peditumque essent secum,
of horse and foot were with them,
 simul sciscitatumque, utrumne juberet exercitum
and at the same time to inquire, whether he desired the army
 adduci Venusiam an manere Canusii.
to be brought to Venusia, or to remain at Canusium.
 Varro ipse traduxit copias Canusium: et jam
Varro himself led over his forces to Canusium. And now
 erat aliqua species consularis exercitus,
there was some appearance of a consular army,
 videbanturque defensuri se si non armis
and they seemed capable of defending themselves, though not with their arms
 certe mœnibus. Allatum fuerat
alone, yet certainly with the help of walls. Account had been brought
 Romam, ne quidem has reliquias civium sociorumque
to Rome that not even these relics of the citizens and allies
 superesse, sed exercitum cum duobus consulibus
had survived, but that the armies, together with the two consuls,
 occidone occisum omnesque copias deletas. Nunquam,
were utterly cut off, and all the forces annihilated. Never,

urbe salva, tantum pavoris tumultusque
when the city was in safety, did such a degree of dismay and confusion
 fuit intra moenia Romana. Itaque succumbam oneri,
prevail within the walls of Rome. I shall therefore shrink from the task
 neque aggrediar narrare, quæ edisserendo
and will not undertake to describe what, in the representation,
 faciebant minora vero. Nuntiabantur non
must fall short of the reality. The report was, not of another
 vulnus super vulnus consule exercituque amisso
wound upon that of a consul and his army being lost,
 anno priore ad Trasimenum, sed multiplex clades,
the year before, at the Trasymenus, but of a multiplicity of disasters,
 amissi duo consulares exercitus cum duobus consulibus;
the loss of two consular armies, together with both consuls:
 jam esse nec ulla Romana castra nec ducem
that now there was neither any Roman camp, nor general,
 nec militem, Apuliam, Samnium ac jam prope
nor soldiery; that Apulia, Samnium and now almost
 totam Italiam factam Hannibalis.
the whole of Italy were in the possession of Hannibal. There is
 Nulla alia gens profecto non obruta esset
no other nation certainly, that would not have been crushed
 tanta mole cladis. Compares
by such an accumulation of misfortune. Can you compare with it
 aut cladem Carthaginensium, acceptam
[either] the disaster of the Carthaginians, sustained
 navali pœlio ad Ægates insulas, fracti qua
in the sea-fight at the Ægatian islands, dispirited by which
 cessere Sicilia ac Sardinia, inde passi sunt se fieri
they gave up Sicily and Sardinia, and thenceforth submitted to become
 vectigales ac stipendiarios: aut adversam pugnam
tributary and stipendiary? Or the loss of the battle
 in Africa, cui hic ipse Hannibal postea succubuit:
in Africa, under which this same Hannibal afterward sunk?
 nulla ex parte sunt comparandæ, nisi quod latæ sunt
In no respect are they comparable, except that they were endured
 minore animo.
with less fortitude.

LV.--Prætores P. Furius Philus et M' Pomponius

The prætors, Publius Furius Philus and Manius Pomponius,

vocaverunt senatum in curiam Hostiliam, ut
 convened the senate in the Curia Hostilia, that

consulerent de custodia urbis :
 they might take counsel about the guarding of the city ;

enim neque dubitabant, exercitibus deletis,
 for they doubted not but that, the armies being destroyed,

hostem venturum ad oppugnandam Romam,
 the enemy would come directly to attack Rome,

unum opus belli quod restaret. Cum
 the only operation of the war which remained. When,

in malis, sicut ingentibus, ita ignotis
 in the midst of misfortunes as unbounded as they were unapprehended,

ne quidem satis expedirent consilium,
 they could not even fairly prepare a plan of defence,

clamorque lamentantium mulierum obstreperet,
 and while the loud lamentations of the women were resounding,

et, nondum palam facto, vivi mortuique promiscue
 and, nothing being as yet positively known, the living and the dead alike

complorarentur per pæne omnes domos ; tum
 were lamented as lost in almost every house, [then]

Q. Fabius Maximus censuit, expeditos equites
 Quintus Fabius Maximus gave his opinion, "That swift horsemen

mittendos et Appia et Latina via, qui
 should be sent along the Appian and Latin roads, who,

percunctando obvios— aliquos profecto fore dissipatos
 questioning those they met, (as some would certainly be dispersed

passim ex fuga— referant, quæ sit
 in all directions from the flight,) might bring back word what was

fortuna consulum atque exercituum ; et, si
 the fate of the consuls and the armies ; and, if

immortales dii, miseriti imperii fecerint quid reliquum
 the immortal gods, in compassion to the empire, had left any remnant

Romani nominis ; ubi eæ copiæ sint ; quo Hannibal
 of the Roman name, where these forces were ; whither Hannibal

se contulerit post prælium, quid paret,
 had repaired after the battle ; what he was meditating ;

quid agat acturusque sit. Hæc
 what he was doing and preparing to do. These particulars

exploranda esse noscendaque per impigros juvenes.
 ought to be inquired into and ascertained by active young men ;

Illud agendum per patres ipsos, quoniam
 and it should be the business of the senators themselves, since

sit parum magistratum, ut tollant tumultum
 there was a deficiency of magistrates, to do away with the tumult

ac trepidationem in urbe, arceant matronas publico
 and trepidation in the city ; to remove the women from the public

cogantque quamque contineri intra suum limen ;
 places, and compel each to abide within her own threshold ;

coerceant comploratus familiarum, faciant silentium
 to restrain the lamentations of families ; to cause silence

per urbem, curent nuntios
 throughout the city ; to take care that the bearers

omnium rerum deducendos ad prætores ;
 of every kind of intelligence be conducted to the prætors,

quisque expectant domi auctorem
 and each person await in his own house the information

sue fortunæ ; præterea ponant custodes
 respecting his own fortune : that they should moreover place guards

ad portas, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi
 at the gates to hinder any from going out of

urbem, cogantque homines, sperare nullam salutem,
 the city, and oblige men to place no hope of safety

nisi salvis mœnibus ac urbe : ubi tumultus
 but in the preservation of the walls and the city. That when the tumult

recte conticuerit, tum patres revocandos esse
 had fairly subsided, then the senators should be called back

in curiam consulendumque de custodia urbis.
 into the house, and consultation be had about the defence of the city."

LVI.—Cum omnes issent pedibus in hanc sententiam,
 When all had signified *their* assent to this opinion,

turbaque submota foro per magistratus,
 and, upon the crowd being removed out of the forum by the magistrates,

patres discessissent diversi ad sedandos tumultus,
 the senators had proceeded in different directions to quiet the commotions,
 tum demum litteræ allatæ sunt a consule C. Terentio,
 then at length a letter was brought from the consul Terentius,

consulem L. Æmilium exercitumque cæsum,
stating, "that the consul Lucius Æmilius and his army were slain;

sese esse Canusii, colligentem velut ex naufragio
 that he himself was at Canusium, collecting, as from a shipwreck,

eliquias tantæ cladis. Esse
 the remains of such a dreadful disaster; that there were with him

ferme ad decem millia incompositorum
 nearly ten thousand irregular

inordinatorumque militum : Pœnum, nec
 and unorganized troops. That the Carthaginian, neither

animo victoris nec more magni ducis, sedere
 in the spirit of a conqueror nor in the style of a great general, lay still

ad Cannas nundinantem in pretiis captivorum
 at Cannæ, bargaining about the price of the captives,

aliaque præda. Tum clades privatæ quoque
 and the other booty." Then the losses of private families also

vulgatæ sunt per domos; adeoque
 were made known throughout their several houses; and so largely

luctus opplevit totam urbem, ut anniversarium sacrum
 did grief now pervade the entire city, that the anniversary festival

Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec est fas
 of Ceres was omitted, because it is not allowable

lugentibus id facere, nec fuerat
 for persons in mourning to celebrate it, and there was not,

in illa tempestate ulla matrona expers luctus.
 at that juncture, one matron without sorrowing-apparel.

Ne, itaque, ob eandem causam alia sacra quoque
 Lest, therefore, for the same reason, other festivals [also,]

publica aut privata desererentur, luctus est
 public or private, might be neglected, the mourning was,

senatus consulto finitus triginta diebus. Ceterum
 by a decree of the senate, limited to thirty days. Now

cum, tumultu urbis sedato, patres
 when, upon the tumult in the city being allayed, the senators

revocati essent in curiam, aliæ insuper litteræ
 were reassembled in their house, an additional letter
 allatæ sunt ex Sicilia ab proprætore T. Otacilio,
 was brought from Sicily, from the proprætor Titus Otacilius, *stating*,
 regnum Hieronis vastari Punica classe;
 "that the kingdom of Hiero was being devastated by a Carthaginian fleet;
 cum cui imploranti vellet ferre
 and that when, in answer to his imploration, he was on the point of bringing
 opem nuntiatum sibi esse, aliam classem stare
 him assistance, word was sent him that another fleet lay
 ad Ægates insulas instructam paratamque,
 at the Ægæan islands, equipped and prepared for battle;
 Pœni, ubi sensissent se
 the Carthaginians intending, as soon as they perceived that he
 versum ad tuendam oram Syracusanam,
 was gone away to guard the coast of Syracuse,
 ut extemplo aggredierentur Lilybæum aliamque
 to fall immediately on Lilybæum and other
 Romanam provinciam: itaque opus esse classe,
 parts of the Roman province: that he therefore needed a fleet,
 si vellent tueri Siciliam regemque socium.
 if they wished him to protect Sicily and the king their ally."

LVII.—Litteris consulis proprætorisque perlectis,

The letters of the consul and the proprætor having been read,

censuerunt M. Claudium, qui præseset classi
 they resolved that Marcus Claudius, who commanded the fleet
 stanti ad Ostiam, mittendum ad exercitum
 stationed at Ostia, should be sent to the army
 Canusium, scribendumque consuli ut,
 at Canusium; and a letter be written to the consul, directing that,
 cum tradidisset exercitum prætori, veniret Romam
 after he had delivered the army to the prætor, he should come to Rome
 primo quoque tempore, quantum posset fieri
 at as early an opportunity as he could [manage],
 per commodum rei publicæ. Territi etiam
 consistently with the interest of the republic. People were terrified also,

super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis,
in addition to such dire misfortunes, both by several prodigies,

tum quod duæ Vestales, Opimia atque Floronia,
and also because two Vestals, Opimia and Floronia,

eo anno compertæ stupri : et altera fuerat
were that year convicted of incontinence ; one of whom was,

ut est mos necata sub terra ; altera ipsa
according to custom, put to death by burial ; the other voluntarily

mortem consciverat sibimet. L. Cantilius,
killed herself. Lucius Cantilius,

pontificis scriba, quos nunc appellant
pontifical scribe, (a class, whom they now call

minores pontifices, qui fecerat stuprum cum Feronia,
the lesser pontiffs,) who had committed rape on Feronia,

erat a maximo pontifice cæsus virgis in comitio
was, by order of the chief pontiff, beaten with rods, in the comitium,

eo usque, ut exspiraret inter verbera. Hoc nefas
so severely, that he expired under the stripes. This enormity,

inter tot clades cum versum esset
happening in the midst of so many calamities, being converted

in prodigium, ut fit, decemviri jussi sunt
into a prodigy, as is usual in such cases, the decemvirs were ordered

adire libros ; Q. Fabius Pictor et missus est Delphos
to consult the books. Quintus Fabius Pictor was sent also to Delphi

ad sciscitatum oraculum, quibus precibus supplicisque
to inquire of the oracle by what prayers and offerings

possent placare deos, et quænam finis
they might be able to appease the gods ; and what termination

futura foret tantis cladibus. Interim
there would be to such great distresses. Meanwhile,

ex libris fatalibus aliquot extraordinaria sacrificia
according to the books of the fates, several extraordinary sacrifices

facta, inter quæ Gallus et Galla,
were performed ; among which a Gallic man and woman,

Græcus et Græca, sub terra demissi sunt vivi
and a Greek man and woman, were buried alive

in bovario foro in locum consæptum saxo,
in the cattle-market, in a vault built round with stone, which had

jam ante imbutum humanis hostiis, sacro minime
 already *been* polluted with human victims, a rite by no means
 Romano. Deis, ut rebantur, satis placatis,
 Roman. The gods being, as they supposed, sufficiently appeased,
 M. Claudius Marcellus mittit ab Ostia Romam
 Marcus Claudius Marcellus despatches from Ostia to Rome,
 ut essent præsidio urbi mille et quingentos milites,
 as a garrison for the city, one thousand five hundred troops
 quos habebat scriptos in classem: ipse,
 whom he had *there*, and *who had been* levied for the fleet. He himself
 præmissa classica legione— ea erat tertia legio
 sending before *him* a marine legion, (it was the third legion,)
 cum militum tribunis Teanum Sidicinum,
 under the *command of the* military tribunes, to Teanum Sidicinum,
 tradita classe collegæ P. Furio Philo,
 and having delivered the fleet to his colleague Publius Furius Philus,
 post paucos dies contendit magnis itineribus
 after a few days proceeded by forced marches
 Canusium. Inde M. Junius, dictus dictator
 to Canusium. Upon this Marcus Junius, appointed dictator
 ex auctoritate patrum et Tib. Sempronius
 on the authority of the senate, and Tiberius Sempronius,
 magister equitum, edicto dilectu, scribunt juniores
 master of the horse, having proclaimed a levy, enrol the younger *men*
 ab annis septemdecim et quosdam prætextatos:
 from the age of seventeen, and some *even* who wore the "toga prætexta:"
 ex his quattuor legiones et mille equites effecti.
 of these, four legions and a thousand horse were formed.
 Mittunt item ad socios Latinumque nomen
 They send also to the allies and the Latin confederacy,
 ad accipiendos milites ex formula:
 to receive *from them* the soldiers according to the terms of *the treaty*.
 jubent arma, tela alia
 They give orders that armor, weapons, and other *necessaries*
 parari, et detrahunt templis
 should be prepared; and they *even* took down from the temples
 porticibusque vetera spolia hostium. Et
 and porticoes the old spoils *taken* from the enemy. Besides

necessitas ac inopia caputum liberorum dedit
the urgent necessity and the scarcity of men of free condition gave rise to
 aliam formam dilectus novi: emptam
a new mode of levy of an unusual kind: they purchased
 publice octo millia validorum juvenum ex servitiis,
with the public money eight thousand stout young slaves,
 prius sciscitantes singulos, vellente militare,
first inquiring of each whether he was willing to serve,
 et armaverunt: hic miles magis placuit,
and then gave them arms. This kind of military was preferred,
 cum copia fieret redimendi captivos
though the power was in their hands of redeeming the prisoners
 minore pretio.
at a less expense.

LVIII.—Namque Hannibal secundum
For Hannibal, after

tam prosperam pugnam ad Cannas intentus curis
so successful a battle at Cannæ, was busied with the concerns
 magis victoris quam gerentis bellum,
rather of a complete conqueror, than of one having a war to prosecute;
 captivis productis segregatisque, cum
and the prisoners being brought forward and separated, when he had,
 benigne allocutus dimisisset socios sine pretio,
after kindly addressing them, dismissed the allies without ransom,
 sicut ante ad Trebiam lacumque Trasimenum,
(as he had done formerly at the Trebia and the lake Trasymenus,)
 alloquitur Romanos quoque vocatos satis miti sermone—
he addressed the Romans too, on being called to him, in quite gentle terms.
 quod nunquam alias antea: sibi non esse
thing which he never did on any former occasion: "That he was not
 bellum internecivum cum Romanis; certare
engaging a war of extermination with the Romans, but was fighting
 de dignitate atque imperio: et patres cecisisse
for glory and empire. That as his ancestors had yielded
 Romanæ virtuti, et se id adniti, ut cedatur
to the Roman valor, so he on his part was trying it, to make others yield

in vicem suæ felicitati et virtuti simul. Itaque
in turn to his good fortune and valor together. Wherefore

facere captivis copiam redimendi se :
he would afford the captives an opportunity of ransoming themselves ;
pretium in capita fore quingenos quadrigatos nummos
and that the price per head should be five hundred ænarii

equiti, trecenos pediti, centenos servo.
or a horseman, three hundred for a footman, and a hundred for a slave.

Quamquam aliquantum adjiciebatur ad
Although some addition was made to

id pretium equitibus, quod pepigerant
the sum for the cavalry, which they had stipulated

se dedentes, tamen læti acceperunt
on their surrendering, yet they joyfully accepted

quæcumque conditionem paciscendi : placuit
any terms of entering into the compact. It was determined

deligi ipsorum suffragio decem,
that they should choose by their own suffrages ten of their number,

qui irent Romam ad senatum : nec
who should go to Rome to the senate ; nor

aliud pignus fidei acceptum, quam ut jurarent
was any other guarantee of their fidelity taken than that they should swear

se redituros. Cum his missus Carthalo,
that they would return. With these was sent Carthalo,

nobilis Carthaginienſis, qui, si forte animos
a noble Carthaginian, who, if perchance their minds

inclinarent ad pacem, ferret conditiones. Cum
were inclined towards peace, was to propose terms. After

egressi essent castris, unus ex iis, homo minime
they had set out from the camp, one of them, a man who had very little

Romani ingenii, cum redisset, veluti oblitus aliquid,
of the Roman character, having returned, as if he had forgotten something,

in castra causa solvendi jurisjurandi
to the camp, for the purpose of evading his oath, afterwards

assequitur comites ante noctem. Ubi nuntiatum est
sought up with his companions before night. When it was reported

Romam eos venire, lictor missus obviam
at Rome that they were coming, a lictor was sent to meet

Carthalonī, qui nuntiaret verbis dictatoris,
 Carthalo, to tell him, in the words of the dictator
 ut excederet Romanis finibus ante noctem.
 to quit the Roman territories before night.

LIX.—Legatis captivorum senatus
 To the deputies of the prisoners an audience of the senate
 datus est ab dictatore. Princeps quorum
 was granted by the dictator. The principal of them,
 M. Junius inquit, “patres conscripti, nemo
 Marcus Junius, thus spoke: “Conscript fathers, none
 nostrum ignorat; nulli civitati fuisse
 of us is ignorant that in no other state were
 captivos unquam viliores quam nostræ.
 prisoners ever held in greater contempt than in our own
 Ceterum, nisi nostra causa plus placet nobis
 However, unless our cause is dearer to us
 justo, non alii unquam venerunt in potestatem
 than it should be, none who ever fell into the power
 hostium minus negligendi vobis
 of an enemy were less deserving of being disregarded at your hands
 quam nos. Enim non per timorem tradidimus
 than we are; for we did not through cowardice surrender
 arma in acie; sed cum extraxissemus proelium
 our arms in the field; but after having protracted the battle
 prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis
 until near night, while standing upon heaps
 cæsorū corporum, nos recepimus in castra;
 of our slaughtered comrades, we retreated within our works.
 reliquum diei ac insequentem noctem fessi
 During the remainder of the day and the ensuing night, spent
 labore ac vulneribus tutati sumus vallum;
 as we were with toil and wounds, we yet defended our rampart.
 postero die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu victore
 Next day, when, beset by the army of the conquerors,
 arceremur aqua, nec jam esset ulia spes
 we were debarred from access to the water, and there was now no hop

erumpendi per confertos hostes,
 of breaking through the dense bands of the enemy ;
 nec duceremus esse nefas trucidatis
 and not considering it an impiety that, after the slaughter
 quinquaginta millibus hominum ex nostra acie
 of fifty thousand [men] of our army,
 aliquem Romanum militem restare ex pugna
 any Roman soldier should survive the battle
 Cannensi, tunc demum pacti sumus pretium,
 of Cannæ ; then at length we agreed upon terms
 quo redempti dimitteremur, arma, in quibus
 on which we might be ransomed and let off ; and our arms, in which
 erat nihil jam auxilii, tradidimus hosti.
 there was no longer any protection, we delivered to the enemy.
 Acceperamus majores quoque redemisse se
 We had heard that our ancestors also redeemed themselves
 auro a Gallis, et vestros patres,
 with gold from the Gauls ; and that your fathers, though
 illos asperissimos ad conditionem pacis, tamen misisse
 they were very rigid as to the terms of peace, still sent
 legatos Tarentum gratia redimendorum
 ambassadors to Tarentum for the purpose of ransoming
 captivorum. Atqui et pugna ad Aliam cum
 the captives. Yet, both the fight at the Allia with
 Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho, fuit
 the Gauls, and that at Heraclea with Pyrrhus, were
 utraque infamis non tam clade
 [each of them] disgraceful, not so much on account of the loss
 quam pavore et fuga. Acervi Romanorum corporum
 as the panic and flight. Heaps of Roman carcasses
 tegunt campos Cannenses : nec supersumus pugnae,
 cover the plains of Cannæ ; and none of us survived the battle
 nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires
 but those, for whose destruction sword and strength
 defecerunt hostem. Sunt etiam quidam de nostris,
 had failed the enemy. There are, too, some of us,
 qui ne quidem refugerunt in acie, sed relict
 who did not even retreat in the field, but, being left

præsidio castris to guard the camp,	venerunt came	in potestatem hostium into the hands of the enemy
cum castra traderentur. when that was surrendered.	Equidem For my part	haud invidéo I envy not
fortunæ the good fortune	aut conditioni or the situation	ullius civis of any fellow-citizen
et commilitionis, or fellow-soldier,	nec velim nor do I wish	premendo alium by depressing another
me extulisse: to exalt myself;	quidem, but surely,	nisi est aliquod unless there is some
præmium prize	pernicitatis pedum due to swiftness of foot	et cursus, illi, and running, those men,
qui who,	fugientes ex acie flying the field	plerique inermes for the most part without their arms,
non constiterunt never halted	prius quam until they arrived	Venusiæ aut at Venusia, or
Canusii, Canusium,	ne merito se prætulerint nobis cannot justly set themselves before us,	
gloriatique sint, or boast	esse that there is	plus præsidii more of a safeguard
rei publicæ to the commonwealth	in se quam in nobismet. in them than in us.	Sed However,
et utemini illis you will both find them	bonis ac fortibus militibus, to be good and valiant soldiers,	et nobis and us
etiam promptioribus still more zealous	pro patria, in our country's cause	quod for
redempti fuerimus our having been ransomed	atque restituti and restored	in patriam to that country
vestro beneficio. by your kindness.	Habetis dilectum You are levying	ex omni ætate from every age
et fortuna, and condition:	audio I hear	octo millia servorum armari: that eight thousand slaves are being armed.
noster numerus Our number	est non minor, is not inferior to that, and	possumus redimi we may be ransomed
nec majore pretio, at less expense	quam ii emuntur: than they are purchased:	nam [for]
si conferam nos should I compare ourselves	cum illis, with them,	faciam injuriam I would cast a slur

nomini Romano. **Censeam,** **conscripti patres,**
 on the name of Roman I think, conscript fathers, that
in tali consilio **illud etiam** **animadvertendum**
 in such a case, this circumstance also deserves consideration
vobis, **si tamen velitis** **esse duriores,**
 on your part, (if indeed you are disposed to be over-severe,
quod faciatis nullo merito nostro, **cui hosti**
 which you can not do from any demerit of ours,) to what sort of enemy
relicturi sitis nos: Pyrrho videlicet, **qui habuit vos**
 you would abandon us: to a Pyrrhus, for instance, who counted us,
captivos **numero hospitum,** **an barbaro**
 when prisoners, among the number of his guests; or a barbarian
ac Poeno, **qui potest vix existimari,** **utrum**
 and Carthaginian, of whom it can scarcely be determined, whether
sit avarior **an crudelior.** **Si videatis**
 he be the more rapacious, or the more cruel. If you were to see
catenas, squalorem, deformitatem vestrorum civium,
 the chains, the squalid dress, the loathsomeness of your countrymen,
ea species **profecto** **moveat vos non minus,**
 the sight, I am convinced, would affect you not less deeply
quam si ex altera parte **cernatis vestras legiones**
 than if, on the other hand, you beheld your legions
stratas campis Cannensibus. **Potestis intueri**
 prostrate on the plains of Cannæ. You can here observe
sollicitudinem et lacrimas **nostrorum cognatorum**
 the solicitude and the tears of our kinsmen
stantium in vestibulo **curiæ expectantiumque**
 as they stand in the porch of your senate-house, and await
vestrum responsum. **Cum ii sint ita suspensi**
 your answer. When they are in so much suspense
ac solliciti **pro nobis** **proque iis,** **qui absunt,**
 and anxiety in behalf of us and of those who are absent,
quem censetis **esse ipsorum animum** **quorum**
 what do you suppose must be our own feelings, whose
libertas **vitaque** **est in discrimine.** **Sed—**
 liberty and life are at stake? But,
me dius fidius— **si Hannibal ipse** **contra suam**
 by the god of truth, should Hannibal himself, contrary to his

naturam velit esse mitis in nos, tamen censeamus
 nature, be disposed to be lenient towards us, yet we should consider
 vita esse nihil opus nobis, cum visi sumus a vobis
 life to be no gratification to us, after having been adjudged by you
 indigni, ut redimeremur. Quondam capti remissi
 unworthy of being ransomed. Formerly, prisoners dismissed
 a Pyrrho sine pretio rediere Romam: sed
 by Pyrrhus without ransom returned home to Rome; but
 rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis,
 they returned with ambassadors, the chief men of the state,
 missis ad redimendos sese. Ego redeam
 who had been sent for the purpose of ransoming them. Should I return
 in patriam, civis non aestimatus trecentis
 to my country, a citizen, and not considered worth three hundred
 nummis? Conscripti patres quisque habet
 denarii? Conscript fathers, every man has
 suum animum: scio meum corpus vitamque
 his own way of thinking. I know that my person and life
 esse in discrimine; periculum famæ,
 are in hazard; but the danger to our reputation,
 ne abeamus repulsi ac damnati a vobis,
 if we should go away rejected and condemned by you,
 movet me magis: enim homines neque credent
 affects me more deeply: for men will never believe
 vos pepercissee pretio."
 that you grudged the price of our redemption."

LX.—Ubi is finem fecit, flebilis clamor
 When he had concluded, a lamentable cry
 sublatus est ab ea turba, quæ erat in comitio,
 was set up by the multitude, who stood in the comitium,
 tendebantque manus ad curiam orantes,
 and stretched their hands towards the senate-house, beseeching
 ut redderent sibi liberos, fratres,
 the members to restore to them their children, their brothers
 cognatos. Metus ac necessitas
 and relations. Their fears and the urgency of the case

immiscuerat feminas quoque huic turbæ virorum in
 had brought a number of women also among the crowd of men in

foro. Arbitris submotis, senatus
 the forum. Spectators being removed, the senate

coeptus consuli. Ibi cum variaretur sententiis,
 began to consider the matter. There being a difference of opinion,

et alii censerent redimendos de publico,
 and some advising that they should be ransomed at the public charge,

alii nullam impensam faciendam publice,
 others, that no expense should be incurred on the part of the state,

nec prohibendos redimi
 but that they should not be hindered from redeeming themselves

ex privato, si quibus deesset argentum
 with their own private property; and that to such as wanted money

in præsentiam mutuam pecuniam dandam ex
 at present, a loan should be made out of

ærario, cavendumque populo prædibus
 the public treasury, and security given to the nation by sureties

ac prædiis; tum T. Manlius Torquatus,
 and mortgages; [then] Titus Manlius Torquatus, a man

prisæ ac ut plerisque videatur nimis duræ
 of primitive, and, as many thought, over-rigorous

severitatis, interrogatus sententiam, fertur ita
 severity, being asked his opinion, is reported thus

locutus: "si legati pro iis, qui sunt
 to have spoken: "Had the deputies in favor of those who are

in potestate hostium, postulassent tantummodo, ut
 in the hands of the enemy, requested merely, that

redimerentur, brevi peregissem sententiam
 they might be ransomed, I should have briefly delivered my judgment,

sine insectatione ullius eorum. Enim quid aliud
 without inveighing against any of them; for what else

quam admonendi essetis, ut servaretis
 were requisite than that you be admonished to maintain

morem traditum a patribus exemplo
 the practice transmitted from your forefathers, a precedent

necessario ad rem militarem? Nunc autem, cum
 indispensable to military discipline? But now, since

prope gloriati sint, quod se dediderint
 they have, in a manner, made a merit of having surrendered themselves
 hostibus, censuerintque æquum præferri non modo
 to the enemy, and have accounted it just to be preferred, not only

captis ab hostibus in acie, sed etiam iis,
 to those who were captured [by the enemy] in the field, but even to those
 qui pervenerunt Venusiam Canusiumque, atque
 who made their way to Venusia and Canusium, and

consuli C. Terentio ipso, nihil patiar vos ignorare,
 to the consul Caius Terentius himself, I will not let you remain ignorant,
 conscripti patres, eorum, quæ acta sunt illic.
 conscript fathers, of any of those things which were done there.

Atque utinam, agerem hæc, quæ acturus sum
 And I wish I could state, what I am about to bring

apud vos, Canusii apud exercitum ipsum,
 before you, at Canusium in the presence of the army itself,

optimum testem cujusque ignaviæ et virtutis :
 the most competent witness of every man's cowardice and bravery ;

aut saltem unus hic adesset
 or, at least, that one particular person were present here,

P. Sempronius, quem si isti secuti essent ducem,
 Publius Sempronius, whom had those men followed as their leader,

hodie essent milites in Romanis castris, non
 they would to-day be soldiers in the Roman camp, and not

captivi in potestate hostium. Et cum habuissent
 prisoners in the power of the enemy. But though they had

noctem liberam ad erumpendum, hostibus
 the whole night at their disposal for making a sally, (as the enemy,

fessis pugnando tum lætis victoria
 being fatigued with fighting, was now busy rejoicing for their success,

et ipsis plerisque regressis in sua castra, et
 and had, the greater part of them, retired into their camp ;) and

septem millia armatorum hominum potuissent
 though seven thousand armed troops had been able

erumpere etiam per confertos hostes,
 to force their way even through close battalions,

neque per se ipsi conati sunt id facere, neque
 yet they neither of themselves attempted to do this, nor

voluerunt alium sequi. Prope tota nocte
were willing to follow another. Throughout nearly the whole night

P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere,
Publius Sempronius Tuditanus ceased not to admonish

adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra,
and exhort them that, 'while but few of the enemy were about the camp,

dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox posset tegere
while quiet and silence prevailed, while the night would cover

inceptum, sequerentur se ducem : ante lucem
their design, they would follow him as guide; before daylight

posse pervenire in loca tuta, in urbes sociorum.
they might arrive in places of safety in the cities of their allies.'

Sicut memoria avorum
If he had said, in like manner, as, within the memory of our grandfathers,

P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, sicut
Publius Decius, military tribune in Samnium, spoke; or, as

priore Punico bello, nobis adolescentibus,
in the former Punic war, when we were youths,

Calpurnius Flamma dixit trecentis voluntariis,
Calpurnius Flamma said to the three hundred volunteers,

cum duceret eos ad capiendum tumulum, situm
when he was leading them to seize on an eminence situated

inter medios hostes, 'milites, moriamur, et
in the midst of the enemy, 'Soldiers, let us die, and

nostra morte eripiamus circumventas legiones ex
by our deaths extricate the surrounded legions from

obsidione : ' si P. Sempronius hoc diceret
the ambuscade; ' if Publius Sempronius had spoken thus, *I say,*

nec quidem duceret vos Romanos nec viros, si
he could not surely deem you either Romans or men, if

nemo exstitisset comes tantæ virtutis.
no one stood forward as his companion in such valorous endeavor

Demonstrat viam ferentem non ad gloriam
But still he points out the way that leads not to glory

magis quam ad salutem; facit reduces in patriam,
more than to safety; he restores you to your country

ad parentes, ad conjuges ac liberos. Vobis deest
your parents, wives and children. Do you want

animus, ut servemini— quid faceretis,
courage in order to your preservation? What would you do

si moriendum esset pro patria? Quinquaginta
if you had to die for your country? Fifty

millia civium sociorumque jacent circa vos cæsa
thousand of your countrymen and allies lay around you slain

eo ipso die: si tot exempla virtutis non movent,
on that very day. If so many examples of bravery do not rouse you,

nihil unquam movebit: si tanta clades non fecit
nothing will ever rouse you: if such a carnage has not made

vitam vilem, nulla faciet. Liberi
life insignificant, none ever will. While in freedom

atque incolumes desiderate patriam: immo desiderate,
and safety, wish for your country; nay, rather do this

dum est patria, dum estis ejus cives. Nunc
as long as it is your country, and you [are] its citizens. It is now

sero desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati
too late for you to wish for it, when you are degraded, disfranchised

jure civium, facti servi Carthaginiensium.
from the rights of citizens, and become the slaves of the Carthaginians.

Redituri estis pretio eo, unde abistis
Will you return by purchase to that condition which you relinquished

ignavia ac nequitia? P. Sempronium vestrum
through cowardice and negligence? To Publius Sempronius, your

civem, jubentem capere arma ac se sequi,
countryman, ordering you to take arms and follow him,

non audistis: paulo post audistis Hannibalem,
you did not listen; but, a little after, you listened to Hannibal,

jubentem prodi castra et tradi arma.
ordering you to betray your camp to him, and surrender your arms.

Quam ego accuso istorum ignaviam, cum
Why do I charge those men with cowardice, when

possim accusare scelus? Enim non modo recusarunt
I might tax them with villany? For they not only refused

sequi bene monentem, sed conati sunt obsistere
to follow him who gave them good advice, but attempted to hinder

ac retinere, ni viri fortissimi
and to stop him, had not some men of the greatest bravery,

strictis gladiis submovissent inertes : inquam
with their drawn swords, removed the cowards. I affirm

P. Sempronio fuit erumpendum per agmen
that Publius Sempronius had to force his passage through a body

civium prius quam per hostium.
of his countrymen, before he broke through that of the enemy.

Patria desideret hos cives ? Quorum si ceteri
Can our country regret such citizens as these, to whom if the rest

fuissent similes, haberet hodie neminem civem ex iis,
had been like, she would not have this day one citizen of all those

qui pugnaverunt ad Cannas. Ex septem millibus
who fought at Cannæ ? Among seven thousand

armatorum exstiterunt sexcenti, qui auderent
armed men, there stood forth six hundred who had the pluck

erumpere, qui redirent in patriam liberi
to force their way, who returned to their country free

atque armati : neque quadraginta millia hostium
and in arms ; nor did forty thousand of the enemy

iis obstitere. Quantum tutum censetis
successfully oppose them. How safe, do you suppose,

iter futurum fuisse agminis prope duarum legionum ?
would a passage have been for a band of nearly two legions ?

Conscripti patres, haberetis hodie
In that case, conscript fathers, you would have had this day

Canusii viginti millia armorum fortia, fidelia.
at Canusium twenty thousand soldiers brave and faithful.

Nunc autem quemadmodum possunt hi esse boni
But now how can these men be good

fidelesque cives ?— nam ne ipsi quidem dixerint
and faithful citizens, (for they do not even themselves claim

fortes— nisi quis potest credere fuisse,
to be brave,) unless any man can believe that they were such

ut conati sunt obsistere erumpentibus
when they attempted to stop the sallying party

quin erumperent ; aut eos
from breaking through the enemy ? or can suppose that they

non invidere illorum incolumitati cum tum
do not look with envy on the others' safety as will as

gloriæ partæ per virtutem, cum sciant
the glory acquired by their valor, when they must know

timorem ignaviamque esse causam sibi ignominiosæ
that their pusillanimity and cowardice were the cause of their ignominious

servitutis. Latentes in tentoriis maluerunt
servitude? Skulking in their tents, they preferred

expectare lucem atque hostem simul, cum
to wait for the light and the enemy together, though,

silentio noctis esset occasio
during the silence of the night, there was a fair opportunity

erumpendi. Defuit animus ad erumpendum e castris,
of making *their* escape. They lacked the courage to sally out of the camp,

habuerunt animum fortiter ad tutanda castra : obsessi
but had the resolution valiantly to defend it. Being besieged

aliquot dies noctesque, tutati sunt vallum armis,
for several days and nights, they protected their rampart by arms,

se ipsi vallo: tandem ausi passique
and themselves by their rampart. At length, having dared and suffered

ultima, cum omnia subsidia vitæ abessent,
the utmost extremities when every support of life failed,

viribusque affectis fame, nequirent jam
and, their strength being wasted through hunger, they could no longer

sustinere arma, victi sunt necessitatibus humanis
bear up under their armor, they were overcome by the necessities of nature

magis quam armis. Sole orto ab hostibus accessum
rather than by arms. At sunrise, the enemy approached

ad vallum ; ante secundam horam nullam experti
[to] the rampart : before the second hour, without trying

fortunam certaminis tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos : hæc
the issue of any dispute, they surrendered their arms and themselves. Such

vobis fuit militia ipsorum per biduum.
I tell you, was the military service of these men during two days

Cum decuerat stare in acie ac pugnare, tum
When they ought to have stood firm in array and fought on, then

refugerunt in castra ; cum pugnandum erat
they fled back into their camp ; when they ought to have battled

pro vallo, tradiderunt castra, neque utiles
in defence of their rampart, they delivered up their camp : good for no

in acie neque in castris. Et redimam vos ?
 either in the field, or within their works. And I redeem you ?
 Cum oportet erumpere castris, cunctamini
 When you ought to sally forth from the camp, you hesitate
 ac manetis ; cum manere, necesse est
 and stay there ; and when staying, there is a necessity
 tutari castra armis, traditis et castra et arma
 to protect it in arms, you surrender the camp, your arms
 et vos ipsos hosti. Conscripti patres, ego
 and yourselves to the enemy. Conscript fathers, I would
 non magis censeo redimendos istos, quam
 no more vote for ransoming those men than I would
 dedendos Hannibali illos, qui eruperunt
 for delivering up to Hannibal the others, who forced their way
 e castris per medios hostes ac per
 out of the camp through the midst of the enemy, and, with
 summam virtutem se restituerunt patriæ."
 the most distinguished courage, restored themselves to their country."

LXI.—Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam
 After Manlius had thus spoken, notwithstanding
 captivi attingebant cognatione plerosque quoque patrum,
 the prisoners were related to many even of the senators,
 præter exemplum civitatis antiquitus
 pt, apart from the practice of the state, which from the earliest times
 jam inde minime indulgentis in captivos,
 had ever shown very little favor to captives,
 summa pecuniæ quoque movit homines ; quia
 the sum of money also influenced the men of the senate ; for
 nec volebant exhaustire ærarium— magna summa
 they were unwilling either to exhaust the treasury, a great sum
 jam erogata in emendos armandosque servos
 having already been issued for purchasing and arming the slaves
 ad militiam— nec Hannibalem locupletari,
 for service, or that Hannibal should be enriched
 ut fama erat maxime egentem hujusce rei.
 also, as report had it, was particularly in want of this very thing.

Triste responsum, captivos non redimi,
The sad reply, 'that the prisoners should not be ransomed,

cum redditum esset, novusque luctus jactura
being delivered, and this new cause of grief, in the loss

tot civium adjectus esset super veterem,
of so many citizens, being added to the former, the people

prosecuti sunt legatos ad portam cum magnis fletibus
escorted the deputies to the gate with copious tears

questibusque. Unus ex iis abiit domum quod
and lamentations. One of the latter went home as if,

fallaci reditu in castra exsolvisset se jurejurando.
by fallaciously returning into the camp, he had discharged his obligations.

Ubi quod innotuit, relatumque est ad senatum,
But as soon as this became known, and was reported to the senate,

omnes censuerunt comprehendendum esse et
they all voted that he should be seized and

deducendum ad Hannibalem custodibus dictis publice.
conveyed to Hannibal, under a guard appointed by the state.

Est et alia fama de captivis:
There is, however, another account respecting the prisoners:

decem venisse primos; cum esset dubitatum
'that ten deputies came at first; and there being some hesitation

in senatu de eis, admitterentur in urbem
on the part of the senate as to whether they should be admitted into the city

neque, admissos esse ita, tamen ne
or not, they were admitted on condition, however, that an audience of

senatus daretur iis: deinde morantibus longius
the senate would not be granted them; afterward, on their staying longer

spe omnium tres alios insuper legatos venisse,
that the expectation of all, three additional deputies arrived,

L. Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium:
Lucius Scribonius, Caius Calpurnius and Lucius Manlius.

tum demum de redimendis captivis relatum esse
Then, at last, the question of ransoming the prisoners was proposed

ab tribuno plebis cognato Scribonii, senatum censuisse
by a plebeian tribune, a relation of Scribonius, and the senate resolved

nec redimendos, et tres novos legatos
that they should not be ransomed. On this the three last deputies

revertisse ad Hannibalem, decem veteres remansisse
 returned to Hannibal, but the ten former remained at Rome,

quod regressi ad Hannibalem ex itinere
 as if by having returned to Hannibal, after setting out on their journey,

per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum,
 under pretence of learning afresh the names of the captives,

exsolvisent sese religione. De dedendis iis
 they had fulfilled their oath. The point of delivering them up

actum esse magna contentione in senatu,
 to the enemy was debated with much warmth in the senate,

quique censuerint dedendos
 and those who were of opinion that they ought to be surrendered

victos paucis sentiis: ceterum
 were overcome by a small majority. However,

proximis censoribus adeo confectos esse omnibus notis
 they were, by the next censors, so severely branded with every mark

ignominis, ut quidam eorum extemplo consciverint
 of ignominy, that some of them immediately put

ipsi sibi mortem, ceteri omni vita deinde
 themselves to death, and the rest, for all their life afterwards,

caruerint non solum foro, sed prope publico
 shunned not only the forum, but almost the public streets

ac luce. Queas magis mirari adeo discrepare
 and the light. You can more easily wonder that there is so much discrepancy

inter auctores, quam discernere quid sit veri.
 among authors, than determine what is the truth.

Quanto autem major ea clades fuerit
 How much greater, though, this present calamity was

superioribus cladibus, vel ea res est indicio,
 than any preceding misfortunes, even this circumstance is a proof,

quod fides sociorum, quæ ad eum diem steterat firma,
 that the fidelity of the allies, which until this time had continued unbroken,

tum cœpit labare, de nulla alia re profecto
 now began to give way, for no other reason, certainly,

quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Hi populi
 but that they despaired of the empire. The following states

autem defecere ad Pœnos, Atellani, Calatini,
 actually revolted to the Carthaginians: the Atellans, the Calatians,

Hirpini, pars Apulorum, Samnites præter
the Hirpinians, a part of the Apulians, the Samnites, (excepting

Pentros, omnes Bruttii, Lucani: præter hos
the Pentrians,) all the Bruttians, and the Lucanians; besides these,

Surrentini et ferme omnis ora Græcorum,
the Surrentinians and almost the whole coast possessed by the Greeks

Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses, Locrique,
the Tarentines, Metapontines, Crotonians, Locrians,

et omnes Cisalpini Galli. Nec tamen eæ clades
and all the Cisalpine Gauls. Yet did not all these losses

defectionesque sociorum moverunt, ut
and revolts of their allies have such effect, that

mentio unquam fieret pacis apud Romanos, neque
mention was ever made of peace among the Romans, either

ante consulis adventum Romam, nec postquam is rediit
before the consul's return to Rome, or after he arrived,

renovavitque memoriam cladis acceptæ.
and renewed the memory of the misfortune they had sustained.

Quo in ipso tempore civitas fuit adeo magno animo,
But at that very time the state was possessed of such magnanimity,

ut consuli redeunti ex tanta clade, cujus
that on the consul's returning after such a heavy disaster, of which

ipse fuisset maxima causa, ab omnibus ordinibus
he himself had been the principal cause, all ranks of people

et itum sit frequenter obviam, et actæ gratiæ
went out in crowds to meet him, and even returned him thanks

quod non desperasset de re publica: qui
because he had not despaired of the commonwealth; in whose case,

si fuisset duxor Carthaginiensium, nihil supplicii
had he been a general of the Carthaginians, no species of punishment

recusandum foret.
would have been spared.

FINIS.

Pocket Literal Translations of the Classics

Cloth Binding. Each, 75 Cents

These translations have been prepared with great care. They follow the original text literally, thus forming a valuable help to the student in his efforts to master the difficulties which beset him. Pleasing sketches of the authors appear in the form of an introduction to each of the volumes.

The books are in a convenient form, being exceptionally handy for the pocket. They are printed from clear type, and are attractively and durably bound.

Cæsar's Commentaries—Eight Books.

Cicero's Defence of Roscius.
Cicero on Old Age and Friendship.

Cicero on Oratory.

Cicero's Select Orations.

Cicero's Select Letters.

Cornelius Nepos, complete.

Horace, complete.

Juvenal's Satires, complete.

Livy.—Books 1 and 2.

Livy.—Books 21 and 22.

Ovid's Metamorphoses.—
Books 1-7.

Ovid's Metamorphoses.—
Books 8-15.

Plautus' Captivi and Mostellaria.

Sallust's Catiline and The Jugurthine War.

Tacitus' Annals.—The First Six Books.

Tacitus' Germany and Agricola.

Terence' Andria, Adelphi, and Phormio.

Virgil's Aeneid.—Six Books.

Virgil's Eclogues and Georgics.

Viri Romæ.

Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound and Seven Against Thebes.

Aristophanes' Clouds, Birds, and Frogs.—In one Vol.

Demosthenes' On the Crown.
Demosthenes' Olynthiaks and Philippics.

Euripides' Alcestis and Electra.

Euripides' Medea.

Herodotus.—Books 6 and 7.

Homer's Iliad.—Nine Books.

Homer's Odyssey.—13 Books.

Lysias' Select Orations.

Plato's Apology, Crito and Phædo.

Plato's Gorgias.

Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus, Electra, and Antigone.

Xenophon's Anabasis.—Five Books.

Xenophon's Memorabilia, complete.

Goethe's Egmont.

Goethe's Faust.

Goethe's Hermann and Dorothea.

Goethe's Iphigenia In Tauris.

Lessing's Minna von Barnhelm.

Lessing's Nathan the Wise.

Schiller's Maid of Orleans.

Schiller's Maria Stuart.

Schiller's William Tell.

All the above books may be obtained, post free, at prices named

DAVID McKAY COMPANY, Philadelphia

The Hamilton, Locke, and Clark SERIES OF Interlinear Translations

Have long been the Standard and are now the *Best Translated* and *Most Complete* Series of Interlinears published.

Cloth Binding, each, \$2.00

LATIN INTERLINEAR TRANSLATIONS:

VIRGIL—By HART AND OSBORNE.

CÆSAR—By HAMILTON AND CLARK.

HORACE—By STIRLING, NUTTALL AND CLARK.

CICERO—By HAMILTON AND CLARK.

SALLUST—By HAMILTON AND CLARK.

OVID—By GEORGE W. HEILIG.

JUVENAL—By HAMILTON AND CLARK.

LIVY—By HAMILTON AND CLARK.

CORNELIUS NEPOS—By HAMILTON AND UNDERWOOD

GREEK INTERLINEAR TRANSLATIONS

HOMER'S ILIAD—By THOMAS CLARK.

XENOPHON'S ANABASIS—By HAMILTON AND CLARK.

S. Austin Allibone, the distinguished author, writes:

"There is a growing disapprobation, both in America and Great Britain, of the disproportionate length of time devoted by the youthful student to the acquisition of the dead languages; and therefore nothing will tend so effectually to the preservation of the Greek and Latin grammars as their judicious union (the fruit of an intelligent compromise) with the Interlinear Classics."

All the above books may be obtained post free at prices named.

DAVID McKAY COMPANY, Philadelphia

ab eo octaginta millibus passuum, in Oceanum.
from that (than) eighty thousands of paces, into the Ocean.

Autem Rhenus oritur ex Lepontiis, qui incolunt
But the Rhine arises out of the Lepontii, who inhabit

Alpes: et fertur citatus longo spatio per fines
the Alps: and is borne rapid in a long distance through the territories

Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, Medio-
of the Nantuates, Helvetii, Sequani, Medio-

matricorum, Tribocorum, que Trevirorum; et ubi
matriæ, Tribocci, and of the Treviri; and when

appropinquat Oceano, diffuit in plures partes;
it approaches to the Ocean, it flows dividedly into more (several) parts:

multis que ingentibus insulis effectis; magna pars
many and great islands being formed; great part

quarum incolitur à feris que barbaris nationibus;
of which is inhabited by wild and barbarous nations;

(ex quibus sunt qui existimantur vivere
(out of which (there) are (some) who are thought to live

piscibus atque ovis avium), que influit in
(on) fishes and the eggs of birds), and it flows in into

Oceanum multis capitibus.
the Ocean by many heads.

11. Quum Cæsar abesset ab
When Cæsar might be distant (was distant) from

hoste non amplius duodecim millibus passuum,
the enemy not more (than) twelve thousands of paces,

legati revertuntur ad eum, ut constitutum erat:
the ambassadors return to him, as it had been appointed:

qui congressi in itinere, orabant magnopere,
who having met (him) on the march, did pray greatly

ne progrediretur longius. Quum impetrâssent
he would not advance farther. When they might have (had) obtained

non id, petebant, "utî præmitteret ad
not that, they did request, "that he would send before to

eos equites, qui antecessissent agmen, que
those horsemen, who might have (had) preceded the troop (army), and

prohiberet eos pugnâ: que utî faceret potestatem
would prohibit them from battle: and that he would make power

Sample Page, Cæsar Interlinear Translation
(Reduced in Size)

Hugo's Simplified System

More people have succeeded by Hugo's Simplified System than all other systems put together. Over 3,000,000 copies have been sold.

HUGO'S FRENCH SIMPLIFIED. The book comprises the following: I. A SIMPLE BUT COMPLETE GRAMMAR, containing all the rules necessary for speaking and writing French correctly. II. FRENCH PRONUNCIATION; a series of Easy Anecdotes, with the Translation and Pronunciation of every word, and complete rules on Pronunciation. III. FRENCH IDIOMS: Practical Sentences, introducing all the Important Idioms and peculiarities of French construction. IV. A KEY to the Conversational Exercises in the Grammar. 296 Pages. 12mo, Cloth, \$1.50 net.

HUGO'S DANISH SIMPLIFIED. An Easy and Rapid Self-Instructor. Containing A CONDENSED AND SIMPLIFIED GRAMMAR, PRACTICAL CONVERSATION, GRADUATED READING EXERCISES, consisting of Easy Anecdotes and Short Stories, etc. LISTS OF USEFUL AND INDISPENSABLE WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS. A PRACTICAL GUIDE TO MODERN CONVERSATIONAL DANISH WITH Imitated Pronunciation of Every Word. 12mo, Cloth, \$1.50 net.

HUGO'S GERMAN SIMPLIFIED. An Easy and Rapid Self-Instructor. Complete—Consisting of I. GRAMMAR, EXERCISES AND VOCABULARIES, WITH THE PRONUNCIATION EXACTLY IMITATED. II. GERMAN CONVERSATION SIMPLIFIED. III. GERMAN VERBS SIMPLIFIED. IV. KEY to the Exercises in the Grammar. 12mo, Cloth, \$1.50 net.

HUGO'S ITALIAN SIMPLIFIED. The book comprises the following: I. A SIMPLE BUT COMPLETE GRAMMAR. II. ITALIAN READING MADE EASY. III. ITALIAN CONVERSATION SIMPLIFIED. IV. A KEY to the Exercises in the Grammar. 273 Pages. 12mo, Cloth, \$1.50 net.

All the above books may be obtained post free at prices named.

DAVID McKAY COMPANY, Philadelphia

Jackiewicz

Wincenty



PENN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



A000032784084